

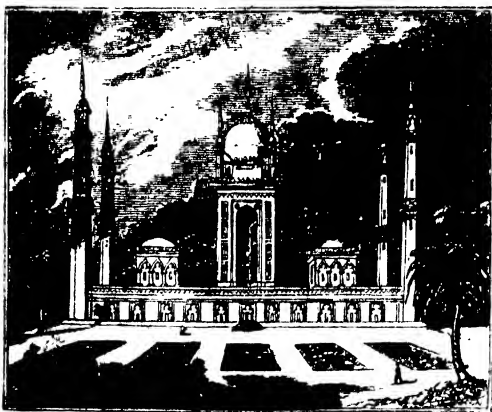
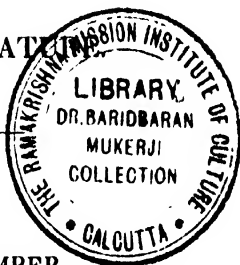
THE
ORIENTAL HERALD,

AND JOURNAL OF
GENERAL LITERATURE

VOL. VI.

JULY TO SEPTEMBER,

1825.



LONDON:
SANDFORD ARNOT, 33, OLD BOND STREET.

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THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 19.—JULY 1825.—Vol. 6.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

No. II.

IN this epitome of British Indian history, it will not be possible to take any notice of what foreign nations have done in Hindoostan; our attention must be strictly confined to the operations of our own countrymen; and of these, to such only as to us may appear to have contributed to the consolidation or extension of our power in that country, or to the development of the views of the East India Company. History, indeed, appears to us no otherwise valuable, than as it unfolds the expedients which men have resorted to, from time to time, for the increase or preservation of their happiness; and the part which distinguished individuals have acted in the furtherance or obstruction of those endeavours. In almost all other histories, the circumstances which originally gave rise to the society or body of men whose struggles and mutations they describe, are known but imperfectly, for want of early records; but in the history of the East India Company the example is nearly complete, as we are well acquainted with the beginning, and can look forward with tolerable certainty to the end.

The beginnings of this commercial body were mean and unpromising. About the year 1527, one Robert Thorne, an English merchant, who had resided several years in Spain, and acquired considerable knowledge of the intercourse of the Portuguese with India, laid before Henry VIII. a project for opening a commerce with Hindoostan. As the south-east passage was conceived to belong to the Portuguese, because they discovered it, he suggested the possibility of sailing to India by the north-west. The reception his scheme met with is not known; but two voyages for the discovery of a north-west passage were undertaken during Henry the Eighth's reign; one about the period of Thorne's representation, and another ten years afterwards.

In 1582, the English first attempted a voyage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope. The expedition consisted of four ships, and was destined for China. But having been driven upon the coast of Brazil, where it met and fought with some Spanish men-of-war, it was compelled to return to England for want of provisions. The next expedition, which was also destined for China, and bore letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of that country, was fitted out in 1596. It was

wrecked upon the coast of America, where all those engaged in it perished, with the exception of four persons.

Previously to these expeditions, however, Sir Francis Drake had reached the Moluccas by the Straits of Magellan and the Great Pacific. He sailed from Plymouth with five vessels, and 164 select sailors, in 1577; and having lost four of his ships on the way, and purchased spices, and other valuable commodities, at Ternate, Java, and other islands, he returned to Plymouth on the 26th of September 1580, being the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe.

Cavendish's expedition followed very closely on Sir Francis Drake's. He left England with three ships, and 126 men, in 1586. With these he passed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific, coasted along the eastern side of the continent of America, till he reached the shores of California, about lat. 24° north; and sailing from thence to the Ladrone and Philippine Islands, returned to this country in 1588.

By land, our countrymen had opened an indirect communication with India at a still earlier period. After the discovery of the port of Archangel, a Company had been formed to carry on the trade with Russia. This Company imported the commodities of India through Persia; for in 1558, Anthony Jenkinson, an agent of the Russian Company, sailed down the Wolga, crossed the Caspian, and entered the Persian port of Boghar, where he found merchants from various parts of Persia, from Russia, China, and India. He performed this voyage seven times, and opened a trade in raw and wrought silks, carpets, spices, precious stones, and other productions of Asia.

About the year 1590, certain members of the Turkey, or Levant Company, performed a journey into India. They passed by the route of Aleppo to Bagdad, carrying with them a quantity of cloth, tin, and other merchandise; from thence down the Tigris to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, and so on to Goa, on the coast of Malabar. Their enterprising spirit now prompted them to bolder undertakings: they visited Agra, the capital of the Mogul Empire, and Lahore; and crossing Bengal, travelled to Pegu and Malacca; and returned to England in 1591.

In 1589, several merchants addressed a memorial to the Lords of Council, applying for the permission of Government to send out three ships, and as many pinnaces, to India. This was the first application made, and the reception it met with is not known. But in 1591, Captain Raymond fitted out the first expedition that ever left this country direct for India. Its object was rather plunder than commerce. The whole of this expedition did not, however, reach the place of its destination; for one of the three ships was sent back with the sick before they reached the Cape of Good Hope; another was lost in a storm; and Captain James Lancaster, having arrived in the East with the third, and sailed thence to the West Indies, lost that also, and returned to Europe in a French privateer.

Meanwhile, the Dutch, in 1595, sent out four ships to trade with India, by the Cape of Good Hope. This seems to have roused the jealousy and ambition of the English; for in 1599, an association was formed, and a fund subscribed, which amounted to 30,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and consisted of 101 shares, the subscriptions of individuals varying from 100*l.* to 3000*l.* In the Committee of Fifteen, chosen to manage on this occasion, we dis-

cover the origin of the Court of Directors. The Queen was petitioned for a charter of privileges, and for warrant to fit out three ships, and export bullion. Sir Foulke Greville, to whom the memorial was referred, made a favourable report; and, in the same year, John Mildenhall was sent overland to India, by the way of Constantinople, as the Queen's ambassador to the Great Mogul. This embassy was attended, however, with but little success, owing to the intrigues of the Portuguese and Venetian agents.

In the course of the year 1600, the charter of privileges was obtained: five ships were fitted out, whose cargo (consisting of iron, tin, lead, cloths, and smaller articles for presents) was estimated at 4545*l.*, exclusive of bullion. Captain James Lancaster was chosen to command the fleet.

The charter granted to the East India Company in 1600, which was the foundation of the vast and irregular power it afterwards reached, was not remarkably different from the incorporative charters obtained in that age by other trading associations. It formed the adventurers into a body politic and corporate, by the name of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies;' and their affairs were to be managed by a committee of twenty-four, and a chairman, both to be chosen annually.

The first fleet equipped by the East India Company, sailed from Torbay on the 2d of May 1601, under the command of Captain Lancaster. It arrived safe in the East; and the first port it entered was that of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra. The English were favourably received; entered into a treaty of commerce with the sovereign; obtained permission to build a factory; purchased pepper; sailed for the Moluccas; left agents at Bantam, in Java; and returned to England in 1603.

Between this period and the year 1613, eight other voyages were performed. But, meanwhile, in 1604, a license to trade to China, Japan, and other eastern countries, was granted to Sir Edward Michelbourne and others, which infringed on the charter of the Company, and alarmed its Directors. But in 1609, King James's Government constituted them a body corporate for ever, with the understanding, however, that upon its being proved, at any time, that their exclusive privileges were injurious to the nation, those privileges should cease after three years' notice.

All the early voyages undertaken by the Company were directed to the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and the imports consisted of raw silk, fine calicoes, indigo, cloves, and mace. But in the year 1611, they sent a fleet to the continent of India, and succeeded in establishing factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga. They were to pay a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and to be subject to no other exaction. A firman of the Emperor, conferring these privileges, was received on the 11th of January 1612; and thus the English first got a footing on the continent of India.

Up to the year 1612, the members of the East India Company were at liberty to subscribe or not, as they pleased, for any particular adventure, which was managed by themselves, although subject to the Company's general regulations. As this mode of proceeding did not, however, confer sufficient power and distinction on the Governor and Directors, they used all their influence to discredit it; and, in the year above mentioned, succeeded in passing a resolution, that, in future, the trade should be

carried on by a joint-stock only. Still the fund was not general, nor fixed in amount, nor divided into regular shares. But all the capital was now deposited in the hands of the Governor and Directors, who were to employ the whole amount in the manner they judged most advantageous to the interests of the subscribers. They were not fortunate in their management. During the period in which individuals conducted and watched over their own concerns, the average profit on the capital employed was 171 per cent. The average profit, when affairs got into the hands of the Directors, was only $87\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Soon after this, the Company's contentions with the Portuguese and Dutch began. An ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of the Great Mogul, where he endeavoured to prepossess the natives against the competitors of his countrymen. It seems the Company were anxious, even then, to erect forts, and keep soldiers in pay, on the coast of India; but Sir Thomas Roe assured them that the expense would be much greater than the advantage. The Dutch had already monopolized the spice trade. This was a source of great envy and jealousy to the English, who now sent agents into several of the spice islands, in the hope of supplanting them, but without success. At this time, the Company's chief establishments were at Surat and Bantam.

In 1617-18, a fund, denominated the Company's second joint-stock, and amounting to 1,600,000*l.*, was subscribed. The factors at Surat prevailed upon the Company to open a trade with Persia, where they hoped to dispose of English woollens to a large amount, and to purchase, in return, silk and other commodities, which might sell advantageously both in India and England. It is said, that at this time the Company possessed thirty-six ships, from 100 to 1000 tons burthen; and that the proprietors of stock amounted to 954.

It would be but little instructive to pursue the obscure contentions of the East India Company with the Dutch and Portuguese: it may be sufficient to relate, that, with the latter, the chief competition was for the inconsiderable trade of Persia; but the Dutch stood in the way of their connexion with the spice islands. Hence hostile feelings and obstinate struggles arose between the English and Dutch Companies. Both parties appealed to King James; and this produced a commission of inquiry, and a treaty, which was concluded at London in 1619. This treaty was to be in force twenty years, and a council was appointed to superintend the execution of it, which was called the *Council of Defence*. It consisted of eight members, four for each Company. The treaty regulated the pretensions of the contending parties, and included arrangements for mutual profit and defence. It was also stipulated, that each Company should provide and send out ten ships of war to protect their trade in the East.

But the Dutch, being at that time much more powerful than the English in India, disregarded the treaty, and carried things with so high a hand, that the Commissioners of the East India Company declared it would be impossible to carry on the trade, if their arrogance and violence were not repressed. On the shores of the Indian continent the English were more successful. They also fought and conquered the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf; and, in conjunction with the Persians, dispossessed them of the island of Ormus, for which they received a portion of the

plunder of that island, and a grant of half the customs at the port of Gombroon.

The plunder the Company had obtained by their various captures in the East, now excited the cupidity of the King, and of his Lord High Admiral, the Duke of Buckingham, who demanded a share of what they had taken. The Directors did not think fit to resist the demands of the King, but objected to those of the Duke of Buckingham, because they had acted under their own charter, and not under letters of marque from the Admiral. After much solicitation and intrigue, they were compelled to pay 10,000*l.* to the Lord High Admiral; and as an equal sum was demanded for the King, it is probable that he also received it.

In 1623, the massacre of Amboyna was perpetrated by the Dutch. Captain Towerson, an Englishman, with nine of his own countrymen, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese sailor, were seized, tried, and executed in that island, under pretence that they had formed a conspiracy to expel the Dutch. It has never been ascertained whether they were guilty or not; the regular practice of the East India Company renders it probable that they were: at all events, the Dutch appear to have sincerely believed them guilty. But, however that may have been, the transaction kindled an unquenchable flame of resentment against them in the breasts of the English people. Besides, as the Dutch criminal law authorized the use of the torture, it was exercised on Captain Towerson and his companions before they were executed; but this ought not to have excited any extraordinary indignation, as the Company themselves were in the regular habit of torturing their own countrymen in India, under false pretences. Before they were permitted the exercise of martial law, or of capital punishment on any but pirates, they were accustomed to whip or starve those to death whom they were desirous of putting out of the way. They were in the habit, also, of murdering private traders, under pretence of their being pirates; and Hamilton relates, that an agent of the Company attempted to swear away his life at Siam.

On the occasion of the affair at Amboyna, the East India Company had recourse to the *press*, an engine to which they have since shown so much hostility. They procured innumerable pamphlets to be written, exaggerating the horrors of the transaction; and by the assistance of these, and a picture, which they had drawn for the purpose, representing Captain Towerson and his companions expiring under the rack, amidst every circumstance of horror, they so excited the rage of the populace, that the Dutch merchants then in London did not think it safe to remain without the especial protection of the Government.

The English Government attempted to obtain signal reparation of the Dutch, for so great a national injury and affront; but the answer of the latter was coolly insulting,—barely intimating, that the English had leave to retire from the Dutch settlements in India, without paying any duties; and that they might erect forts for the protection of their commerce, provided they were thirty miles from any Dutch fort.

In 1624, the Company petitioned the King for authority to punish their servants abroad by martial law, and their request was granted without any hesitation; of so little importance did it appear to the Government of that time to intrust, to a commercial company, an unlimited power over the lives of their countrymen!

Meanwhile the Company's trade with Persia was of little importance. In 1627, Sir Robert Shirley, who had been ambassador in Persia, claimed 2000*l.* of the Company, as a reward for his exertions in procuring them a Persian trade. The Company denied his services; and urged, besides, that they were unable to pay him, as they had contracted a debt of 200,000*l.*, while their stock had fallen to twenty per cent. discount.

In 1628, the East India Company observing the decline of the royal authority, and the growing importance of Parliament, presented, for the first time, a memorial to the House of Commons. In this they detailed their difficulties, and enumerated the benefits resulting to the nation from the establishment of their monopoly—using nearly the same language as they have used on similar occasions ever since. Their chief subject of complaint was, the hostility of the Dutch. The affair of Amboyna still preyed upon the public mind; the Dutch appeared to desire to inquire into it; but nothing effectual was done.

In 1631-32, a third joint-stock, amounting to 420,700*l.*, was formed by subscription. With this fund seven ships were fitted out; but of the money or goods embarked nothing is known.

The Company was, meanwhile, gaining ground on the eastern coast of the Indian continent. The factory at Masulipatam, not long before removed on account of the exactions of the Natives, was restored; permission to trade to Piple, in Orissa, was obtained of the Mogul Emperor; Bantam was again raised to the rank of a presidency, and the whole eastern coast placed under its jurisdiction; a treaty was concluded with the Portuguese, by which the English were allowed free access to their ports on the Malabar coast, while in all English factories they were to receive the treatment of friends: and thus the Company obtained a share of the pepper-trade.

But the increase of private adventure now alarmed them exceedingly; their servants abroad, also, neglected their concerns to attend to their own; and, moreover, it began to be agitated by the press, whether the existence of monopolies, and, among others, that of the India Company, was not a real injury to the nation.

Through the means of a gentleman of the bedchamber to the King, a license was about this time granted to a new association to trade with India. This license, it was stated, was founded on the misconduct of the East India Company, which had been productive of no good to the nation; of none, at least, by any means adequate to the great privileges it had obtained. The King had a share in this new association, and Sir William Courten was at its head. Notwithstanding this, the Company sent out instructions to their servants in India to oppose the interlopers. By means of intrigue, misrepresentations, bewailings, and constant addresses to the throne, they at length succeeded in procuring a promise that Courten's license should be withdrawn, on condition that they themselves should raise a new joint-stock, to carry on the trade on a larger scale. The credit of East India adventure was so low, however, that no more than 22,500*l.* could be raised.

About this time a very singular transaction took place: the King, having now determined to make war upon his people, and being destitute of money, was tempted by the magazines of the East India Company, which he procured for the carrying on of his tyrannical purpose, in the

following manner:—A price being set upon the whole of their pepper, his most sacred Majesty purchased it *upon credit*, and then sold it off, at a lower price, for *ready money*. Lord Cottington, and the farmers of the customs, gave four bonds for the amount, one of which was to be paid every six months. The Company, however, lost the greater part of the money.

While these things were going on in England, the Company's servants abroad effected a settlement at Madras, and erected Fort St. George.

In 1642-43, the fourth joint-stock was attempted to be increased by a new subscription, and the sum of 105,000*l.* was obtained. With this money the Company undertook what has been called the *first general voyage*.

When the King was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, in 1648, the Company displayed a trait of that crooked policy which has never ceased to regulate their transactions. The power of the Parliament being now supreme, they endeavoured to procure as many as possible of its members to subscribe, reckoning that they should by this means gain strong accomplices in the injuries they were constantly inflicting upon their countrymen. And to show how highly they valued the countenance of Members of Parliament, it was stated in an advertisement, fixing the time beyond which the subscription of no ordinary person could be received, that, in deference to Members of Parliament, a further period would be allowed to them. It is not known, however, that any success attended this proceeding.

The license that had been granted to Courten's association, had not been withdrawn according to the pledge given by the King. That rival Company continued, therefore, to kindle the jealousy of the older association; but at length a union was effected between them, and a fund, denominated the *United Joint-stock*, was raised. Its amount is not known.

In 1652, the English first obtained a footing in Bengal. They owed it to the ability of a few surgeons, one of whom was named Boughton, who being sent with other persons to the Imperial Court, and performing several cures, which gained them great favour, were public-spirited enough to exert the influence they had obtained in promoting the interests of the Company. Through their means a Government license was obtained, on paying 3000 rupees, for an unlimited trade, without payment of customs, with the richest province of India. Two years afterwards, Fort St. George was erected into a presidency.

The Dutch, who, during the existence of the monarchy, had oppressed and injured the English residents and traders in India, were quickly reduced by Cromwell to desire a peace, and to show a disposition to make such reparation as was in their power for the injustice they had committed at Amboyna. Commissioners were appointed to adjust the differences between the English and Dutch East India Companies, who preferred the most extravagant claims on both sides. By these it was awarded, that the sum of 85,000*l.* should be paid to the English at two instalments; and 3,615*l.* was given to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered at Amboyna.

Upon the close of these transactions there followed a series of discussions on the propriety or impropriety of carrying on the trade with India

on the joint-stock principle. The Company, or the old proprietors, maintained that nothing but a joint-stock company was equal to the proper carrying on of the trade with India; while the merchant adventurers, or proprietors of the united stock, contended that the owners of the separate funds ought to have authority to employ their own capital, servants, and shipping, in whatever way they might think best. The council of state at length decided in favour of the exclusive trade and joint-stock.

Upon this the Company and the merchant adventurers united, and a new subscription was opened, and filled to the amount of 786,000*l.* The Company also settled its accounts with the owners of the preceding funds, and obtained the transfer of all the factories, establishments, and privileges in India, for 20,000*l.*, to be paid in two instalments. The ships and merchants of the former adventurers were taken by the new Company at a valuation, and it was decided that, after a certain time, they should unite the amount of whatever property they might possess in India to the new stock.

On the accession of Charles II., the Company, pursuing their usual policy, petitioned for a renewal of their charter, and obtained not only a confirmation of their ancient privileges, but also the authority to make peace and war with any Pagan or Mohammedan Princes, and to seize and send to England any persons found without license within their limits. This new charter was granted in 1661. Upon this occasion it may be proper to remark, that the Company obtained the power of transportation over their countrymen in India from a decidedly the most profligate King and unprincipled ministry that ever disgraced this country; all of whom were as ignorant of what was fit to be intrusted to a company of monopolists, as they were of every other principle of legislation.

In 1668, the Company acquired possession of the island of Bombay, which had been ceded to the King of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catharine. For this island they were to pay an annual rent of 10*l.* in gold. About the same time, their old disputes with the Dutch about the island of Polaroen were revived: this island was naturally of little worth, and the Dutch had purposely rendered it of much less by murdering a portion of the inhabitants, and exterminating the spice trees. After its being delivered up first to one party, then to another, it was finally ceded to the Dutch by the treaty of Breda.

Previously to this, in 1664, the city of Surat, the principal residence of the English in India, was attacked by Sevagee, the founder of the Mahratta empire. The town was taken, but the English maintained possession of the citadel; and when the Mahrattas retired, were rewarded for their gallantry with new privileges, granted to the Company by the Great Mogul. In the midst of these transactions, Sir Edward Winter, the Company's chief servant at Fort St. George, who was suspected of being engaged in the trade carried on by the Company's servants on their own account, was recalled, and refused to obey; and when Mr. Foxcroft, who was sent out as his successor, arrived at Madras, Sir Edward placed him under confinement. At length, however, he yielded to the peremptory command of the King, and retired to the Dutch settlement at Masulipatam. This is mentioned as being the first instance of refractoriness in the Company's servants abroad.

About the same period, a remarkable instance of the vindictive rapacity of the Company occurred. Thomas Skinner, an English merchant, had fitted out a ship for the India trade in 1657, and purchased of the King of Jambee the little island of Barella. He appears to have been successful in his enterprise, which roused the cupidity of the Company; they seized his house, his merchandise, and his island, and even refused to afford him a passage home. Having no other means of reaching his native country, Skinner set out for England over-land, and having arrived in London, laid his complaint before Government. He was referred first to a committee of the Council, and then to the House of Peers. The Company refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, but their objection was overruled. They then appealed to the Commons; and this so incensed the Lords that they awarded to Skinner a remuneration of 5000*l*. And now the Commons were enraged in their turn; and the two Houses of Parliament proceeded to act in the most extravagant manner, treating each other's proceedings as entirely nugatory. At length the King interposed, the Lords and Commons were reconciled, and poor Skinner, who, while these disputes were in agitation, had been sent a prisoner to the Tower, was sacrificed, and left without redress.

Meanwhile, the Company was terrified by the formation of an East India Company in France, of which Colbert, the French minister of finance, conceived the design in 1664. A French fleet of twelve ships arrived at Surat in 1671-72, and excited considerable alarm in the imaginations of the Company's agents.

The Company's first order for the importation of tea was sent out in 1667-68. It was conceived in these words:—"Send home by these ships 100*lb*. weight of the best tea that you can gett." In 1673 the island of St. Helena, which had frequently passed alternately from the hands of the Company into those of the Dutch, and back again, was granted anew, and confirmed to the Company by a royal charter.

In the disputes which now began to arise between the Company and the Mogul, as well as with Sevagee and the petty Rajahs, we discover the adoption of a principle which has since been a distinguishing mark of English policy in the East: they recommended to the Chief President and his council the practice of temporizing with the native Princes, and granted them discretionary powers, enabling them to use force as often as they saw convenient; while, for their own part, they determined to impute any hostilities which might be complained of to the errors of their servants. Among these servants themselves the most dangerous rivalry and animosity now arose, from discordant pretensions to rank and advancement; these the Directors hoped to allay by adopting seniority as the principle of promotion, reserving to themselves the power of special nomination to the office of Member of Council at the agencies and presidencies.

In 1682-83 the project of a rival East India Company was set on foot, and obtained the approbation of the nation. The King and Council were brought to lend an ear to the scheme, which seemed to acquire importance; and the old Company were so much alarmed, that, unable to give real reasons why their monopoly should be continued, they adopted a regular course of falsification and imposture; speaking of the amount

of their equipments in pompous and extravagant terms, in order to impose upon the King and the public. That they might succeed the better in this plan, they no longer spoke in detail of their adventures and transactions, but crowded them in the gross into big terms and phrases. They spoke of immense capital—of millions. Meanwhile the Directors exercised their ingenuity in concealing their debts, which, on former occasions, when they were required to make reparation for the injustice they had committed, they used to bring forward and exaggerate, in order to excite pity and commiseration. It was asserted, that in 1676 they owed 600,000*l.*; and Mr. Mill is of opinion, that in 1683-84 their debts exceeded their capital.

About this period the English were expelled from Bantam, and took shelter at Batavia, from which time the Dutch remained sole masters of Java, and the presidency for the government of the eastern coast was removed to Fort St. George. Private traders now excited the hostility of the Company, to whom no extent of power seems ever to have appeared sufficient; for they about this time applied to the Government for Admiralty jurisdiction, to empower them to seize and condemn the ships of the interlopers, without liability to be called to any after-account by the municipal laws of England. This power they obtained, but their triumph was embittered by a formidable insurrection at Bombay. It was caused by the Company's complete ignorance of the principles of government and of human nature; for, in the first place, they attempted to enrich themselves by excessive taxation; and when they found that the expenses of government still exceeded the revenue, they bethought themselves of another expedient, which was, to curtail the pay of their servants. This unwise proceeding alienated the hearts of both parties. Besides, the Governor of Bombay had been guilty of wanton intolerable oppression and excessive tyranny; and, altogether, the Company's rule appeared so detestable to both the military and the people, that, in 1683, Captain Keigwin, commander of the garrison, threw off the yoke of the Company, and declared by proclamation that the island belonged to the King.

This insurrection, however, was soon suppressed; the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay, which was now elevated to the dignity of a regency, and Madras was formed into a corporation, governed by a mayor and aldermen. These events took place in 1687. In Bengal, those quarrels between the Company and the Natives, which have ended in the total enslaving of the latter, had already commenced. It was pretended that the English were oppressed by the governments of the country, and a large military equipment was sent out to obtain redress by force of arms. The commander was instructed to seize and fortify Chittagong, and to make such retaliation on the Nabob and Mogul as should induce them to make what was termed reparation. The ships of the expedition not arriving together in the Ganges, and the party that arrived first imprudently engaging in hostilities, they were driven from Hooghley, and obliged to take shelter at Chutanutte, afterwards Calcutta. Upon this, the Directors accused their servants in Bengal of cowardice and breach of trust; and upon the occurrence of further reverses, though these were followed by an accommodation with the Nabob, by which the

English were permitted to return to Hooghley, removed Charnock, the Company's agent in Bengal, and sent Sir John Child with authority to reform abuses in Madras and Bengal, and to re-establish the factories at Cossimbazar and the other places from which they had been driven in the course of the war. But while the Company's servants were successfully negotiating with the Natives, who, for this reason, were supposed to be off their guard, a ship of war, commanded by a Captain Heath, arrived. Captain Heath seems to have been a genuine India House politician, for, in the midst of negotiation, he suddenly attacked and plundered the town of Balasore, and attempted to surprise Chittagong. In that, however, he was disappointed, and the consequence was, the total abandonment of Bengal.

The Company's behaviour in Bengal so highly exasperated Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, that he immediately exerted his power to drive them out of India; their factories in the various parts of the empire were seized; numbers of their servants slain; the island of Bombay was attacked by the fleet of the Siddees; the Governor besieged in the town and castle; and, in short, the pride and insolence of the Company were so effectually humbled, that they were compelled to stoop to the most abject submissions to procure leave to remain in the country. Thus their inordinate ambition was punished, and for a season repressed.

Meanwhile the French had strengthened their power in India, and formed an establishment at Pondicherry. Jealousy and revenge, therefore, united in impelling the Company to struggle for dominion in the East: partially neglecting their commerce, they turned their chief attention to the acquiring of sovereignty, and even confessed that the increase of their revenue was an object of more importance in their eyes than the honest gain of trade. What is most surprising too, they expressed a desire to become "a nation" in India; they, who have since put in practice every art of tyranny to keep their countrymen from growing into a nation in that country. They confessed, that if their principle of Colonization were not acted upon, they were no better than a great body of interlopers. Their reasoning has materially altered since then; but it is almost peculiar to the East India Company to discover principles, which, like theameleon, can change their colour as often as is convenient. With these views, Teguapatam, a town and harbour on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of Pondicherry, was purchased of the Natives, surrounded with fortifications, and named Fort St. David.

The people of England, however, indignant at the monopoly of the Company, began to question the power of a royal charter granted without authority of Parliament; and numerous merchants accordingly resorted to India on private adventures. The Company, on the other hand, possessing almost unlimited power over their countrymen in the East, were not slow in putting it in operation; they seized the interlopers wherever they could be found, accused them of piracy, or of any other crime they chose, and sitting in judgment on their avowed enemies as traders, condemned them to death, and would willingly have executed them had the law permitted: but it was necessary, before they proceeded to capital punishment, that the royal pleasure should be known. However, they did what they could, thrusting their unhappy adversaries for

months and years into sultry and unwholesome dungeons, where they generally perished in the utmost wretchedness. In his instructions to the Governor of Bombay, who, to excuse himself from perpetrating illegal cruelties on his countrymen, had pleaded the laws of England, Sir Joshua Child, then Chairman of the Court of Directors, had the audacity to say: "*That he expected his orders to be his rule, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good of their own private families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce.*"

At home, it was resolved by the House of Commons, that in future Parliament should determine what regulations were necessary for the carrying on of the Indian trade: but in spite of Parliament, a new charter was granted by letters-patent from the crown to terminate all disputes. But this was very far from settling the matter at rest; for the House of Commons voted, "that it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." The House of Commons also ordered the books of the Company to be examined, by which it was discovered that it had been their constant habit to bribe great men to maintain their interests. The sums expended in bribery in one year (1693) amounted to 90,000*l.* Of these sums 5,000*l.* went to bribe the Duke of Leeds, and 10,000*l.*, as it is said, was traced to the King. In support of this, Mr. Mil quotes Macpherson's *Annals*, who appears to speak hesitatingly; but Burnet (*History of his Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 145,) says: "Whereas both King Charles and King James, had obliged the Company to make them a yearly present of 10,000*l.*, the King (William) had received this but once." He asserts likewise, that 170,000*l.* had been expended in bribery, the greater part of which was generally believed to have gone among the Members of the House of Commons; and all this in order to stifle the project of free trade, or to free themselves from a rival company. What virtuous and admirable Kings, Companies, and Parliaments! How conducive their example to the spread of virtue! The indignation of the House of Commons at the corrupt practices of the Company, died away suddenly, mollified, as was supposed, by the gold of those *honest* traders, and all further inquiry into the matter was dropped.

In spite, however, of the Company's bribery, argument, and lamentation, a new Company, called 'The English Company Trading to the East Indies,' was formed in 1698, and the old, or London Company, received notice that their charter would expire in 1701, but that in the meanwhile they would be permitted to trade to India along with the new Company. The existence of a rival association only animated the old Company to greater exertion; they once more put in practice their usual policy of treating their rivals as "interlopers;" wrote to their servants abroad to excite them to new endeavours; fitted out large equipments; and, in short, acted altogether so vigorously, that the new Company was induced to make proposals for a coalition.

At length, in 1702, their union was effected; and the two parties took the common name of 'The United Company of Merchants Trading to

the East Indies.' Still their interests were not so completely identified as to preclude all contention and jarring. But in 1708, the Government exacting a loan of 1,200,000*l.* of the two Companies, in addition to one of 2,000,000*l.*, which it had already received of the new Company for granting its charter, the fear of giving rise to a third association, which by offering the Government money might easily have supplanted them both, drew them together to avert the common danger. The differences subsisting between the two Companies were submitted to the arbitration of the Earl of Godolphin, whose award they agreed to receive as complete and final. This award was dated and published on the 29th September 1708, and operated to blend the whole of their separate properties into one stock. Their importance was thus immensely increased, and this may be considered the first great era in the Company's history.

S O N G.

Adapted to the Air of 'All's Well,' in the Opera of 'The English Fleet.'

I.

Waves crowded high in every sail,
 And proud top-gallants court the gale,
 When every cautious reef unbends,
 And high each royal yard ascends,
 As o'er the waves
 We foam along,
 Remembrance wakes
 Her magic song;
 And while before the breeze we steer,
 In plaintive notes, distinct and clear,
 Thy parting accents on mine ear
 Still lingering dwell,
 When torn from all that life holds dear,
 We wept—embraced—and sighed farewell!
 Farewell!
 Adieu, my life!—my love, farewell!

II.

When o'er the surface of the deep,
 In glassy calm its murmurs sleep,
 And not a breath of Zephyr's train
 Disturbs its still and tranquil reign;
 When billows cease
 Their sullen roar,
 And Ocean feels
 Their rage no more;

Song.

While Cynthia, with her silver rays,
 In dalliance on his bosom plays,
 Then fondly on her orb I gaze :
 While memory's spell
 Awakes the scenes of happier days,
 Ere, Love, to thee I bade farewell !
 Farewell !
 A long—and oh ! a sad farewell !

III.

And e'en when Winter's angriest storms
 The face of the Great Deep deforms,
 And every wave's impending gloom
 Prepares some weary seaman's tomb ;
 When forked fires,
 At midnight dark,
 Gleam wildly round
 Our shattered bark :
 E'en then I walk the dangerous deck,
 Mid scenes of tempest, death, and wreck,
 And hang in fancy o'er thy neck,
 Whose rising swell
 Subsides at chilling horror's check,
 As thus I bid a last farewell !
 Farewell !
 Above we'll meet—on earth, farewell !

IV.

But, see ! the welcome dawn appears,
 The storm abates—the dark scud clears :
 “ All hands aloft—fast breaks the gale,
 “ Cross all the yards—spread every sail ; ”
 The summons shrill
 The crew obey,
 And joyous hail
 The brightening day :
 Oh ! thus I think, while time shall flee,
 Some dawn of hope I yet may see,
 To waft me home, again, Love, with thee
 In joy to dwell ;
 And there—from every sorrow free,
 No more to hear the sound, farewell !
 Farewell !
 Oh ! haste blest hour—till then—farewell !

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.
No. I.

[It may perhaps be agreeable to many, who have already passed through such scenes as these Sketches from a Traveller's Journal will describe, to be reminded of past sources of pleasure; and it will probably be as acceptable to others who have not personally visited countries which all read of with delight, to participate occasionally in the impressions made on the mind of one who has enjoyed for himself that high and enviable gratification. Should there appear in them too warm an enthusiasm of feeling, and too frequent a recurrence of classical and historical recollections, occasionally interrupting the easy progress of the narrative, the reader will, it is hoped, attribute it to its true cause,—the highly excited state of feeling natural to the first efforts of an ardent mind endeavouring to retain and embody the crowd of impressions which overpower the heart of the young enthusiast at the moment of his bursting the barrier of his native land, and going forth to explore the treasures which his imagination gives to other regions, hitherto known to him only through the medium of poetry, fable, and romance. But while the spirit of these first impressions will be carefully retained, such attention will be bestowed on the details as to remove all that may be considered irrelevant to the subject immediately before the reader, and to interweave occasionally such notes and illustrations as the existing state of the countries principally described may render necessary.]

Voyage to the Straits of Gibraltar.

It was on one of the finest mornings of an English summer, in the month of June, that, in company with a friend who was about to explore the "farther East," and whose views and feelings were in perfect harmony with my own, I embarked at Portsmouth for a voyage to the "Straits," as the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea is called, *par excellence*, by all nautical men. We weighed from Spithead before noon, with the intention of proceeding through the Needles; but the wind failing us before sun-set, we were obliged to anchor off Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight. In the course of our passage along the shores of this beautiful island, we enjoyed some of the finest pieces of English scenery that are to be met with throughout her whole extent of coast. The luxuriant verdure, and the graceful slope of the northern shores descending to the sea, offered none of the wilder beauties of Scotland or Wales to our view; but, in their class and kind, nothing can be more pleasing than the continued series of rich and varied pictures presented by the edge of the coast at every change of position, and every fresh point of view.

At the moment of our anchoring, the whole surface of the watery expanse presented the appearance of a "molten sea" of liquid glass, and the stillness that reigned throughout the air added much to the solemnity and impressiveness of the scene. Some ships of war and smaller vessels, intending, with our own, to proceed through the narrow passage of the Needles, had, like ourselves, been obliged to anchor, and some of them were very near us. On the deck of one of these, we soon perceived a military band assembling, and heard the "note of preparation" with anxious and outstretched ear. They began at length to fill the air with harmony; and never do I remember to have felt with such intense delight the soothing and the soul-subduing power of music. The pieces chosen were those of a pensive and romantic character: so well suited to the feelings of the moment, in which hundreds of warm-hearted beings—all leaving behind them hopes and fears—all breaking asunder the dearest ties of kindred, friendship, and love—were assembled in one

spot by the accidental calm that obliged them to anchor for a few hours, as if to take a last look together of their native shores, and pour out in one common hymn of melancholy feeling, their warm, and, to many, their last adieu! We enjoyed, with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure, this "luxury of woe," unable to say whether the hopes of the future or the regrets of the past predominated in the conflict. The local features of the scenery by which we were surrounded, assisted powerfully to enhance the charm; and it seemed to us as if there had never been so appropriate an assemblage of images and feelings since the splendid passage of Collins was written,—every line of which was realized so perfectly in our existing situation, that we recurred to it involuntarily, and repeated it with increased pleasure:—

With eyes upraised, as one inspired,
Pale Melancholy sat retired;
And from her wild sequester'd seat,
In notes, by distance made more sweet,
Pour'd through the mellow horn her pensive soul;
And dashing soft from rocks around,
Bubbling runnels join'd the sound;
Through glades and glooms the mingled measure stole,
Or o'er some haunted stream with fond delay,
Round an holy calm diffusing
Love of peace, and lonely musing,
In hollow murmurs died away!

We passed through the Needles at midnight, and after a fine run, made Cape Finisterre on the 25th, and passed the Rock of Lisbon on the 27th of June. On the morning of this day, the weather being moderate and the wind southerly, we stood close in towards the land, and enjoyed a complete view of the Burlings, a cluster of islands to the northward of the rock. They appeared arid and unproductive, and are now uninhabited; though at one period they were made places of exile for Portuguese convicts. No danger is to be apprehended from a near approach to them, as they have bold shores, and are surrounded with deep water. As we stood along the coast southerly, with the wind at west, the face of the country presented more agreeable landscapes, diversified by villages and summer retreats, as well as by a superb palace of considerable extent, formed by a long range of buildings adorned with spires and domes. It was delightfully seated on the brow of a hill, commanding a complete view of the entrance to Lisbon, and advantageously situated to receive the refreshing coolness of the sea breeze. The extent and magnificence of this pile induced us to suppose it of royal foundation, or of religious institution, as nothing short of the funds of the state or the church could be adequate to the erection and support of so extensive and superb a building.

At noon we were nearly abreast of the Rock of Lisbon, whose rugged summit towers above the hills that surround it, and projects with boldness into the sea, presenting a strong rocky cape, that braves, unaltered, the whole fury of the western ocean; for though the united waves of the Atlantic foam almost incessantly against it, there are no traces of waste or destruction occasioned by their influence.

On the 28th, we approached close to Cape St. Vincent's, the promontory which terminates the western coast of Portugal, towards the south.

It is steep and rocky, and some of the adjacent cliffs present a striking appearance of oblique strata, which may be seen distinctly with a glass, in their separate veins. Immediately on the summit of the Cape, are a number of well-built houses, and an edifice resembling a castle. A little to the southward of this, stands the town and fortifications of Sagres, (on which we could distinctly discern the guards,) built by that illustrious patron of the naval character, Henry Duke de Viseo, in the reign of Alphonso III. about 1250. It was called the "Sainted Cape," in consequence of the bones of St. Vincent having been buried there, from whence they were conveyed to Lisbon by Alphonso I. The Portuguese poet, Camoens, in the third book of his *Lusiad*, adverts to this event:—

But holy rites, the pious king prefer'd,—
The martyr's bones on Vincent's Cape interr'd,
(His sainted name the Cape shall ever bear,)
To Lisbon's walls he brought with votive care.

The mountainous scenery of the back-ground, indistinctly appearing through the blue haze of distance, was beautifully picturesque.

The kingdom of Portugal, the ancient Lusitania, first submitted to the Carthagenians, and afterwards to the Romans. Its inhabitants are described to have been a kind of savages, by some of the Roman historians, who represent them as preferring to live by reprisals on their neighbours, rather than to cultivate the earth, although they were surrounded with every inducement in the fertility of their soil. Their manner of living was simple, and they were naturally brave. The Romans brought them into subjection rather by artifice than by force. Lusitania formerly produced gold in abundance, and even in modern times it has been found mingled with the sands of the Tagus; a circumstance that would alone account for its exciting the envy of other powers, in those ages in which the precious metals were deemed the only sources of wealth; for it was successively conquered by the Suevi, the Alans, and the Visigoths; after which, the Moors possessed it for a considerable time, until, by a union of the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, the King of France, and the King of Castile and Leon, they were defeated and driven out of Portugal. The throne was then usurped by the Spanish monarchs, in whose possession it remained until about 1640, when the Portuguese revolted under John Duke of Braganza, and were successful. This revolution (effected too without bloodshed) is said to have been excited by the courage of Braganza's wife, a woman of great natural endowments.

Although its early history appears to have been too slightly noticed, it certainly is not for want of materials. It might, without presumption, be said to have been the parent of commercial enterprise, and the nurse of maritime discovery; for it gradually arose to give laws to the submissive realms of India, and to direct the source of European commerce. The sceptre of the East, held by a precarious tenure, has since caused the prosperity or adversity of other nations, whilst Portugal remains a striking example, in the revolutions of its history, to humble the arrogance of high maritime power, and to moderate the excesses of great commercial aggrandisement. Yet no English writer of eminence has hitherto illustrated a subject of so much importance to a maritime kingdom as the rise and fall of this commercial power; although no lesson could be of greater national importance than such a history. The view of what

advantages were acquired, and what might have been still added, the means by which such empire might have been continued, and the errors by which it was lost, are particularly conspicuous in the naval and commercial history of Portugal.

It is impossible to revert to this subject without a vivid recollection of the Portuguese poem, '*Os Lusíadas*;' and equally impossible to think of the history of its unhappy author, Camoens, without feeling great contempt for the ingratitude of mankind. This poet, of whose merit the world still continues too insensible, was born at Lisbon about the year 1520. His father, the commander of a vessel (commanders were in those days *necessarily* men of science—alas! how changed!) was shipwrecked on the coast of Goa in Africa, and perished, with the greater part of his fortune. The son's education was completed by his mother, in the University of Coimbra. Soon after, while in retirement at Santarène, he began his epic poem on the discovery of India, which he continued during his military operations in Africa. In an action with the Moors off Gibraltar, he lost his right-eye, when among the foremost in boarding. After several years' service in Africa, he returned to Lisbon, and on leaving it for India, was heard to exclaim, in the monumental words of the Roman, Scipio Africanus, "*Ingrata Patria! non possidebis ossa mea!*" Thus, though he began his '*Lusíadas*' in Europe, the greater part was most probably written during the night, when encamped in Africa, or amidst the greater turbulence of the restless ocean. His ship being cast away on the coast of China, all that he had accumulated by enterprise was buried in the waves. His poem, like the '*Commentaries of Cæsar*,' was saved by the intrepidity of its author, who swam with it in his hands towards the shore! On printing it, the reigning monarch to whom it was dedicated, allowed him a pension, which his successor ungenerously cut off; and the remainder of his life was thus rendered wretched and miserable. It is recorded, that an old black servant, a native of Java, who had grown gray-headed in his service, and who doated on his master, literally begged in the streets of Lisbon, to support the life of Camoens, whom he had been also instrumental in saving from shipwreck. This was the fate of one who had deservedly acquired the title of the Lusitanian Homer, in whom the first judges of literary merit have declared the genius of Ovid, Virgil, Sophocles, and Pindar were united! and who, when resting from the bolder flights of epic strains, could tune his harp to gentler lays of love. Moore, in his beautiful epistle to Lord Strangford, from off the Azores, says:—

Dear Strangford! at this hour, perhaps,
Some faithful lover (not so blest
As they, who in their ladies' laps
May cradle every wish to rest)
Warbles, to touch his dear one's soul,—
Those madrigals of breath divine,
Which *Camoens*'s harp from rapture stole,
And gave all glowing warm to thine;
Oh! could the lover learn from thee,
And breathe them with thy graceful tone,
Such dear beguiling minstrelsy
Would make the coldest nymph his own!

The circumstances which led to the foundation of the town of Sagres,

on Cape St. Vincent, were these : Three years before the reduction of Ceuta, the Duke of Visco had sent a vessel to explore the coasts of Africa, which was the first voyage of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese. This attempt, rude as it now appears, was then pregnant with a series of alarms, particularly adapted to depress the resolution of seamen, who are always well versed in legendary horrors. Africa, from time immemorial, has been the land of wonders or fairy illusion, and though the industry of the 19th century may have removed many of the plausible theories that darkened the beginning of the 15th, we still have gained little more than a knowledge of its coasts ; and our ignorance even of that, however studiously it may be concealed, disgraces the charts of the first maritime power on the globe. The philosophic ideas of Cicero, who collected whatever had been approved by the ancients, were now become the errors of the vulgar ; and certainly the arguments that were capable of convincing the reason of so great a natural historian as Pliny, may be allowed to have had some weight on the minds of Portuguese seamen. They believed, therefore, that the middle regions of the earth, in the torrid zone, teemed with scorching vapours, and that the interior of Africa, as well as its coasts, were uninhabitable from intense heat. They are described, however, to have completed their voyage to Cape Bojador, and their success led them to more extensive projects. The systems which the narrow faculties of man frame in every age, and substitute for the sublime truths of nature, would here probably have repressed, at least for many years, the daring exploits of navigation, if the unprejudiced and clear mind of the Portuguese Prince had not dared to question the validity of the ancient sages, the most enlightened philosophers, and the most accurate geographers which Greece or Rome had produced. With a judgment matured by the conversation of various scientific men, whom his patronage had attracted in Africa, and with a mind enlarged by the perusal of every work which illustrated the discoveries he had in view, the Conqueror of Ceuta returned to Portugal. The high land of Cape St. Vincent, as he approached the coast, displayed the extensive command of an ocean hitherto unexplored ; and probably, a view of its cliffs, at a time when his mind glowed with future projects of discovery, might suggest the first idea of constructing his romantic town of Sagres on the *Promontorium Sacrum* of the Romans. At Sagres, his arsenals and dock-yards were built, while his presence stimulated their industry and skill. Under his auspices, the mariner's compass was brought into use, and the means of ascertaining the latitude and longitude partially understood. The *sea astrolabe*, a nautical instrument which derived its name from the armillary sphere invented by Hipparchus at Alexandria, was improved and introduced into the Portuguese service. Skilful mariners from all countries were encouraged to settle at Sagres, and a public school and observatory was established there by the Duke. It was impossible to pass a scene of so much interest without feeling a sort of veneration and regard for those whose names are associated with its history, and without rejoicing in the presence of a companion to participate in them.

At sun-set, we lost sight of the Cape ; and, on the following morning, approached the straits of Gibraltar, the far-famed Pillars of Hercules. By standing to the northward during the night, we were well over with the Spanish land in the morning, and closed in with the portion of a

large fleet that was now coming up under a press of sail. At noon, the breeze freshening from the westward, we opened the Rock of Gibraltar, and stood in for the Bay. Our passing close to Tariffa gave us a fine opportunity of observing that island, on which we saw a new light-house, lately erected by the Spaniards for the direction of vessels entering the Straits. As the Commodore of the fleet passed Europa Point, an exchange of salutes took place, which had a fine appearance, and the loud echo of the rock increased its effect. Several of the vessels also scaled their guns at the same time, which, added to the entrance of the fleet into the Bay under a crowd of canvass, formed a most interesting maritime scene.

As I cast my eyes upon the cloud-capped mountains that bounded our southern view, I could scarcely admit the evidence of my senses—when they pointed me to another quarter of this divided globe—when they told me that, though but a few days since I mingled in the dearest circle of polished Europe, I ~~now~~ looked upon the sterile ridges of barbarous Africa! A wide expanse of ocean rolled between myself and those I had left behind, and many suns would rise and set before even what I could address them would meet their eyes; yet, long and tedious as were the leagues that we had traversed since dear England faded from my view, I could with truth address it in the language of Goldsmith's Traveller:

Where'er I roam, whatever realms I see,
My heart untravell'd, fondly turns to thee;
Still ever homeward turns, with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthen'd chain.

LINES, SUGGESTED BY A PORTRAIT OF LORD BYRON.

Aye, gaze upon that brow,
That brow which towers an intellectual Alp,
Diadem'd with a pale eternity
Of thoughts' untrodden snow—round which high dreams,
Like Alpine eagles, seem to float amid
Inviolate solitude and sunshine! See
The troubled glory of that eye, where keeps
The soul her caverned oracle, and fills
The electric gloom with inspiration! Gaze
On the rich lip of passion and of power,
Whose every curl was moulded by strong thought
Like waters by the tempest!—Shrine superb,
Where late a more than kingly spirit found
A worthy dwelling!—

Men unborn will wish
To have drawn the breath of time with *him*,—as if
It were to inhale his immortality!

Crediton.

SOURCES OF REVENUE IN BRITISH INDIA.

In our examination of Mr. Tucker's Work on the 'Financial Situation of the East India Company,' we confined our observations to that portion of it which treated strictly of the subject of finance; reserving what we had to offer on the subsequent portion of the volume, which relates principally to the sources of revenue, until a future opportunity. That occasion having now arrived, we enter on our task.

Among the various sources of revenue in British India, the land-rent taken by its Government ranks as the principal. "From time immemorial," says Mr. Tucker, "the land has constituted the chief source of revenue in India; and for plain and obvious reasons: the habits of the great body of the people are simple and uniform; their diet is spare, and confined generally to a few articles of the first necessity,—rice, vegetables, fish, and the smaller grains; their clothing is scanty and mean; their habitations poor and unfurnished; what we term luxuries, are confined to the opulent few. In all this the keen eye of the financier could see nothing to touch; the objects were too minute and worthless, or too widely dispersed, to come fairly within his grasp, and he was compelled to have recourse to the expedient of taxing produce in the aggregate. Such is the land-tax." And such are the reasons assigned for taking nine-tenths of the produce of the soil from those whom we still dignify with the name of "proprietors." But we find that the "many" do not, however, escape from being taxed on articles of consumption, particularly that indispensable necessary of life, salt. It is hardly correct to say, that "luxuries" of a taxable nature are confined to the "opulent few," and, therefore, not available; since the natives of India are generally addicted to the use of spices, tobacco, and other intoxicating drugs; and we, in point of fact, manage to make opium and spirituous liquors yield a considerable income to the state.

After the land-tax, the monopoly of salt is next enumerated, as an important source of revenue; and it is defended as being a tax that is simple and easy of collection. But when the author had just described the people as reduced to live in so plain and miserable a manner, we are at a loss to conceive how he could imagine that a tax on an indispensable necessary of life—the only seasoning of their simple diet—raising the price of salt to ten times the cost of production before it reach the lips of the consumer, could be by them so little felt as to be almost insensible! We cannot possibly admire, with him, the "equality" of a tax which falls so heavily on an article alike necessary to the existence of the poor and of the rich. Besides the universal hardship upon the consumer, it is admitted, that the manufacture (of the salt, as an article of monopoly,) has been "the source of great misery to the inhabitants of the adjacent districts, who were often forced into the service, and compelled to expose themselves in the unhealthy marshes of the Sunderbunds, to the attacks of tigers and alligators, and to all the physical ills engendered by a pestilential climate. This grievance," continues Mr. Tucker, "has, I trust, been removed." The reason he assigns for this hope is, that "courts of justice have been established for all our Native subjects, and the wretched Molungees (or salt-makers) among the rest." Had the existence of these courts been a remedy for the evil, it would have been cured long ago;

but, according to our latest information, this has not yet been the case. Indeed, Mr. Tucker himself testifies to this, expressing his fear that the Molungees are still among the worst-conditioned of our subjects! He recommends that, instead of employing these men in situations where they may become the victims of ferocious animals, or fall a prey to disease, the manufacture should be transferred to the neighbouring coast of Coromandel, where it may be carried on advantageously, under a drier atmosphere and warmer sun. But while this vital commodity is manufactured for the behoof of the Government, under the management of its servants and Native agents, we are convinced that the greatest oppression will still continue to be practised on the people, and the most extensive fraud and extortion of every kind committed. From the statements given, it appears that the charges of manufacture, under the present system, are about one-third of the gross, and one-half of the net produce. The consumer, probably, pays about ten times the natural price of production, or at the rate of five rupees, for what should cost half a rupee at the salt-pans. In order to realize one million annually, we must drag double that sum out of the pockets of the people, and deprive many of an ingredient most essential to existence. The following paragraph of Mr. Tucker is well deserving of attention. He says:

"Our object ought to be, to draw our present income from a larger quantity; for *it is unquestionable* that the people do not consume as much salt as they desire to use; and we certainly have the power to place the article more within their reach, and to afford them a more liberal measure of indulgence, without any sacrifice of the present revenue."

But what security have the natives of India that their rulers *will* act upon just and liberal principles in *any* thing? The Company's Government at one time, we understand, (about the year 1814,) ordered the salt-agents to make *less* salt than usual, in order that the price might be kept up; upon the same principle as the Dutch burnt one half their spices, to enhance the value of the other half. Yet some of the Zumeendars, in Cuttack especially, were to pay their revenues in salt by stipulation, and were thus hindered from turning their lands to the best account. In short, a monopoly of one of the most indispensable necessities of life, is liable to such monstrous and cruel abuses, (especially in the hands of an irreclaimable despotism,) that it cannot be permitted to exist with safety. All monopolists are acquainted with the principle mentioned by Mr. Tucker, that, generally speaking, "price and profit increase in proportion as the quantity of the monopolized article sold is diminished." The monopoly of salt, therefore, is the greatest scourge that ever was inflicted on a country.

Mr. Tucker having defended the salt monopoly, because he thinks it expedient to have a tax on an article of universal consumption, then proceeds to vindicate the opium monopoly, chiefly on the ground, that opium is *not* a necessary of life. "The salt," he says, "is a tax levied upon our own subjects; the opium is a tax levied upon China, and the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago. Salt, if *not* an absolute necessary, is highly conducive to comfort and health. Opium, except when used as a medicine, is an intoxicating drug." So is wine; so is gin; so is beer; and consequently, by parity of reasoning, they should all, in like manner, be monopolized from the people of this country. "Hence," he argues, "the object should be, in the one instance, (that of salt,) to draw

the same revenue from the largest possible quantity; in the other, to draw the same revenue from the smallest possible quantity: and experience has shown, in the case of opium, that the amount of revenue is, in general, inversely as the quantity sold." But it appears that the Company have entertained the same opinion with regard to salt, and acted upon it, without the sanctified pretence, that they were thereby guarding the people from the pollution of intoxicating drugs! What would the people of England feel, if the Minister were to avow an intention to tax wines, and every other exhilarating beverage, to the utmost possible extent consistent with the safety of the revenue, for the benefit of their morals? Yet the East India Company gravely professes to have this pure regard for the morals of the Chinese and Polynesian nations. But the opium monopoly is a burden on our own subjects, as well as that of salt; and, as Mr. Tucker himself confesses, one trenching severely on the rights of property. "I cannot," says he, "get over one objection to which the monopoly is liable: namely, that the Government have been compelled, as a means of securing it, to prohibit the cultivation of poppy in particular districts, and thus to trench upon the rights of property. Yet," he adds, "even for this stretch of power, some excuse may be found; since the general use of an intoxicating drug is not only productive of physical evil, but is moreover calculated to have a prejudicial effect upon the morals and good order of society"! Therefore, "for the good of mankind," the East India Company seizes upon the whole profits of the cultivation of its own subjects, and has the opium *smuggled* into China, to benefit the morals of the subjects of his Celestial Majesty! Again, however, there is this salvo to the Company's conscience: "the Chinese are certainly made to pay very high for our opium; and they, in return," (or rather the *Company* itself,) "make us pay very high for their teas; but we scarcely can be said to do them an injury by raising the price so as to discourage the use of the drug, which, however excellent as a medicine, cannot be used habitually, or in excess, without injury to the individual who indulges in the habit." Such is the incomparable morality of the opium monopoly, which is confessed to rob the people among whom the commodity is cultivated, of the just use of their property, and to be smuggled into the hands of the consumer at an unnatural price!

The author ascribes the improvement in this branch of the revenue chiefly to the change in the system of management introduced by Lord Teignmouth. Formerly, the opium was supplied by contract, and is said to have been of inferior quality. This mode being then abolished, it came to be provided by public agents, enjoying a liberal commission on the sales, and the manufacture was confined to the districts more favourable to the growth of poppy. He says: "A *rigid* examination was establishing at the Presidency, to ensure the purity of the drug: its quality was rapidly improved; the confidence of the exporting merchant and foreign consumer was gradually secured; and, in the course of a few years, a chest of opium, bearing the Company's mark, passed among the Malays like a bank-note, unexamined and unquestioned." We believe this picture to be highly exaggerated, and that even when the drug was originally pure, it was often corrupted at second-hand. With regard to the "rigid examination" spoken of to ensure its purity, we have also our doubts; having perused a correspondence on the subject with the Bengal Government and Medical Board, in which it was proved, that the examiners in India

had no test whatever for accurately determining the quality, but merely pronounced upon it, in a loose way, from the taste, smell, or appearance, according to their fancy. The price has probably been raised chiefly by keeping the supply a good deal within the demand, which appears to be increasing. Thus, in 1823, the opium averaged the high price of 3090 rs. per chest, there being sold in that year 1000 chests less than the quantity usually disposed of. This has been generally from 4000 to 4500 chests annually, of which rather more than one half is supposed to be consumed in China; the rest in the islands of the Eastern seas. "Four thousand five hundred chests," says Mr. Tucker, "were heretofore supposed to be the largest quantity that could be disposed of with advantage; and after the consumption has probably increased, and is increasing, there are strong grounds for believing that we shall not consult the *interests of the revenue*, by extending the sales beyond that quantity." So, then, our moralizing monopolists *do* confess that they condescend to think of the interests of their revenue, and not of the interests of morality, in limiting the sale of the "intoxicating" drug, so pernicious to "the morals and good order of society." We are left to judge how far they are swayed by those philanthropic motives, and how much by the consideration, that "the proceeds of the sales have been in an inverse ratio to the quantity sold." By a statement given, we learn that the gross receipts on this article of monopoly amount to about ten or twelve times the cost of production; and that, latterly, it yields an income of about one million annually.

Mr. Tucker is of opinion, that this source of revenue is now rendered precarious, through the attempts lately made by the Bengal Government to introduce the monopoly into Central India, and, in general, to extend the cultivation. "Departing from the maxim heretofore acted upon, of circumscribing the produce, and of confining the manufacture to particular districts, supposed to be most favourably situated for the growth of the plant, they made large advances for its cultivation in Malwah, paid high prices for the drug, and otherwise held out every encouragement to the extension of the manufacture." This applies to Bengal, as well as to the "new territory," in which a field was opened for it by the successful termination of the war in 1818. He does not object to the despotism and injustice of forcing dependent states to give us this new monopoly of their produce, and of compelling their Zameendars and Ryots to cultivate opium for our benefit; but he thinks that (for our own sakes, *their* interests being out of the question) we should have *circumscribed* the cultivation in these new countries, or foreign states. The object of those thus encouraging production, is, to lower the price of the drug, and increase the quantity sold, so as to check foreign competition. Another blow to the moral system of circumscribing its use, is, that now the article is also "supplied for our own domestic occasions, and there seems to be no longer any intention to discourage the use of the drug by our Native subjects; although heretofore the utmost precaution was observed to prevent their obtaining it, even in the smallest quantity." The fear of foreign competition, should the opium be kept up at a monopoly price, is certainly not groundless; since the cultivation of the poppy has been successfully introduced into the Philippine Islands, so favourably situated for the trade, being placed in the very centre of the consumers. We may add, that Turkey opium is successfully sold in China and the Eastern Archi-

pelago; and, from its quality and price, is often preferred to the opium of India.

Of the Malwah cultivation little can be said, as it is yet in its infancy. More money having been advanced on its account than six times the amount paid for the whole produce of Bengal, Mr. Tucker thinks that both the quantity and the production-charges are to be much augmented. "We are to pay much more for it than the *natural price*, or cost of production in Bengal:" he means, of course, more than the present monopoly-priees of a forced cultivation. In extending the manufacture, he supposes the Bengal Government may assign two reasons: one, that they could not, with justice to the landholders, suppress the cultivation of the poppy in our own territory; the other, that we could not prevent the opium which is produced in the territories of the Native chiefs, from finding its way into the markets of consumption. The former reason, he admits, is plausible, and says: "I am no advocate for interfering with the free use of property; but we ought to be consistent: we peremptorily suppressed the cultivation of the poppy in the Bengal districts of Rungpore, Purneah, and Baugulpore, where it had been grown for ages, and where a permanent settlement of the revenue had been concluded with the landholders, limiting the public demand, and recognising *all* the rights of property." The more shame for those who so violated public faith and private rights; but shall we, therefore, act the same scene of iniquity over again, and to *new* subjects in *new* countries, because we did it in the old? What are we to think of a moralizer, who tells people they have done wrong, and then exhorts them to be consistent in wickedness! After having done all this, without any qualms of conscience, "YET," says Mr. Tucker, "we *hesitate* about doing the same thing in places where opium had not been cultivated before, where no settlement has been made, and where, consequently, it is open to the Government to make any arrangements they may *think proper* with the occupants of the soil. Is not this," he says, "to strain at the goat after having swallowed the camel?" After this strange mode of "backing his friends," he musters up an excuse even for the perpetration of the former deed of superior voracity—it was a "natural desire" to preserve an important branch of revenue; and, as usual, the whole is smoothed over with the plaster of morality; an allusion being lastly made to the preservation of "good order" in society! To do away with the competition, from the opium of the native states finding its way to the market, he proposes to clog it with high transit duties, or to declare the article contraband. This expedient, though not "perfectly satisfactory" to him, he justifies by the example of Great Britain interdicting French lace, China crape, and India breccades! But the cases are widely different; for in excluding these things, as we have a right to do, from our own territories, we do not forbid them to find a market in other parts of the world. Whereas, the maxim of these monopolists is, that of those sorts of Indian produce in which they deal, *none* should be sold *at all*, except their own, either at home or abroad!

Another evil attributed by the author to the operations for obtaining opium from Malwah, is, that the rate of exchange between Bombay and Bengal had been injured by the amount of bills negotiated, upon the latter being now larger than the trade could supply. "Formerly," he observes, "in supplying the limited resources of Bombay, &c., every thing had

been *so regulated*, that the Government of India gained invariably upon almost all its exchange-transactions, and the difference of exchange had become no inconsiderable source of income." How "*regulated*"? we would ask. If the Government of India everywhere gained by the sale of its bills, this must have been because it was the only or chief drawer, and because a large balance of exchanged commodities was everywhere against the Company's settlements, whence bills, remittances, and returns of them, were needful. The change complained of, either shows, 1st, That this balance is now gone, or changed in favour of the settlements, whence fewer bills are wanted for remittance; or, 2dly, it shows that other persons besides the Government's servants were granting bills on the Company's settlements, and so, by causing competition, lessening the profit of all drawers.

He observes, with "regret," that even the remittances to China have not, of late, been effected with the same advantages as heretofore, and that the supercargoes have been obliged to call for remittances in specie. The explanation of this, no doubt, is, that the exports of goods from Bengal to China must have been greater heretofore than the returns of goods. Hence bills were wanted to remit the balance; and the Company's supercargoes only, on account of their Europe investment, were drawing on Bengal; while every one else were remitting, and glad to pay high for Company's bills. Now, either the returns from China to Bengal must equal the exports from the latter, whence bill-returns are not called for; or the imports of goods from China to Bengal exceeds the exports, and no one wants bills on Calcutta, but rather the reverse; and supercargoes lose on the bills they are forced to draw to pay the Europe investment. In this case, others besides the supercargoes are drawing bills on Calcutta; and we are happy to say, that all these things are indications of an improving commerce in the reciprocal exchange of goods, unless both exports and imports have dwindled away, which no one avers. Thus, it is the course of trade, and no individual or company of opium-mongers, that has the merit of "*regulating*" the rate of exchange.

We have already devoted so much space to this deleterious article of revenue, that we have hardly room to say any thing of his remarks on the *abkarry*, or tax, on spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs. "*The abkarry*," he says, "*was established by us upon a regular footing, partly with a view to objects of police, partly for the purpose of drawing a revenue, at the same time that we discouraged and checked the bad habits of our Native subjects.*" Here, again, morality happily steps in to our assistance, and we see the picture of the philanthropic tax-gatherer performing his functions, supported by the censor on the one hand, and the thief-catcher on the other. When this admirable trio walks forth to recall the people from the evil of their ways, a strange confusion and opposition of duties take place. Gin-shops are licensed, that they may become a den and a snare to rogues and vagabonds; spirits are sold there, to attract them into our net, that they may be caught. But again, a heavy duty is laid on the liquors, to discourage their use, for the sake of morals and health! Should there be no tippling, then there would be no revenue, no rogue-catching; give us plenty of revenue, and then we shall also have police benefits; but adieu to morals and health. The result of the operations of this Holy Triple Alliance is,

that duties, drunkenness, and disorder, have gone on and prospered, hand-in-hand. Under our *moral* system, the natives of India are making rapid progress in the *virtue* of dram-drinking, which was formerly, and still is, by the great body of that people, regarded as the most disgusting of vices. And it is a lamentable fact, that the Company's system is calculated to diffuse among its subjects almost nothing European, except that which were better unlearned. "In the Hindoo Zumeendarry of Nuddea," says Mr. Tucker, "I have heard that not a single shop existed until we licensed the vending of spirituous liquors and drugs; and at present not a village could be pointed out in which such a shop would not be found. The license of Government gave a sort of public sanction to the practice, and the disgrace incurred by individuals was diminished by being participated by their rulers"! He consequently condemns the whole abkarry system; but as it has introduced among the people habits which he fears cannot be eradicated, he thinks it could not now be abolished without great violence; yet, that we might have at least refrained from supplying, as has been lately done, a large quantity of opium for domestic consumption.

He seems to view the tax levied on pilgrims resorting to Hindoo temples, rather as a matter of bad taste than as liable to any serious objection. He just before regrets that the sanction of the rulers had served to foster vice. It is surely no less disgraceful to patronize a bloody superstition, and reap the fruits of it; or for a Christian Government to become enlisted by its interests in support of Pagan idolatry. What are we to expect of those who are willing to derive revenue from so foul a source?

After expressing his opinion generally, that an excise is inapplicable to the state of India, excisable commodities being so thinly scattered that its collection would be attended with disproportionate expense, he mentions that such a thing, however, had been often contemplated with regard to tobacco, which seemed to promise best; and that this "project of taxing it has lately been resumed." For what purpose has it been resumed, when we have a surplus revenue? There is, unfortunately, no acknowledged limit to the Company's demands, but the possibility of extracting more, and every thing proves its appetite for revenue to be insatiable. Attempts had been made, he adds, to introduce other objectionable taxes, but they had been abandoned "*before* the obnoxious impost had produced, as it threatened to do, a serious ferment and popular commotion." It happens, however, that they were not abandoned *before*, but *after*; and that, too, in the good Lord Minto's time.

The next source of revenue noticed, is the stamp duties, which Mr. Tucker characterises as a tax "little suitable to the character and habits of our Native subjects." Among the objections enumerated are, that it is very expensive in collection—extremely vexatious to the people—fraught with great temptations to fraud—and harassing to the fair dealer, by throwing a doubt over all contracts. But these objections are all trivial, compared with the grand one, that the stamp duties operate as a TAX UPON JUSTICE, are oppressive to the poor, and favourable to the richer suitor. "He," says Mr. Tucker, "who had to deposit his judicial fee on entering his suit, was also required to add to it the price of a stamp. Now, one direct tax (on justice) was certainly enough, (too much,) at a time; and it certainly tended little to the credit of our

Government, to send away an ignorant Native, several miles, perhaps, in search of a stamp, before he was allowed to present a petition. This ground of reproach," he adds, "has, *I believe*, been removed." Now we believe the contrary, though it was written against in the Indian newspapers, *while the press enjoyed some freedom*, and no one ever defended it. Notwithstanding this host of objections, all acknowledged to exist, the author concludes as usual, by finding something to palliate, to "reconcile us to the continuance of the tax;" and this is, that it has lately become more productive, and it *may* be a sign of increasing wealth among the people! Thus, every burden laid upon these happy people is attended with its peculiar blessings. One is the touchstone of their riches; another improves their health, and a third their morals; while a fourth, though it forces them to eat their rice without salt, has the blessed quality of saving them from the visits of the tax-gatherers;—so tenderly does the Company watch over the comfort and happiness of its subjects.

According to the statements given, the stamps yield a gross revenue of about twenty lacs annually, and the charges of collection are as high as forty per cent., a useless sacrifice of public wealth, forming a weighty addition to all the other evils of this grievous impost.

In treating of the last branch of revenue—the customs, we have great satisfaction in seeing Mr. Tucker advocating warmly freedom of trade, and the removal of those checks which now weigh down the commerce of Asia with Europe. "The manufacturers of India," he observes, "have had to struggle, of late years, against desperate odds; and the powers of machinery threaten soon to annihilate them altogether. It would be idle in the people of that country to complain of the introduction of machinery, which must be regarded as one of the greatest improvements of the age; and it would be not less so to attempt to counteract its effects by bounties and protecting duties, even if India possessed the power to legislate for herself." (No one ever thinks of asking such protection: all we want for her is fair play, and no peculiar advantage over others.) "But our Indian subjects have just cause to complain of being treated as *aliens*, in our own system of commercial policy; and if the stream of wealth which has flowed into the mother-country should *become languid*, or *altogether fail*, it will be no more than the natural result of those restricted measures which seem to say, 'YOU SHALL NOT PROSPER, EITHER FOR OUR BENEFIT OR YOUR OWN.' The people of India are British subjects, and they have claims to something beyond the *privilege* of paying twenty-two millions sterling in annual revenue!"

After saying that the Government abroad has always been attentive to the interests of commerce, and solicitous to promote the *external trade* of the country, he adds, that double rates are levied on foreign bottoms and on foreign produce. Liberality to rival merchants, is, certainly, the last species of virtue we should expect to be claimed for the East India Company, as its very existence is, and has been, the greatest obstacle to freedom of trade which exists in the whole world. The internal commerce of India is obstructed by the great monopolies of salt and opium, which give rise to continual search and annoyance. Goods are detained in transitu, for examination by custom and salt and opium officers, who must be vested with large powers on purpose, and will not omit the numerous opportunities of levying a tax for their own behoof. So

invincible is this evil in India, that a villager can scarcely bring a basket of fruit for sale into Calcutta, without being mulcted by the police-officers on the stations surrounding the city; (we state this as a notorious fact;) and when such cruel oppression takes place, almost under the very eyes of our Supreme British Court of Justice, what are we to expect of the Company's Courts in the interior, where extortion may flourish with so much greater security? It would present a scene of iniquity too dreadful to be contemplated, too monstrous to be allowed, if the suppression of all public discussion did not envelop it in thick darkness; so that the wretched sufferers may gnash their teeth unseen and unpitied.

The Bengal customs, including those of the ceded territory, yield a gross produce of upwards of eighty lacs of rupees annually, and those of Madras four or five lacs; the charges of collection being, in the former case, about twelve or thirteen, and, in the latter, as high as thirty per cent.,—a rate which is quite enormous. The natural fertility of Bengal enables its inhabitants to exist under their galling load; but the Madras territory, with its starving population, exhibits the Company's system in all the perfection of its miserable consequences.

We should have proceeded to the consideration of the land revenue; but we reserve this for a future Number, as it forms an essential part of another subject,—the Ryotwarry and Zumeendarry systems, which we mean to discuss. We shall at present, therefore, conclude by observing, that after minutely considering every part of Mr. Tucker's work, which is put forth avowedly for the purpose of proving the flourishing state of the Company's finances, we find in it the clearest evidences that they are, and have been, in a state of continual dilapidation; and that the mode in which they are recruited, while it degrades and impoverishes the people, must, if persevered in, ultimately exhaust the country, fertile and productive as it might be made under a better system of government than that which now oppresses it.

Sismondi, in the '*Revue Encyclopedique*,' says, we sweep the entire net produce of the earth into our coffers. The admirable author of '*Colonial Policy*, as applicable to British India,' pronounces the same opinion. Colebrooke and Lambert admit the same thing; so does Buchanan, Wilks, Munro, and all the Madras and village-system-mongers, and those who would have no intermediate hand between themselves and the cultivator, to intercept one fraction of the rent extorted from the miserable *métayer* on $\frac{1}{3}$ produce. But we are not content with taking *all* that remains after wages of labour, expense of seed and tillage, culture and collection, have been defrayed: we force them also to purchase of us, and at our own prices, articles of primary necessity—even salt itself—at 800 or 1000 per cent. on the price of production!! Opium we also monopolize at even a higher rate, and cant about its being an intoxicating drug, while we smuggle it into China; nay, we are so jealous about the little outlets of our monopoly, that we have forced our allies in central India, —Sindiah, Holkar, and, we believe, the Nizam—to give us the monopoly of all the opium made in their lands, and so to intercept the profits of the owners and tillers of the ground, and of the little capitalists of Gualior, Oujain, Indore, and the Deccan. The history of the salt monopoly is a monstrous record of avarice and hypocrisy, and it is fit the public should know its details and history, which it soon shall do, if we live. Our

Mohammedan predecessors, whose "rapacious," hard-hearted "tyranny" we are so ready to condemn, only took a very trifling tax on salt;—(see Colebrooke and Lambert;) but we have brought it to what it now is, after going to war—the dreadful one of 1764—with Cossim Ally, the Nabob of Bengal, because he would not continue this light tax on his Native subjects; while the English, trading under their dustuck, were exempt from it, and so monopolized the internal commerce. We may talk with flattering self-complacency of the enlightened and liberal principles of European policy; but Mr. Russell, late Resident at Hyderabad, gives a very different account of the comparative oppressiveness of the two systems. For ourselves, judging by what has now and then come to light, after some dreadful convulsion, we believe, that in many, very many of our provinces, the oppression, extortion, and exaction, from even the poorest Natives, committed by the Native dependents of our English gentlemen, too high in station, too inaccessible, to pry into the mismanagement of those about them, at least equal, perhaps exceed, the extortions of the Mohammedan subordinate officers who went before us. From the poor cultivator, who wrings from the earth only a bare subsistence, who can take more than *all*? One only good there is in our system which was not in that of the Mohammedans,—that the connexion with England, when the debasing and demoralizing Charter shall expire, may ultimately pour into the country good principles, capital, industry, and talent; in short, civilization. Meanwhile that good is yet to come, and *now* India is overgrown with an accumulation of laws which, when, as in this case, uncodified and undigested, in time become so vast and so rooted as to be beyond improvement, or purification, or method; while the grand object of the Company and its servants, instead of their views being principally directed, as those of all rulers ought to be, to the amelioration of their subjects, is to invent new modes of draining off their wealth, not for the legitimate charges of Government, but to swell the amount of iniquitous tribute called surplus revenue.

407

TYRTEAN AIRS.

NO. III.

See the hateful blight that falls, &c.

SEE the hateful blight that falls
Round dungeon and round palace walls,
Where man's wretched reptile crawls
Beneath the foot of Tyranny!

The softest rays from beauty shed,
The bays that wreath the poet's head,
The honour won in battle red
Beneath the wings of Victory;

All, all their sweetest savour lose;
And, worthless as the cankered rose,
Nor sweeten life, nor grace its close:—
Such is the curse of Slavery!

BION.

ON THE CHARACTER OF MARCUS BRUTUS.

Seize then, my soul! from freedom's trophied dome
 The harp which, hanging high between the shields
 Of BRUTUS and LEONIDAS, oft gives
 A fitful music to the breezy touch
 Of patriot spirits that demand their fame.

SOUTHEY'S JOAN OF ARC.

Marcus Brutus étoit le plus grand Républicain que l'on vit jamais.

BAYLE.

THE mind that feels itself drawn, by any strong attraction, towards virtue, naturally looks abroad among its contemporaries, and among the personages of history, to discover, if possible, some great character, approximating in tone and qualities to itself. When it imagines it has found such a character, a glow of feeling something resembling friendship arises, and seems ever after to subsist, and to be strengthened perpetually by a secret recurrence to the illustrious name. There is something, indeed, extremely noble in the intercourse of our imaginations with the *manes* of the dead, which purifies the soul from all the meaner passions, and much more surely nerves and fortifies it against suffering, than most of those actual connexions which obtain the name of friendship in the world. The reason is very plain: a man, when he has all the great of the past world before him, will hardly choose to place his admiration upon a common character; for, as we all have a good opinion of ourselves, he would not think that such a character resembled himself in the least. His choice will rather be directed towards a man, who, resembling him in small matters, possessed, moreover, very great qualities, and whose character, therefore, must always remain a fine subject for imitation. Young men who read Plutarch very early are sure to find a favourite amongst his heroes; for his work is a kind of banquetting-room, in which you sit down to table with the most illustrious men of all ages: some of these guests, however, are bad men, some good, and some range about the "golden mean," being neither bad nor good. For our part, we felt, as soon as we were acquainted with Plutarch, a strong predilection for Marcus Brutus; and although we have since heard a good deal said against him, it has not been of a nature to make us change our opinion. We flatter ourselves, therefore, that our notions of this old Roman's character will not be unacceptable to the reader, although they should appear singular, and somewhat tinged with the rust of antiquity. It has always appeared to us that the popular institutions of Greece and Rome were very favourable to the development of personal greatness, being a kind of rich soil in which humanity shot up, like a cedar on Lebanon, into the very heights of heaven. There was not, in fact, any thing, in those states, between man and God; the sense of sovereignty and power circulated like his blood through the veins of the citizen; it was present to his mind upon all occasions; and Xenophon adduces it to the ten thousand as a reason why they should beat the Persians, that they did not, like them, acknowledge any earthly master. In looking back upon antiquity, however, we should recollect that *all* was not like what remains; but every thing that was perishable having been

laid waste by the tide of time, the few forms which still survive, and which we discover by the light of history standing above the reach of its waves, like the vast idols of Egypt towering over the waters of the inundation, are such as will be co-lasting with the world. They are become a part of nature, and must be imperishable, like her. The time, therefore, which we spend in making ourselves familiar with these ancient characters, is very far from being misemployed, as they seem to shed around them an odour of virtue that refreshes the mind.

The history of Marcus Brutus is much too well known to render it necessary for us to enter into any detail of his actions; our object is, to look at his character. If this could be done without referring at all to what he did, there would be no temptation to relate any thing after Plutarch, which must render a man liable to be made the subject of a disadvantageous comparison. But, except through his actions, we have no means of knowing him; and, on this account, must refer perpetually to matters of history, which the reader will of course remember well enough, but which we must sometimes repeat, in order that we may not appear to give imperfect views of things.

There are strong reasons for believing that Marcus Brutus was descended from that Brutus who expelled the kings from Rome. Dionysius of Halicarnassus endeavours, it is true, to prove that he could not be descended from him, and adduces this reason, amongst others—that the younger Brutus was a plebeian, and Lucius Junius a patrician. But this is not decisive, as there were many examples of patrician families becoming plebeian. Suetonius instances, amongst others, the Octavian family. The reason generally was, that such families desired the possession of the tribuneship, which could not be held by a patrician. However this may be—and it is not of much consequence—it was the opinion of Cicero, and of the Roman people in general, that Marcus Brutus derived his race from the old Junian stock. To confute the vulgar notion that he was Cæsar's son, it will be sufficient to mention that Cæsar was only fifteen years old when he was born, and did not become acquainted with his mother, Servilia, until many years afterwards. His father, whose name also was Marcus Junius Brutus, having been put to death by Pompey, he was left, at a very early age, to the care of his uncle Cato, who provided him masters to instruct him in learning and philosophy. His attachment to the Stoic sect arose, very probably, from this connexion with his uncle; but he did not entirely embrace the doctrines of Zeno: his philosophy was a mixture of the system of the Old Academy with that of the Portico. His love of knowledge was intense, he studied the doctrines of all the philosophers, and understood them thoroughly; he was fond, also, of oratory, and entertained in his house not only philosophers, but orators, as well as some young men who had studied rhetoric with him. He married the daughter of Appius Pulcher, when he was very young, but their union appears to have been unhappy: for when Cato's daughter, Portia, became a widow, he made use of the facilities afforded by the laws of his country, to obtain a divorce, was separated from his first wife, and married his cousin. Portia appears to have been a wife worthy of him; a similar education had fitted them for each other, and the happiness they enjoyed, when at length united, is a strong testimony in favour of the law of divorce, as it existed amongst the Romans.

It was not, however, for domestic happiness, or a life of study, that Brutus had been born: the republic was verging towards its dissolution, and that field of honour and renown, in which he was preparing himself to gather those laurels that are only to be gained in a free state, was rapidly devastated by the most terrible civil wars. Cæsar and Pompey were now drawing the forces of the commonwealth into two parts; and the soldiers, on whichever side they stood, appeared to forget the republic, in their attachment to their chiefs. But Pompey was certainly the general of the state, and Cæsar a rebel; and for this reason, Brutus experienced no difficulty in determining to join Pompey, although he was his private enemy, while Cæsar was known to entertain a strong friendship for him. This action is an index to his whole character. Pompey had killed his father, on which account there was the most deadly hatred between them, Brutus shunning and showing his aversion for him on all occasions. Cæsar loved him exceedingly, and was, in return, beloved by him; yet, when these two men came to make war upon each other—when they came to stand up, one for their common country, the other for himself, private affection had no weight with Brutus, he joined his enemy against his friend, *because his enemy's cause was the more just*. If any man's whole soul was ever absorbed by patriotism, it was Brutus's upon this occasion.

When Brutus came to join Pompey in his camp in Macedonia, the latter was so overjoyed at the unexpected event, "that he rose to embrace him in the presence of his guards, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his superior." The camp was necessarily a scene of much confusion, as they were preparing for the battle of Pharsalia, and as every heart was agitated by musing on the uncertainty of the event: the season of the year, also, was summer, and the heat excessive; yet Brutus calmly pursued his studies, and, on the very evening before the battle, employed himself in abridging Polybius. The event of this action, the escape of Brutus from the camp when Cæsar was storming it after the battle, his hiding in a marsh among the reeds, his flight to Larissa, and subsequent reconciliation with Cæsar, the reader will remember from Plutarch; but there is a circumstance connected with this reconciliation which must be noticed, as it is one of those things for which Brutus has been blamed. It appears, when Pompey had fled towards the sea, and escaped with his fleet, that various opinions were entertained by Cæsar's friends concerning the country in which it was probable he would take refuge, some conjecturing one route, and some another. Things standing thus, Cæsar went out of his tent with Brutus, and, as they walked about the camp, contrived to discover *his opinion* on the subject: finding that he supposed Egypt would be the country, Cæsar slighted the conjectures of his other friends, and prepared to lead his forces in that direction. Now, it has been pretended, that in disclosing to Cæsar his suspicions regarding the retreat of Pompey, Brutus was guilty of a serious fault. We think he has been completely exculpated by Bayle. "In the first place," says that author, "Pompey had not confided to him in any manner the secret of his retreat; secondly, it was not possible for him to conceive how he could render worse the unhappy destiny of the fugitive by communicating his conjectures to Cæsar; besides, it is likely that he looked upon Egypt to be an asylum of such strength as would deter the conqueror from going thither to attack the great Pompey."

The republic being now in the hands of Cæsar, Brutus was appointed Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, where, by the wisdom and humanity of his administration, he made some amends to the inhabitants for the injuries they had suffered during the civil wars. Many of the young nobility repaired to him from Rome. He entertained them courteously, and by this means the number of his friends was rapidly increased; for all they who loved the republic, loved Brutus.

During the whole interval which elapsed between the battle of Pharsalia and Cæsar's death, we observe Brutus assiduous in the discharge of his duty, and aspiring to the lawful honours of the state. He composed a panegyric on his uncle and father-in-law, Cato, which Cæsar affected to consider a very poor performance. His literary works were, indeed, numerous: he abridged the Roman history of Fannius, and also that of Antipater, he wrote a work *De Officiis*, and another *De Virtute*, which is mentioned by Cicero and Seneca, and Diomedes speaks of one *De Patientia*. But all these are lost. The materials for judging of the learning and eloquence of Brutus, which time has spared, are therefore peculiarly scanty; there now remaining nothing of his, except a few Latin letters published along with those of Cicero, and a small number in the Greek language, which have been given to the world in a separate form. From the testimony, however, of his contemporaries, and of those ages immediately following, (which possessed his works,) we have learned that his genius was not inferior to his virtue; that in learning he surpassed all the young nobility of Rome; that his philosophy was most enlightened, his taste refined and severe. Even Cicero's eloquence did not come up to his notions of oratory: he required something more close and vehement, having formed his conceptions from Demosthenes. The character of his mind, and the tone of his philosophy, had infused a peculiar rigour into his own manner of speaking, which is said, upon one occasion, to have terrified Cæsar, and to have given him the first suspicion of the fierceness of Brutus's temper. Earnestness and gravity were the prevailing features in his discourse; the expression of his desires evinced the most intense energy; and, as the fire of truth flashed perpetually through his periods, he disdained the petty flourishes of an artificial rhetoric. The oratory of Cicero could not but appear too diffuse and showy to so stern a cultivator of eloquence; especially as, while truth alone was his own aim, Cicero's often terminated in persuasion. The mind of Brutus may be compared to a steed in the Olympic contests, which, having to run a race of glory, sees only the goal, and bounds towards it with invincible energy; Cicero's to the same steed, covered with triumphal trappings, pawing the ground with pride, and listening with evident delight to the applauding shouts of the spectators. Cicero frequently indulged his genius in lively digressions and puns that upset the gravity of the senate. He was sometimes merry at the expense of the stoics, and drew a caricature of their *wise man*, which forced a smile even from Cato himself. Brutus relished nothing of this. His genius was argumentative and sublime: his chief figures of speech were candour and patriotism; and as he waved his hand on the rostrum, the Roman people imagined they saw truth itself enveloped in the folds of the toga. His letters breathe the same spirit. In the midst of great grandeur of thought, there is in them throughout an affectionate commiseration for

the weaknesses and misfortunes of mankind. The style is suitable: brief, strong, perspicuous; without art, and without affectation.

If we carry our examination further, and observe the unfolding of his character in the relations of private life, the disappointment by which the looking upon great men in this point of view is usually attended, will not meet us here. His philosophy was, it is granted, of a rigid cast; but there does not appear to be any necessary connexion between a stern philosophy and unamiable manners. It indeed appears quite evident that Brutus made choice of the stoic dogmas as a corrective of his too gentle disposition: for, as Dr. Middleton observes, "he was very often forced, by the tenderness of his nature, to confute the rigour of his principles." Accordingly, he was exceedingly beloved; and it is equally honourable, both to himself and to his connexions, that, during all his misfortunes, he was not deserted by a single friend. This was singular good fortune in the times in which he lived, when it was common for men to sup with one party, and be found next morning at breakfast amongst their enemies. Brutus's friends were, indeed, a remarkable circle; and that could have been no ordinary virtue which enabled him to bind them to himself. They not only preserved their attachment to him, however, during his life, but after he had fallen, when it was injurious to their fortunes to appear to have loved him. It is true, they were so numerous, and possessed of so much weight and ability, that the proper operation of government was hardly compatible with their total exclusion from power. Octavius, therefore, felt himself compelled by his situation to feign a degree of affection for Brutus's friends. Hypocrisy, however, cost him but very little: he understood his interest, and "*tolerated*," as Plutarch beautifully expresses it, "*the public respect which was paid to Brutus's memory.*" Presuming upon this toleration, Messala, the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæsar, (Augustus,) took occasion to recommend Strato to his favour: "This," said he, with tears, "is the man who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus."—Strato had assisted Brutus in putting an end to his life.

By his choice of friends, a man's character may almost always be known; for it is in every one's power to choose virtuous friends, or to remain without any. Cæsar, as Cicero observes, was not nice in selecting his intimates; he indeed acknowledged that he preferred bad men who would do any thing to promote his designs, to those virtuous persons who possessed untractable consciences; and Plato reproaches Dion with having chosen unprincipled men for his associates. But all allow that Brutus selected his friends with judgment; at all events he possessed the affection of great men, who were faithfully attached to him and his cause. As long as any of these survived, a degree of respect for his memory was kept up; but, as soon as the diadem of the Cæsars glittered over the broken fasces of the republic, it was clearly perceived that his name was destined to be covered with opprobrium. In the reign of Tiberius, Cremutius Cordus was accused, before the senate, of high treason, for having written an eulogium on Brutus and Cassius. In his defence, he sheltered himself behind the example of the historian Livy, and of Messala Corvinus the orator; both of whom, though living under Augustus, had spoken with becoming enthusiasm of their noble deeds. After such a defence, however, Cremutius did not think it safe to live, and therefore forestalled the executioner by a voluntary death. From

this instance of suicide, and from many others in the early books of Tacitus's *Annals*, it seems that the contempt of life, evinced in an extraordinary manner by the people of those times, arose entirely from a despair of freedom. Having from the cradle framed their minds for the exercise of liberty, tyrannical restraint was so intolerable to them, that they willingly laid down their lives to escape from it. The example also of Brutus and Cato had much influence in recommending suicide, which, if ever excusable, was excusable in the Romans of those days.

But to proceed: as soon as it was perceived that to speak favourably of Brutus and Cassius was hateful, and to speak abusively, agreeable to the Emperors, all they who hoped for preferment at court, were loud in their clamours against them. As it was not possible to charge them with any specific crimes, calumny was compelled to shroud itself in general expressions: they were called "villains," "assassins," "parricides," &c., and the echo of these clamours appears still to sound in the ears of mankind. Of course, these opprobrious terms could be applied to Brutus and Cassius only, with reference to their putting of Cæsar to death. This action has not yet been irrecoverably referred to its class, men still disputing about the justice or injustice of it. Before we proceed to say what we think on that head, we will beg leave to remark, that men have an inveterate propensity to judge of every thing by the event. Had Brutus succeeded in restoring the republic, even at the expense of Cæsar's life, there is no question but that they who are now most noisy in their condemnation of him, would have applauded his patriotism to the skies. Do not historians, indeed, constantly praise that Scipio who killed Tiberius Gracchus? Is he ever styled "murderer," "assassin," "parricide," &c. No; but Gracchus was ranged on the side of popular rights; and it appears that little sorrow would be felt by the writers of whom we are speaking, if all such men were despatched in the same way. Cæsar aimed at subverting the government of his country, or rather, had subverted it. Brutus's aim was the restoration of that government. He was therefore the enemy of *innovation*—the champion of *establishments*. Can his enemies see nothing good in this? Oh, no! the government he laboured to restore was republican, and they find nothing good in any thing but despotism. Well, but what if he had succeeded in re-establishing the republic? What then?—why, in doing so, he might have changed the destinies of the world. Civilization might have ran on in one uninterrupted career from that time to this, and the progress of society have been advanced a thousand years. There is no man living who has not, as it is, received benefit from the death of Cæsar. Had Antony and Lepidus and Octavius fallen with him, Roman liberty might have lasted some centuries longer, until the world had been prepared to catch the flame from the capitol; in which case, we should have appeared to owe more than we now do, to Brutus. But we are unjust: he could not possibly foresee that Hirtius and Pansa would be slain; that Antony and Octavius and Lepidus would unite; that Cicero would mistake the character of Octavius, and overwhelm him with honours; and, unless he could have foreseen all this, he would not have been justified in cutting off Antony, or Lepidus, or Octavius.

But that he *was* justified in killing Cæsar, we proceed to prove: it is quite clear, from the universal testimony of antiquity, that an opinion prevailed in all the old republics, that any citizen might lawfully kill a

tyrant; through this belief, Harmodius and Aristogeiton slew Hipparchus at Athens; Ahala, Sp. Melius, who did but aim at tyranny, at Rome; and, among the Jews, we find Ehud assassinating the Moabish King, and Jehoiadab taking off Athaliah, with other examples innumerable. At the close of the seventh book of his politics, Aristotle gives a practical illustration of the effect of this opinion in Greece. He observes, that tyrannies were never durable; and then goes on to enumerate such as might have been supposed to militate against his doctrine. "The most lasting tyranny," says he, "on record, was that of Orthagoras and his sons at Sicyon. It continued a hundred years"! The second example given, is that of Cypselus and his family at Corinth, which lasted seventy-seven years and six months. The third, that of the Peisistratidæ at Athens, continued only thirty-five years. The Greeks, we see, knew how to put their opinions in practice. "They were animated," said Montesquieu, "with a predominating love of their country, which, overstepping the ordinary rules of crimes and virtues, listened to that alone, and saw neither citizen, nor friend, nor benefactor, nor father; virtue seemed to forget, in order to surpass herself; and the action which might at first be disapproved as sanguinary, was, through her influence, admired as divine"!

This sentiment was embodied at Rome into a law. Upon the expulsion of the Tarquins, the Romans, experiencing the delights of freedom, decreed, that whoever should be found aiming at royalty, might be put to death by any private citizen, without the forms of law; for they rightly judged, that the man who endeavoured at the subversion of all law was not entitled to its protection. All they required of the tyrannicide was, that he should be able to bring *proofs* that the person he had put to death had had designs against the liberties of his country. Valerius Publicola was the author of this law. These are Plutarch's words:—"He made it lawful, without form of trial, to kill any man that should attempt to set himself up for king; and the person who took away his life, was to stand excused, if he could adduce proof of the intended crime. His reason for such a law, we presume, was this: though it is not possible that he, who undertakes so great an enterprise, should escape all notice; yet it is very probable that, even if suspected, he may accomplish his designs before he can be brought to answer for it in a judicial way; and as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called to account for it at all, this law empowered any one to punish him before any cognizance was taken." Publicola also made it death to enter upon the magistracy without the people's consent. The consular laws, likewise, published immediately after the overthrow of the Decemvirate, made it capital to create magistrates without reference and appeal to the people. "Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocacione crearet: qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi: neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur." Whoever injured any tribune of the people, his head also was devoted to Jupiter; that is, he was condemned to death. Moreover, there was a decree of the senate, passed expressly for the security of Rome, which devoted to the Infernal Gods whoever should pass the Rubicon with an army, a legion, or a cohort; this decree may still be seen engraven on stone, on the road between Rimini and Cesena. Such were the laws of Rome.

Now we shall see how these laws were set at nought and broken by

Cæsar. That he passed the Rubicon with an army, we have no need to prove; and in proving the remainder, we fear we shall only be telling the reader what he knows very well already. However, for the sake of completeness, we must presume upon his patience; the rather as, although the events of which we speak are well known, it is not usual to draw the same consequences from them as we have.

A portion of the public treasure of Rome was laid up in the temple of Saturn, never to be drawn from thence, unless in case of a war with the Gauls. The keys of the temple were in the hands of a tribune. When Cæsar parricidically entered the city with his troops, the first thing which occurred to him was, to rob this temple; and, accordingly, he immediately hastened thither, where he found the tribune at his post, ready to withstand his entry. Upon this he grew enraged, and, advancing towards the tribune, exclaimed—"Give way, Metellus, or I will strike you dead at my feet!"—And you know, young man," he added, in a milder tone,— "it is much easier for me to *do it* than to say it." Let the reader observe the full meaning of this speech:—the law, as we have shown, made the persons of the tribunes sacred, and acknowledged *no power* that could injure them: in averting, therefore, that it was easy for him to put one of these sacred magistrates to death, Cæsar did in effect acknowledge that he had set himself above the laws; that he had placed himself in that position in which they had armed the hands of every citizen against his life.

But this was not the only time in which Cæsar invaded the laws in the persons of the tribunes; for, returning one day through the city, after the sacrifice of the Latio Festival, the people accompanied him with shouts and acclamations. Upon this, one of his creatures crowned his statue with laurel. The two tribunes who were present, perceiving the drift of the whole affair, commanded the wretch to be taken into custody, and the crown to be removed from the statue. The tyrant felt so much anger at this affront, that he removed the tribunes from their offices. Upon another occasion, to a tribune who had *presumed to sit in his presence*, he observed: "Well done, tribune Aquilla, you had better try if you can wrest the government of the commonwealth out of my hands with your tribuneship!" and by way of mockery and contempt, he promised nothing to any one, for several days after, but with this expression: "If Pontius Aquilla consents."

He had, therefore, usurped the supreme power, and only wanted the name of king. To show, indeed, that he had emancipated himself from the obedience due to his country's laws, he bestowed the honours of the consulship, and of all other magistracies, without consulting or convening the people. Upon one occasion, the regular consul dying a few hours before the year expired, he conferred the honour upon one of his friends for the remaining time; upon which occasion, Cicero said: "Let us make haste, and pay our compliments to the consul before his office is expired." And again: "Our consul is a man of so much strictness and rigour, that not a man of us has dined, supped, or slept, during his magistracy." Plutarch observes, that Cæsar wished to *reign* over a willing people; but his *impatience to be a king*, (says Dr. Middleton,) defeated all his projects. And Suetonius, after impartially summing up his good and bad deeds, declares that he was justly slain: "*Jure cæsus existimetur.*" For he disposed of offices and honours (says he) in contempt

of his country's laws—"spretò patrie more," "ac nullus non honores ad libitum recepit et dedit;" he took and bestowed all the offices of the state at his pleasure. He had, besides, the audacity to declare, that he had reduced the republic to a mere name: "The commonwealth," said he, "is now nothing but a word, without body or soul." To this he added, that hereafter he was to be spoken to with more reverence; and that every word he uttered was to be looked upon as a law. Lord Bacon observes, that "Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech,—'Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;' for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give over his dictatorship."

It is clear, therefore, that Cæsar was lawfully and justly slain, which, as Middleton remarks, was the opinion of the best, the wisest, and the most disinterested in Rome, at the time when the fact was committed. "Cent mille vies," says Bayle, "s'il les avoit eues, n'auroient pas suffi à l'expiation de son crime." He thinks, however, that it was not for two or three private individuals to undertake his punishment; and applies on this occasion the old maxim, "*Passio justa; actio injustissima.*" But Bayle must have forgotten the Valerian law.

Many persons, however, who are willing to allow that Cæsar deserved his fate, refuse, nevertheless, to acknowledge that Brutus was right in putting him to death. They have a notion, because Cæsar had conferred favours on Brutus, and refrained from taking away his life when he might easily have done it, that it was, therefore, the duty of the latter to suffer him quietly to enslave his country; because, say they, how could Brutus rise up against Cæsar without ingratitude,—without trampling on the laws of friendship? in short, without being a villain and a murderer? Men certainly entertain very different opinions about the extent of the duties which we owe our country; some thinking that it is not to be served at the expense of a boon companion; others, that we ought first to take care of ourselves and our families, and give the remainder of our energies to the commonwealth; while there have, in all ages, been a few on whom no views of interest, no ties of friendship or affection, could ever operate to turn them aside for a moment from pursuing the public good. Nay, some have carried their devotion to their country so far, as to affirm, that for its sake we ought to be ready to suffer the loss not only of our fortunes and our lives, but, should it be necessary, of our very fame and reputation. "Ea caritas patrie est," said Lentulus to the soldiers at Caudium, "ut tam ignominia eam, quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servamus." This, we are well aware, is unpalatable logic, for it levels the last stronghold of selfishness,—our desire of renown; but whoever has elevated his reason to admit its conclusions, is a man above the ordinary pitch of humanity. In the case before us, Brutus could not have been ignorant that, in attacking Cæsar, he was subjecting himself to the suspicion of being nothing more than an ambitious man, incapable of bearing a superior, and envious of a fame which he could not hope to rival. He must have known, too, that it was possible for him to fail in his enterprise, and thus he cut off entirely from every possibility of explaining his views; while he was subject to be represented to posterity as a mere assassin, who had no aim but revenge or interest. He must, therefore, have thought with Lentulus, that the chance of ignominy was to be hazarded for the good of Rome; for had the preservation of his own

glory been the chief motive of his actions, he had but one course to pursue: he must have submitted to the yoke of Cæsar, in order to participate in his power. Great men, however, do not act wholly for reputation; as many appear to imagine; they feel within themselves a bias towards noble deeds, and perform them, careless of any other reward than the consciousness of their virtue. Were it, in fact, within their power to choose between the praise and the blame of those who blame or praise without reflection, they would be altogether indifferent, as a man is indifferent whether the people of New Zealand interest themselves in his fame or not. Virtue, being always sure of the sympathy of virtue, is careless of every thing beyond. As to Cæsar, he was incapable of this degree of virtue, and condescended to falsify his own actions, in the hopes of escaping the just condemnation of posterity. With this view, he wrote his 'Commentaries,' in which Asinius Pollio declared he had misrepresented the truth on many occasions: we are sure enough he did so in the affair of the temple of Saturn, and it is clear from this, that he dreaded the avenging pen of history. Nevertheless he has been detected. We know, in spite of his 'Commentaries,' that he robbed the public treasury, and would have murdered the magistrate, whom the republic had placed as a guard over it, if he had not ceased to resist his injustice. The patriots who put him to death wrote no Commentaries, not being ashamed of the deed, nor of the principles which led them to perform it; for in a letter to Cicero, Brutus himself avows, that had Cæsar been his father he must have acted as he did. Has history, in all her other pages, any thing comparable to this? Can the human mind conceive a virtue more sublime? For our part we agree with Swift, in enumerating Brutus amongst that sextumvirate, to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh. We may, perhaps, be carried away by our enthusiasm for the character of this great man, whose mind, according to Plutarch, the Deity had peculiarly fitted for the habitation of virtue; but it is a remarkable fact, that no one ever attempted to unravel the texture of his character, without experiencing very violent feelings of affection or antipathy. The reason may be, he is identified in men's minds with the principle of liberty; and therefore, when we speak of Brutus, we speak not merely of a man who studied philosophy and killed a tyrant at Rome; but we speak of that innate detestation of tyranny which uncorrupted man always feels. His name has a golden sound in the ears of integrity, it makes our blood flow brisker and warmer in our veins, it adds to the dignity of human nature. If we stood alone in this sentiment, though we might not think it less just on that account, we should, perhaps, hesitate to obtrude it upon the world. But if we are wrong, we are wrong in very good company: for from Cicero to Swift, there has hardly been a great writer who might not be reckoned among the admirers of Brutus. Two passages, one from each of the above-mentioned authors, we will take leave to lay before our readers: "You know," says Cicero to a friend, "I have always loved Marcus Brutus on account of his great genius, his suavity of manners, his singular probity and fortitude. But the *ides of March*" (the day on which he killed Cæsar) "have so increased my affection, that I have wondered there should have been room to add to that which before appeared full, even to overflowing."¹ Swift's expressions are

¹ Epist. ad Familiares. ix. 14.

hardly less strong : "The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Caesar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence for mankind, in every lineament of his countenance. I observed, with much pleasure, that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other ; and Caesar freely confessed to me, that the greatest actions of his own life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away."²

Even his enemies acknowledged that his virtue was of the most exalted kind. "He was perfect in every respect," says Paterculus, "but soiled all his virtues by assassinating Cæsar." We have seen that Cicero considered this the greatest virtue of all, and it is very certain that all men who love liberty will participate in the sentiment of Cicero. Algernon Sydney, a great name with all noble-minded men, proposed Brutus as the model of his life, which did not in any manner disgrace the original. It would be easy to multiply testimonies in favour of Brutus, but we shall have thrown away our labour, if the reader stand in need of them to form his opinion of the man, after what we have written. In the hope that he will not, we shall close this essay with a brief sketch of the death of this illustrious Roman ; and the reader will excuse us if we dwell a little on sad and melancholy images, for there were no others connected with the death of Brutus. He had toiled and was about to bleed for his country ; but he had toiled and was to bleed in vain. No grateful people pressed round his death-bed, to bless him for homes made happy, and for liberties restored. The glories of the republic in which he was born, and which had infused incalculable energies into the minds of men, were now to fade for ever with him. It was the reflecting on this circumstance, that made men attribute to him the celebrated apostrophe to virtue, which there is no reason to believe he ever uttered ; for, instead of considering it an empty name, he comforted both himself and his friends with the reflection, that through the consciousness of having always fulfilled its dictates, he was even then far happier than his conquerors. "It is an infinite satisfaction to me," said he, "that all my friends have been faithful. If I am angry with FORTUNE, it is for the sake of my country. Myself I esteem more happy than the conquerors, not only in respect of my past, but also my present situation. I shall leave behind me that reputation for virtue, which they with all their wealth and power will never acquire. For posterity will not scruple to believe, that they were an abandoned and worthless set of men, who destroyed the good and the virtuous for the sake of unjust empire." From this it would appear, that if Brutus uttered any apostrophe on this occasion, it was addressed to Fortune, and not to Virtue ; for virtue has never been thought to regulate the events of war ; whereas the ancients attributed great influence in such affairs to fortune. We see, therefore, that although pressed down by the most grievous calamities, dying an outcast, defeated, houseless, forsaken by fortune, Brutus was not unequal to the event. In order to comprehend, with a tolerable degree of fullness, the circumstances which made this event terrible, let the reader imagine this great soldier retiring in the darkness from the

² Gulliver's Travels, pt. 3. iii. c. 7.

route of Philippi, with the friends of his youth and better days clinging round him to the last. Let him sit down with Brutus in his concealment among rocks and thickets, and accompany his thoughts, struggling through the agony of his soul towards Rome. There let him picture to himself his imagination, taking leave for ever of the Forum, which had so often thundered with the voice of liberty; and borrowing for a moment a Roman's eyes and feelings, let him observe the indignant spirit of a free people crushed out by proscriptions, the innumerable statues of the old republicans insultingly thrown down and trampled on by tyranny. Let his fancy go one step further, and picture Brutus's thoughts busy with home; there, in that room, are Servilia and Portia—the mother and the wife of Brutus—petrified at the entrance of a blood-stained messenger, who announces to them the news—

No; there is torture in pursuing this thought to its conclusion. Let us turn our eyes towards Philippi. Here is Brutus on this rocky eminence, surrounded by his friends, who are anxiously marking the fires of the hostile camp, and listening to the tramp of steeds scouring the plain in all directions in search of them. He is calm even at this moment—he steps aside with Strato—a sword gleams between them—he has fallen!

Something like this must be imagined, if we would form any conception of the end of this good and great man. Plutarch has painted the scene with his usual simplicity; and perhaps his description was never read without tears. His noble prose has been transmuted into poetry by Shakespeare, who, although loose in his political notions, did yet admire the virtue of Brutus, and has put his opinion of him into the mouth of Antony:

This was the noblest Roman of them all :
All the conspirators, save only he,
Did that they did in envy of great Caesar;
He only, in a general honest thought,
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world—“ THIS WAS A MAN ! ”

TO A LADY, ON HER PROPOSING EARLY FRIENDSHIP AS THE
SUBJECT OF POETIC COMMEMORATION.

LOV'D Lady ! though thy wish inspire the lay,
And e'en the theme that should awake my song,
Has made my own warm heart a willing prey,
And borne it captive in its chains along ;

Though freshest dews from Helicon's famed spring,
And all the Nine inspire my verse to flow,
Yet, who shall bid the Muse expand her wing,
When every pinion sinks oppress'd with woe ?

But thine the wish, be mine the task, though hard,
To tune to notes of joy the unstrung lyre ;
And, though a young and all untutor'd bard,
To aim at least to catch the poet's fire ;

Minstrels have sung, regardless of the flame
That warmed them once, and bade their pulses bound
That Friendship's vaunted joys are but a name,
And Love itself is still an emptier sound.

Believe them not: 'tis age's icy chill,
Which, freezing up the tide of youth's warm stream,
Deadens the heart to Friendship's sweetest thrill,
And draws Oblivion's veil o'er Love's young dream.

Yet e'en while hoary sires these joys deride,
Will Memory often to their hearts appeal,
And bid them, 'mid their philosophic pride,
Envy the bliss they can no longer feel;

Then, oh! indulge a dream so sweet, so fair,
The fond illusion of life's early day,
Ere tyrant passion, or corrosive care,
Bid all its fairy colours fade away.

For me—while freezing at the farthest pole,
Or fainting 'neath the equinoctial ray;
Whether high o'er my bark cold billows roll,
Or sultry calms impede my vessel's way;

My heart, more faithful than the magnet guide
Which to the north directs, will point to thee:
For, while in every clime *that* varies wide,
Unchanged through all, my friendship's faith will be.

When Jove assumed the Cygnet's downy vest,
And wooed fair Leda 'neath Taygetus' shade,
The god's warm prayer was so intensely prest,
That Dian's self forgave the yielding maid.

From the stol'n nuptials sprang those twins of light¹
That now among the constellations shine,
Which mariners invoke with zeal at night,
And deem them still their guardian-gods divine.—

Amid the shock of elemental wars,
Or when fierce battle crimsons o'er the sea,
Through the dark clouds where'er I view those stars,
I'll think, loved Lady, still of home and thee!

And while the midnight orison I join,
I'll ask those gods, nor shall I ask in vain,
Upon our early mutual vows to shine,
And make them lasting as their own bright reign.

¹ Castor and Pollux, to whom there is a beautiful Greek hymn ascribed to Homer.

LABOURS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS.

Third Article.

CONTINUING our analysis of the original articles contained in the five first volumes of the '*Journal Asiatique de Paris*,' we have next, according to the plan of arrangement formerly laid down, to proceed to those which treat of subjects connected with INDIA. In this respect, we find that the volumes before us are exceedingly meagre, the whole number of papers relating to that country amounting only to ten, two of which are historical, two theological, one contains a brief and uninteresting account of the travels of a Naturalist, and the remaining five consist of translations of Sanscrit poetry. This paucity of information in so important a department of Asiatic literature, is obviously to be attributed to the small degree of intercourse which subsists between the continent of Europe and the peninsula of Hindoostan. The trifling and insignificant possessions of the French, Danes, and Portuguese in India serve rather as rallying points for the missions established by those nations, than as stations for the prosecution of commerce, literature, or science; and the jealous and exclusive policy of the Anglo-Indian Government, by prohibiting the settlement of Europeans in the vast extent of territory over which they rule, has thrown an insurmountable obstacle in the way of those who would otherwise proceed thither in furtherance of such laudable pursuits. The literati of the Continent are thus in a great degree restricted to the study of such branches of Indian literature as may be acquired at home, and the Sanscrit, of course, claims their almost exclusive attention. The study of this ancient and elegant language appears to be daily gaining ground in Europe, more especially since philologists have discovered the close analogy, one might almost say the identity, which exists between it and those fundamental dialects which form the bases of the more modern languages of Europe. Among those who have been most successful in its cultivation, in France and Germany in particular, M.M. Chézy, Langlois, Bopp, Schlegel, and G. de Humboldt deserve the highest praise; and through the medium of their precepts, and under the influence of their example, an acquaintance with the Sanscrit is rapidly extending itself, and assuming that importance to which, for a variety of reasons, it is justly entitled.

The first of the HISTORICAL Papers, is a notice on the ancient history of India, and the historians of Cashmeer in particular, by M. Saint-Martin, one of the most active editors of the Journal, and of whose profound knowledge of Asiatic literature we shall meet with abundant proof as we advance in our analysis. It is the general opinion, that it is impossible to gain a knowledge of the history of India previous to the Mongol conquest; inasmuch as the Hindoos, regarding this transitory existence as a state of trial and suffering, are supposed to consider its affairs as of too little importance to be recorded, or even to occupy at all the attention of rational beings. That this belief has not originated in slight grounds, is evident from the fact, that M. Klaproth, whose intimate acquaintance with every thing that concerns the East no one will venture to dispute, has adopted it in his '*Essay on the Authority of the Asiatic Historians*.' M. St. Martin is, however, of opinion, that it may

well be controverted. In fact, it is difficult to imagine that a nation, in any degree civilized, could be so utterly regardless of its affairs as to suffer them to fall into total oblivion; but supposing that the Hindoos possessed no great historical works, it can hardly be doubted that individual and family pride would have stimulated many to the writing of private memoirs, and even of mere genealogies, which, in the absence of other and better materials, would doubtless furnish the historian with the most important data. That many such monuments are actually to be found in various parts of India we know, not only from the reports of learned Natives, but also from the writings of their Persian conquerors. It may readily be believed, that subsequent to the Musulman invasion, the Natives ceased to take an interest in the affairs of a country, in the government of which they no longer possessed any share; but there is every reason to believe, that while India retained her independence, numerous works existed on the subject. Indeed, it is well known that considerable historical compositions relative to Southern India, and also a chronicle of Cashmeer, written in Sanscrit, are still extant; and it is to be presumed that the catalogues of the ancient Kings of Guzerat, Bengal, Malwa, &c. which are met with in the *Ayeen Akbery*, in the geography of Father Tiefenthaler, and in several Persian authors who have compiled the annals of the various independent states of the Peninsula, were derived from similar sources; for, in fact, to what other authorities could these historians have referred? From the materials contained in these works, combined with those furnished by the numerous inscriptions of all ages, and in all sorts of languages and characters, dispersed throughout India, M. St. Martin is of opinion, that a tolerably respectable history of that country might still be composed. The histories and other compositions of the surrounding nations, might also be occasionally consulted with advantage; and more particularly those of the Thibetans and Chinese, the latter of whom have preserved a variety of geographical and historical facts relative to India of the highest interest. In proof of this assertion, we need only refer to the *Memoir of Rémusat*, already noticed, containing a chronological account of the thirty-three immediate (Indian) successors of Buddha, which seems to offer a remarkable degree of accuracy and precision.

These observations appear to have been suggested to M. St. Martin by Mr. Wilson's excellent 'Essay on the History of Cashmeer before the Musulman Conquest,' some notices of which had just reached France; and the remainder of the paper is dedicated to an 'Account of the Historians of that celebrated and interesting Province.' The most important work on this subject is, the *Rajah Tarinjiny*, a compilation in Sanscrit, made before the conquest of Cashmeer by the Mongul Emperor Akbar, who, as we are informed by his Vizier Abu'l-fazel, gave orders for its translation into Persian. The Sanscrit original is not, as was formerly supposed, the work of a single hand, but consists of a series of compositions, made at different times, and by different authors. The first part is the work of Calhana Pandita; it commences with the legendary history of the province, and is continued down to the year of 1027 of our era. To the illustration of this portion of the history, Mr. Wilson has particularly applied himself. The second part is continued to the reign of Zeinglabeddin, the eighth Musulman sovereign of Cashmeer, who lived towards the end of the fourteenth century; its author was Youa-

Rajah, the tutor of a Cashmerian chief, named Sri-vara, who himself composed the third part, which brings down the history to Fatah-aly-shah, the grandson of Zeinelabeddin, and his fourth successor. The remaining portion, written by Pandjya-Bhatta, continues the history to the reign of the Emperor Humayoun, the father of Akbar. These four chronicles, united under one common title, were, as before-mentioned, translated into Persian by order of the Sultan Akbar; and several other Persian works are also known to have been compiled from them; in particular, the Newadiral Akhbar, a History of Cashmeer, composed by Rafy Eddin Mohammed, a native of the province; the Wakiat-Kaschmyr of Mohammed Azem; the Tarikhi-Kaschmyr of Narayan-Koul, and the Djanheri-alem-Tohfet of Bedy-eddin. In the year of the Hejira 1007, Haider-Malek composed, by order of Djihanghyr, the successor of Akbar, a new translation of the Chronicles of Cashmeer, two copies of which are among the MSS. of the Royal Library at Paris. The successor of this Prince also issued an order for the compilation of a new history of Cashmeer, and the work was intrusted by the Seikh Djivana, who was then governor of the province, to several able men. The result of their labours, however, has not yet been discovered; and with respect to the Sanscrit original of the Rajah Tarinjiny itself, which is said formerly to have been so common, that almost every considerable Hindoo family possessed a copy of it, portions only have until very lately been found. These detached pieces were, however, amply sufficient to prove, that the Persian translations were far from deserving implicit confidence; inasmuch as they appear to have been liberally and without scruple garbled and altered, the better to adapt them to the religious creed of their translators. But since the publication of this notice by M. St. Martin, the exertions of that zealous and indefatigable traveller, Mr. Moorcroft, whose attention had long been particularly directed to this object, have been crowned with complete success. In a letter, dated from Cashmeer, July 20th, 1823, and read before the Asiatic Society of Calcutta on the 12th Nov. in that year, he informs the society that he has at length succeeded in procuring a perfect copy of the Rajah Tarinjiny. Having cured a learned Hindoo of a disease, which the Native practitioners had declared incurable, the grateful Pandit permitted him in return to take a copy from the one which he possessed, which is written on the bark of the birch, and bears evident marks of great antiquity. Ten Pandits were occupied for three months in making this copy, which having been collated with the greatest care, Mr. Moorcroft immediately despatched to Calcutta. This fortunate acquisition will doubtless throw considerable light on the ancient history of India, and fill up many of the dreary blanks with which it abounds.

The other historical, or, perhaps, this should rather be classed as a numismatic article, consists of an 'Explanation of Five Medals of the ancient Mussulman Kings of Bengal, presented to the *Société Asiatique* by M. Duraucel; with Historical Illustrations of their Inscriptions, by M. Reinaud.' These medals, which are the first of this race of Princes that have reached Europe in a good state of preservation, were found in the ruins of a fort on the banks of the Burrampooter. They are of silver, with Arabic inscriptions, and are described as follows:—1. A medal of Schems-eddin Elias Shah, King of Bengal, struck in the city of Sonarganou, in the year of the Hejira, 754 (A. D. 1353).—2. Similar to the

former, but of coarser workmanship.—3. A medal of Sekander-Schah, the son of Elias Schah, King of Bengal, also struck at Sonarganou in 760 (1359).—4. A medal of the same Prince, remarkable for having a legend on both sides; the obverse containing the titles of the then Caliph, together with the names of the four first successors of Mohammed, placed in a kind of parenthesis. The legend of the reverse is truncate, the name of the place where it was struck being obliterated.—5. A medal of the same Prince, the legend of which is much disfigured, the ends of the letters being scarcely distinguishable; but M. Reinaud thinks that he can perceive sufficient to warrant the assumption, that this also was struck at Sonarganou. The details of the inscriptions will be noticed more at length hereafter.

After describing the medals, M. Reinaud proceeds to give a summary of the history of Bengal, at the period of time to which they refer, taken from Khondemir, an inedited Persian historian, and from that portion of the work of Ferishta which relates to Bengal, also unpublished; the Persian MSS. of both of which are in the King's library at Paris. Mohammed Schah, the Sultaun of Delhi, on coming to the throne, had conceived the preposterous idea of proving himself a second Alexander, and making the conquest of the world; but his progress in this gigantic undertaking was arrested in the very outset. Having invaded Khorassan, and some other countries toward the north, he was not only defeated and driven back with disgrace into his own territories, but the confusion and alarm which his unexpected failure created was so great, as to afford an opportunity for the Viceroy of Bengal to declare himself independent, and to assume the title of Sultaun, together with the emblems of supreme power. The example of Bengal was speedily followed by Guzerat, the Deccan, &c.; and Mohammed Schah found himself, in consequence of his rash and inconsiderate enterprise, suddenly deprived of the most valuable provinces of his paternal empire. This Prince and his successors, as might be expected, made repeated attempts to regain possession of their former dependencies, but their power was lost for ever; and it was not till the Mongul Emperor Akbar mounted the throne of Delhi, that the scattered members of its ancient empire began to reunite themselves under one supreme head. Elias Schah, whose name appears on the first of these medals, succeeded to the throne of Bengal by the murder of his predecessor, Ala-Eddin, about the year 743 (1342), and was engaged during the whole of his reign in repelling the attacks of Mohammed and his successor, Firouz-Schah. He died in 759 (1358), leaving the throne to his son Sekander-Schah. This Prince was fortunate enough to gain the good graces of Firouz-Schah, who at length consented to suffer him to retain quiet possession of his kingdom, which he transmitted to his son, Gaiath-Eddin. The principality of Bengal continued to flourish until the sixteenth century, except that towards the close of the fourteenth, it sustained a considerable loss of territory by the establishment of the independent kingdom of Djonpour, near the conflux of the Ganges and the Jumna.

With respect to the singular fact noticed on the medal No. 4, *viz.* that it is inscribed with the titles of the Caliph, when it is well known that those spiritual potentates never possessed power in India, and that the Caliphate of Bagdad had then ceased to exist for upwards of a century, while their Fatimite successors, who had found an asylum at Cairo,

under the protection of the Mamelukes, enjoyed even there but little consideration, M. Reinaud proves that it was actually for this destitute and powerless family that the sovereigns of Bengal manifested so much veneration, and that this revolution in the religious ideas of Eastern Asia was effected by Mohammed-Schah, whose example was followed by all the Musulman Princes of India in succession. The origin of this sudden change is clearly traced to the superstition of the Sultaun of Delhi, who was persuaded by his courtiers and the doctors of his religion, that all the misfortunes of his reign were the just chastisements of heaven for his neglect of its viceregents upon earth, on whom neither he nor any of his predecessors had ever deigned to bestow the smallest token of respect. The unfortunate Prince hastened to humble himself before the footstool of the Caliph, and to offer him the homage of his crown. On the arrival of the Indian ambassadors at Cairo, the Caliph, whose temporal power was absolutely reduced to nothing, agreeably surprised to find himself treated with marked deference by so powerful a Prince, readily granted him the confirmation in the possessions of his ancestors, which he required; and the Sultaun, in return, commanded the name of the Caliph to be pronounced in the Friday's prayer in all the mosques of the empire, and to be inscribed upon the coins. It does not appear that the spiritual authority of the Caliph was exerted for the reduction of the rebel provinces; on the contrary, he treated with equal consideration whomsoever thought fit to address him. To those Princes who had proclaimed their independence, he granted investiture in their usurped dignities, and this politic conduct appears to have gained him the highest consideration throughout India; for we learn that, during the two centuries which followed the unfortunate reign of Mohammed-Schah, a multitude of Princes of India, and even, it is said, of Cathay, sent deputies to Cairo, either to demand confirmation in their principalities, or to desire the assistance of Musulman missionaries to instruct them in the doctrines of their religion.

The city of Sonarganou, where the medals were struck, was situated near the Burrampooter; and, according to Ferishtah, must once have been a place of considerable importance; for he states, that when the Governors of Bengal departed from Delhi to proceed to their province, they received instructions "to govern Bengal, and to keep well the city of Sonarganou." It probably formed, by its position, the barrier of Bengal against the incursions of the more northern nations. According to Hamilton, the Governors of Bengal resided at this place until the time of Elias-Schah, who removed the seat of government to Pandona. Sonarganou was subsequently famous for its manufacture of cotton-stuffs. It is mentioned by Hadji-Khalifa, a Turkish geographer; and it appears from the Ayeen-Akbery, that, so late as the sixteenth century, it was the principal place of one of the *Circars* of Bengal. But the city of Dacca was now fast rising in its vicinity: Sonarganou was abandoned by degrees; and such are the vicissitudes to which even the largest cities are subject, in India more especially, that Mr. Hamilton, who passed over the spot in 1809, assures us that no vestiges of its existence were then to be discovered.

M. Reinaud next proceeds to account for the pompous titles which the Kings of Bengal arrogated to themselves on their medals; in imitation of their old masters, the Sultauns of Delhi. From this source were the

manifestly derived the titles *Sultana* and *Victorious*. The latter, which literally signifies *Father of Victory*, is precisely similar in its character to a number of other epithets much affected by the Princes of the East, as *Abul-Fath*, *Abul-Fotuh*, &c. It might also be translated *Father of Madaggar*, but M. Reinaud offers unanswerable reasons for the rejection of this reading. The title of *Second Alexander*, or *New Alexander*, is likewise borrowed from the Sultans of Delhi, and appears, moreover, to have been a favourite epithet of the Eastern Princes of those days; although in later times the glory of Alexander has sunk beneath that of *Sahib-Khan*, (the name borne by Tamerlane,) and many of the Asiatic potentates have consequently changed their style to that of *Second Sahib-Khan*. These words might also be translated *Alexander the Second*; but of this sort of phraseology, or at least of the idea which it conveys to the mind of an European reader, the Asiatics appear never to have dreamed. The titles of *Right Arm of the Caliph*, and *Protector of the Commander of the Faithful*, were also adopted from Mohammed-Schah by the Kings of Beagal, who knew well enough that these high-sounding epithets were in truth but idle words. The latter title is, however, found on the medals of some of the Mohammedan Princes of the thirteenth century, previous to the overthrow of the Caliphate of Bagdad, and at a time when those potentates actually stood in need of the protection the promise of which it held out to them. The epithet *Zealous in the service of God*, on the medal of Sekander-Schah, No. 3, is taken from those of Firouz-Schah, his contemporary; as is that of *Strong by the power of God*, from those of Mohammed-Schah. In instituting this comparison between the medals of Delhi and Bengal, M. Reinaud derived the most essential assistance from a collection of drawings made in India, fifty years ago, by Colonel Gentil, which contain a complete series, with the exception of two or three only, of all the Princes who reigned at Delhi, or in the North of India, from the fourth century of the Hejira, (the tenth of our era,) down to the last. On the subject of these drawings, and on the history of the Princes to whom they relate, M. Reinaud announces that he has completed a considerable work, which will appear along with the 'Description of the Oriental Medals of the Cabinet of the Duc de Blacas,' on which he has been for some time engaged. With respect to the style of *Imaum* or *Supreme Pontiff*, *Magnificent Caliph*, the reader who is acquainted with Musulman history will not be surprised to find these titles, originally belonging to the Caliphs of Bagdad, transferred to their degraded successors in Egypt; but he may not at first sight perceive the motive with which the names of Abubekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the four immediate successors of Mohammed, are inscribed on the medal No. 4. A little reflection will, however, convince him that this was intended as a testimonial of the adherence of the Kings of Bengal to that opinion which is now most prevalent among the Turks, and was formerly maintained by the Caliphs of Bagdad, and afterwards by those of Egypt, asserting the legitimacy of the three first of these Caliphs, in opposition to that which is at the present day most prevalent in Persia, and maintaining that Ali was the legitimate successor of his father-in-law, Mohammed, and, consequently, that his three predecessors were usurpers, and should be expunged from the list of Caliphs. M. Reinaud finds some difficulty in the explanation of the term *brilliant residence*, applied to the city of Sonarganou, principally in consequence

of the bad grammar which this interpretation supposes in the Arabic original; but this, he observes, is by no means a conclusive objection to the version, inasmuch as similar inaccuracies are met with elsewhere, and it is difficult to imagine that the Arabic of Hindoostan could have retained a purity equal to that of Bagdad or Bassora.

We have dwelt more fully on this interesting paper, partly on account of its own intrinsic merit, and partly on account of the reluctance which we feel to withdraw from the consideration of a country which, in every point of view, possesses the strongest claims upon our attention, and relative to which the information contained in this collection is so deficient, that, with the exception of the two articles already noticed, we find none that will admit of analysis, or scarcely indeed of observation.

The first of the THEOLOGICAL Papers, however, which consists of an 'Analysis of the Oupnek'hat, by the Count de Lanjuinais,' and which is continued through several numbers of the Journal, and occupies a considerable space in its pages, must be regarded as a work of no trifling importance. Still it is neither original nor novel, having been first published, some years since, in the *Magasin Encyclopédique*, from which it is now transferred to the *Journal Asiatique*. The selection and methodical arrangement of the numerous passages from the Vedas, by which the system of theosophy contained in those sacred books is illustrated and explained, must undoubtedly have been a work of vast labour and research; but it is much to be lamented that the learned author did not avail himself of the Sanscrit original, a perfect copy of which he states to exist in the Paris Library, rather than of the barbarous Latin version made by M. Anquetil du Perron, from a corrupt and garbled Persian translation. As it is, however, it is the only clear and succinct exposition of the doctrine of the Vedas to which the European student can refer; and M. de Lanjuinais has done a valuable service to Oriental literature, as well as infinite honour to himself, by this laudable, and to a certain extent, successful effort to simplify and unravel some of the most complicated and mysterious doctrines of the orthodox Hindoo philosophy.

The other article relative to the theology of the Hindoos is also from the pen of M. de Lanjuinais, and is entitled, 'Observations on certain Works of Rammohun Roy.' The principal object of these observations is, to take a brief review of the learned Brahmin's translations of some portions of the Vedas, with reference to that of Anquetil du Perron, and at the same time to give a slight sketch of the scope and tendency of his other works, which are certainly treated with a less degree of consideration than that to which they are justly entitled. This paper, however, offers nothing sufficiently remarkable or interesting to deserve a more particular examination.

The notice on the TRAVELS of M. M. Duvaucel and Diard in India, &c. contains little worthy of observation, if we except a charge of illiberality brought against a distinguished officer and zealous naturalist, lately returned from Sumatra, by whom they were employed to collect objects of natural history, in various parts of the peninsula of Malacca, and the neighbouring islands, which he visited in the course of his honourable and successful mission. The character of this gentleman is, however, so firmly established for great (we had almost said, extreme) liberality, that we should require far stronger testimony than the mere

assertion of M. Duvaucel, to convince us that he was capable of acting as he is stated to have done, with respect to him and his colleague. But the editors of the 'Journal Asiatique' ought to have been aware, that a most complete and satisfactory answer had been given to the complaint of M. Duvaucel, by Sir Stamford Raffles himself, in the thirteenth volume of the Transactions of the Linnæan Society; as also, that the whole affair had since been referred to the President of the Board of Control, who had decided that the conduct of Sir Stamford was both just and liberal. We must presume that the French editors were ignorant of these facts; for we cannot suppose that they would knowingly have lent themselves to the promulgation of the charge, without making any reference to the circumstances by which its refutation was established. The remainder of the article consists of a dry detail of excursions, which possess neither interest nor novelty, and of the enumeration of various rare and curious animals, which the travellers, who appear to be able naturalists, have collected in the course of their peregrinations, and transmitted to the Paris Museum. It is proper to add, that M. Duvaucel has since fallen a victim to his zeal for the advancement of science.

The remaining articles which come under the head of India, are devoted to the illustration of Sanscrit poetry, and consist of translations of the 'Hermitage of Khandou,'¹ extracted from the Brâhma Purana, and of a beautiful Idyllium, entitled 'Ghata-Kasparam, or Absence,' by M. de Chézy; of the 'Self-devotion of Viravar,' a portion of the Hitopadesa, by M. Langlois; of the 'Serpent and the Frogs,' a fable, also from the Hitopadesa; and of an extract from the 'Devi-Mahatmyam,' a fragment of the Markandeya Purana, together with an analysis of that poem by M. Bournouf the younger.

EARLY LOVE.

Art! how sweet is early love !
When young Eros, like a dove,
Nestles 'tween two panting hearts
Beating wild to meet his darts !

But the rainbow in the shower,
Or the tint of April flower,
Or the meteor streaming bright
O'er the planet-robe of night,

Or the breath of summer breeze
Kissling light the sleeping seas,
Or the lightning-winged dream
Flying from the morning beam ;

Fleeter, frailer is than those
Honed sweets that love bestows :
All its pleasures, one by one,
Smile on fancy, and are gone,

Scar'd by fierce Enjoyment's wings,
Cooling passion's boiling springs,
Till the torch of young delight
Burns out, and leaves the heart in night.

BROX.

¹ Vide *Oriental Herald*, Vol. V. p. 472.

THE POET'S PILGRIMAGE.¹

It would be quite useless to adopt, in this place, the manner of the Reviewers, by entering into dissertations on the nature of allegory, poetry, &c.: whatever allegory, and whatever poetry may be, the work before us is an allegorical poem. So far it is quite unfashionable. However, it does not follow that it is therefore bad; on the contrary, it is to be presumed, in general, that an author who has reach enough to discover principles for himself, distinct from the ones in vogue in his day, has also the ability to make something of them, whatever other deficiencies he may fall into, whether in taste or plan. Still allegory, it must be owned, is a cumbersome and unmanageable affair, for the most part; and requires nice handling to be at all palatable. It has an inherent quaintness, also, which leads it into the neighbourhood of the ludicrous; and, which is worse, has been a long time associated in men's minds with dull and ordinary productions.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Collier's poem will be read, and, we think, remembered; for it appears to be a real production of genius. The pilgrimage of the true poet is almost always nearly such as he describes it; he lingers but too frequently about the 'Cave of Neglect,' and if, at length he rises into brighter regions, it is with a breast seared and saddened by adversity. Whoever loves, therefore, to pursue the track of genius, as evinced in poetry, through the path by which it endeavours to attain reputation, and to know the calendar of its fears and feelings by the way, will read with delight the allegory of Mr. Collier. We shall not attempt to unravel, in an epitome, the texture of the poem; for walking forth naked without its imagery, and manners, and sentiments, the skeleton of the finest poem in the world would look meagre and insipid. It is to no purpose to give the equivalent of a poetical relation in prose; the reader gains nothing by it; the critic loses his labour; but the poet is positively injured. He did not undertake to amuse or to instruct by mere plot; and if he had undertaken it, he would like the reader to look at his own delineation of it: but this never was any poet's intention. His aim is to delight the imagination; and this he can never hope to effect, except through the pomp and force of the poetical rhetoric, adorning the unfolding and branching forth of his fable.

There is another evil arising from the making abstracts of poetical works: the bulk of reviews is needlessly increased by it, for the practice is to describe an event first in prose, and then to extract the author's description of it in verse; and thus the reader has immediately before his eye two relations of the same thing. The business of a reviewer, we conceive, is to give his opinion of a work in general, if the book possess sufficient individuality; and analytically, if its characteristics be hard to distinguish, and yet deserve to be understood.

In pursuance of this idea, we shall observe, that the poem before us is one of those in which a languid action moves slowly through very beautiful scenes. There is little to rouse or fire the soul, or to throw it into sublime transports of feeling; on the contrary, the mind relaxes insensibly

¹ An Allegorical Poem, in four cantos. By J. P. Collier. Foolscape 4to, London, 1825.

into a tender melancholy, and goes along with the hero of the allegory in a kind of fraternal sympathy. This is a very high merit. The mind drops its worldliness as it goes along, and adopts, for the time, the splendid ethics of poetry. One is indignant at seeing *Ignoto* on the waste of disappointment, and at finding him so familiar with neglect and poverty. He clings, too, so enthusiastically to his art, and journeys on with so much determination and valour, that we really learn to love him by degrees; and by the time the published part of the poem concludes, (for it is not finished,) we are quite sorry to part with him.

Still there is not much character about *Ignoto*. He is a poet, and a fine builder of visions; but we do not perceive that he is sufficiently a *man*. He is described as hardly well enough acquainted with the stuff that this world is made of; he feels too much, and thinks too little, to be a great character. He has no grand passions. Now the hero of a poem, though he be a poet, should have a great quantity of the active as well as of the passive virtues. Active virtues are the children of strong passions: sentiments, sympathies, and what is generally termed feeling, the milder passions produce. But great minds have more predilection for the active virtues, and it is the admiration of great minds that confers immortality. Nevertheless, all men love occasionally to hush and compose their passions, by keeping out of view the turmoils and clamours of the world which give energy to them, and by directing their attention to calmer and more sober pursuits. In such moments, works like the Poet's Pilgrimage delight. By this means, they become associated in men's minds with their purer pleasures, and have the credit sometimes of trains of thinking, to which they were very little instrumental in giving rise. In this very frequently consists the secret of that fondness which men feel for any particular book, or sort of books: they read while their minds were occupied with delightful images, with the dreams of love, with the enthusiasm of friendship, with the hopes of fame; and their reading of that period became permanently connected in their imaginations with the tenderest and sweetest recollections. The man of genius is careful to give his productions an analogy and secret relation to the ideas which necessarily spring up in the mind on such occasions: he calculates the chances of their occurrence; he observes the effect of former works of art; and in this consists the whole philosophy of authorship. If the love of pleasure is immortal, every work calculated, *per se*, to administer to the pleasures of the mind, must be immortal also. It signifies little that no new elements of delight can be discovered; those that exist can be infinitely modified, and so be made the ground of new works of imagination to the end of time.

Among the beauties of the 'Poet's Pilgrimage,' an entire freedom from affectation and the thirst of novelty is not the least. The reader is not disgusted by meeting with hackneyed ideas, and images disguised in extravagant expressions; on the contrary, he finds at every step a modest and amiable simplicity of thought and expression; and perceives that the poet presumed him to possess both taste and feeling. This will make strongly for the success of the poem; for success it must, we think, command, though it may not reach it as rapidly as it ought.

The excellences of which we have been speaking may, perhaps, be owing considerably to Mr. Collier's being possessed of learning; for he is not one of those mere geniuses who build every thing out of their own web,

like a spider. He has studied the manners of the great poets of past times, and appears to know in how far a man may hope to be original in the present day. With all this, his language is chaste and beautiful; his similes and his metaphors, if not always new, are made his own by application; and his events possess enough of interest to keep the attention properly awake.

In selecting passages to bear out this general character, we must request the reader to recollect that it is not the best works in general that furnish most extractable beauties; there is most commonly a nice dependence, a graceful symmetry, a beautiful arrangement, in such works, which make the *tout ensemble* excellent, without furnishing those highly wrought passages which appear in some productions, like a golden bracelet on a beggar's arm. But whatever is good upon the whole, is good, *secundum magis et minus*, in all its parts, and will bear to be looked at in extracts or specimens. We shall therefore make selection of a few passages, almost at random, that the reader may see what he is to expect upon the whole. To begin with the beginning; the following is the opening of the poem:—

High in the east the sun of July shone,
Upland and valley steaming with the heat :
On a hill's grassy side I lay alone,
O'ercanopied by elms, while at my feet
Well'd ever forth a brooklet, noisy, fleet,
That from a fissure in the hill did play,
And joy'd from its dark deep the light to greet ;
Dancing and laughing all its merry way,
Like a glad prisoner 'scap'd to freedom and to day.

A little on it reach'd a precipice—
A precipice to it, so small a brook—
O'er which it fell. The flowers made haste to kiss
The leaping waves, and many kisses took,
As if they lov'd upon themselves to look,
And own their shadows in the waters fair :
Then having kiss'd, tears from their bright eyes shook
To see the stream away their beauty bear ;
Then kiss'd and kiss'd again to see it still was there.

Beyond this brooklet was the green hill's side,
Broken by shrubs thick cluster'd here and there ;
And further still, a glorious prospect wide
Of hill and vale, clad with the browning ear ;
Set off by darksome wood and waters clear,
And tufted hedge-rows crossing the green lea :
Onward, more dunn through the blue atmosphere,
Were swelling downs of high and low degree,
And the bright view was ended by the endless sea.

Yet was not all in equal brightness clad,
For morning clouds slow floating o'er the sky,
The dazzling sunny ray at times forbad
On some broad districts of the plain to lie :
Yet was it not less beauteous made thereby,
For sun and shade were in fit contrast seen,
And mix'd the whole in one wide harmony :
Here rose a hill that shone in liveliest green,
While moving shades embrown'd the cultured lands between.

There is a singular beauty in the following stanza :

There is a music far beyond the sound
Of instruments, though touch'd with feattiest skill;
Harmony breathing from the heav'n blest ground,
As wavering vapours from the dewy hill:
It feeds the heart and eyes when all is still;
More felt than seen, and more, I ween, inspires
Than sounds that through the moon's blue beams distil
On the far ear from high monastic quires,
Lighted at midnight hour with dim religious fires.

And in this, descriptive of a vast city and harbour :

And now the sun in vivid splendour shone
On this proud city—city proud and fair:
The domes and tapering spires, the towers of stone,
All glitter'd in the pure transparent air,
And seem'd to feel a joy in being there.
Was nothing but was bright in their degrees,
The lowliest dwellings the rich sunshine wear,
Ships spread their dazzling canvass to the breeze,
And sail like lessening stars out on the dark blue seas

The description of the Temple of Fortune is very fine ; and the allusion to Napoleon in the close of it, gives the whole an air of noble melancholy that is extremely pleasing :

Quitting the thick wood, on a plain we 'light,
Where straight before my wondering eyes appear
Thousands of torches streaking the dark night,
Streaming from windows vast of some huge palace bright.

Was not a window in the extended pile
But forth there shot long lances of bright beams:
Lofty the structure rose; for many a mile
The hills and woods were tinged with the gleams
Of the red light, aye pouring out in streams.
My eyes to mark its splendour scarce endure:
It seem'd as if created in the dreams
Of young enthusiasts.

More clearly now I see
The wide-spread structure on that torch-lit plain,
Compos'd of every thing most light and vain;
Show without strength, and costly yet unsure:
The walls had scarcely power to sustain
The weighty roof, to make which more secure,
Buttresses far project that could still less endure.

Of architecture there was every kind,
Gothic and Grecian, mixture most uncouth;
The ponderous Moorish, and the style of Ind;
Part new, part crumbling 'neath time's gnawing tooth;
Where solid seeming, most unsound in truth,—
Its frail foundation shook when loud within
Resounded headlong revelry of youth.
Now near arriv'd, we heard contesting din
Of music, shouts, and mirth, which should the mastery win.

The Poet's Pilgrimage.

The column'd portico, illumined gay,
 With glittering lamps of every varied hue,
 Spread all around an artificial day,
 And carv'd antiquity expos'd to view,
 Ting'd with each different light, green, crimson, blue.
 The windows stain'd show'd many a quaint device,
 Giving to Fortune all her honours due;
 Which to relate in all their truth and price,
 The time from earliest youth to age would scarce suffice.

And now toward the gate our way we made,
 Where we soon mingled with a struggling crowd,
 Surrounded by a rattling cavalcade,
 Wind-flaring torches, voices fierce and loud,
 Chariots, and gilded cars, and sumpters proud.
 This was the entrance nam'd of Confidence,
 And none but with self-confidence endow'd
 Could enter there. Fain would I haste from thence,
 But could not now withstand the current's violence.

Vain was resistance; we were swift convey'd
 Into a spacious hall, most richly dight,
 In tapestry of freshest hues array'd,
 And glittering with an aching blaze of light,
 Reflected from a thousand mirrors bright.
 The arras told the stories of all those
 Who had ascended to the loftiest height
 Of worldly power—by Fortune's aid who rose,
 Ev'n from the basest grade, through circumstance and foes.

The Scythian shepherd's tale might there be read,
 The mighty Tamerlane, and thousands more;
 But chiefly mark'd I one who on his head
 The diadems of two fair kingdoms wore;
 Two sceptres also in one hand he bore,
 And with the other scatter'd honours round,
 While Victory long his legion's flew before.—
 But soon I saw him stretch'd upon the ground,
 And he who empires gave, was now a captive bound.

Calm and majestic was he, though undone;
 His royal heart could never be subdued:
 Still to the last his ardent spirit shone,
 And as the setting sun more nobly show'd
 Ev'n for the clouds that his decline pursued.
 Few friends remain'd, but they preserv'd their faith
 In worst extremes with generous fortitude;
 They serv'd their master to his latest breath,
 Through all his sufferings bitterer far than death.

The author's imagination appears to great advantage in his description of the Cave of Neglect, and the dreary domains that surround it. The following are among the best stanzas in the poem:

As by one thought impell'd, one impulse led,
 Round the bare rocks we wound that intercept
 Our searching sight; full silently we tread,
 And now, as we imagin'd, we had crept
 Where his lone seat the hoary hermit kept.

Yet nought could see, save rugged rocks and grey,
In antic shapes, that in the twilight slope;
And oft we watch'd them, moveless as they lay;
Deeming them human forms—nor night it was, nor day.

Were we deceiv'd? The hollow voice and word
Still sounded in our ears, yet nothing near
From whence it could proceed we mark'd or heard:
All round about was deathly still and drear.
More superhuman now those sounds appear;
Perhaps the spirit of that lifeless waste,
Not the sad plaint of holy hermit seer,
Driv'n from the world by hatred and distaste
For worldly pleasures vain and luxuries unchaste.

While thus I stood, methought a rustling noise
I heard among the grass and fragments bare;
And now again I felt that solemn voice
Heavily rolling o'er the dusky air:
"Come, follow me!" it cried. With eager start
I look'd around, and with a fearful start
Fancied I saw a figure, gaunt and spare,
In slow and solemn measure move athwart
Those rocks of which he seem'd by that dim light a part.

Whence it had risen could I not declare;
It mov'd right onward like a dusky cloud,
Nor wound among the rocks spread here and there:
And now the darkness did it wholly shroud;
Or it had vanish'd; but in voice more loud
To where it mov'd it soon recall'd my eyes:
"Come, follow me!"—Unconsciously I bow'd,
And aiding my companion weak to rise,
We anxiously pursue where the slow shadow flies.

Long time we had not journey'd ere we reach
The rocks, a rugged wall, the vale that gird,
And in those rocks we now behold a breach,
Some dreary cavern's mouth. Awhile deterr'd,
Gazing we stood, until again we heard,
The awful voice resounding as on high:

"Enter, and fear not; enter!" On the word
More boldly we advanc'd, but could espy
No light to guide our steps or cheer the poring eye.

I follow'd him, until a taper red,
Or glimmering lamp, far in the cave we view,
And toward this welcome light we haste with courage new.

Narrow the passage was through which we pass,
Until we near'd this solitary light,
The which a faint uncertain radiance cast

Upon a chamber wide, and of such height
We could not reach the ceiling with our sight;
Dry leaves were strew'd in a retiring nook,
The bed no doubt of some world-wearied wight,
Who in disgust the paths of man forsook,
And on a tablet low was laid full many a book.

We heard no more in the deep cave's recess
The hollow awful accents quite expired,
And toward the close the sound grew less and less,

The Poet's Pilgrimage.

As if by slow degrees the voice retir'd—
 I cast my eyes around me and admir'd
 That antique cave, and sage inscriptions read ;
 While my companion, with his travel tir'd,
 And weak with loss of blood, sank on the bed,
 That leafy couch, and lay as motionless as dead.

Around the granite walls I saw engraven
 Full many a scroll in ancient character,
 Of vanity of all things under heaven,
 And human foolishness that could prefer
 To mix in the world's business and stir,
 Hoping to raise or benefit mankind ;
 While base ingratitude did aye defer
 All hoped return, and many a noble mind,
 By madness overthrown, in disappointment pin'd.

Science alike and sage philosophy
 Were thrust into Neglect's unknown abode ;
 The noblest products of man's industry
 The various parts of this huge cavern ow'd,
 For my remembrance too severe a load.
 Some works I saw that many an after-age
 Shall deem the highest blessing God bestow'd,
 And reverence the hitherto-neglected sage,
 Whose very name is raz'd from history's partial page.

How different fate, methought, has been their fate
 The deadliest enemies our race has known,
 Pursued with blindest worship early, late ;
 And some, ador'd for efforts not their own,
 Have to the world's eye stood aloft, alone.
 How oft has persecution hunted him
 Upon whose toils the light of science shone,
 To clear the errors of man's darkness dim,
 Compell'd to drain the cup of sorrow from the brim !

But most in corners thrown without regard,
 Begrim'd with dust I saw the poet's lays ;
 The nobly gifted heaven-inspired bard
 Had not the poor reward of empty praise.
 Here strains I read that in more favour'd days
 Would have uprais'd the author to the skies,
 But now in cold Neglect's lone cave he stays,
 Companion with the learned, great and wise :
 Well could his lofty soul the world's contempt despise !

We have no doubt that the extracts given above will induce many to read this sweet little production. It is really worthy of being added to our national literature. Sublimity and magnificence, whatever may be said, are not congenial to the generality of minds ; but there are very few who cannot taste the delights of simplicity and tender feeling ; and when these, as in the present instance, are connected with rich descriptions of nature, they seldom fail to bestow lasting pleasure. We are never tired of the Castle of Indolence. The Poet's Pilgrimage belongs to the same genus. Whoever is fond of Spencer, and of the above-mentioned work of Thompson, will be glad, we are sure, to add the present volume to their old favourites. It is not at all unworthy of such company.

*
**CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIVE
 ARMY OF INDIA, BY AN INDIAN OFFICER.**

Numerous and alarming as our failures have been in India, during the last twenty-two years, none can be compared with that which recently occurred at Ramoo. In vain may we look for skill, enterprise, conduct, and, (shall it be said ?) courage. It is, perhaps, unfair to judge from such imperfect accounts as have hitherto appeared before the public; but the fatal result of that disaster forces itself upon us under the most mortifying and melancholy reflections.

Who is the enemy in whose presence we have thus lowered our military fame? In enterprise and gallantry they have not yet shown themselves superior to ordinary Asiatic troops, though they have in other respects. Can it be believed, that 1200 or 1300 men, under British officers, with two field-pieces, would allow themselves to be approached by trenches, in a plain, for three days, and eventually, when the enemy had got within twelve yards, retreat in open day without making an offensive attempt? Here was no fort, no stockade, to offer in excuse, or screen our fast-fading renown from the public eye; and this too in the meridian of our power, after wars recently terminated, proclaiming us invincible, and apparently without an enemy capable of encountering us in the field.¹

Let the melancholy result prove beneficial, by convincing those on whom responsibility rests, of the extreme fragility of our Eastern empire—of the uninterrupted vigilance, energy and talent, requisite for its preservation—of how much depends upon the established character, high, dignified, moral tone, and expansive views of the Governor General—and of the extreme danger of vesting such an empire in the hands of any but the most able and experienced statesmen. An empire depending so much, if not entirely, on the “thread of opinion,” ought surely to have

¹ In justice to the memory of those who fell on that unfortunate occasion, and to the general character of the Bengal army, as well as that portion of it immediately engaged, we think it proper to state that we have now before us a letter of an officer intimately acquainted with that affair, although not personally an actor in it; and from the detailed account he gives, it appears that this disgrace to British arms was attributable, in the first place, to a reinforcement having been promised, which ought to have arrived early on the 16th of May, but which was not sent as promised, although its expectation had made the force hold out; and, secondly, to the faithlessness of the Mugs and provincial troops, which composed part of the force who actually abandoned their post to the enemy; owing to which the regulars were completely surrounded by the enemy on the morning of the 17th, one day after the reinforcement ought to have come up. Besides, by this time, most of the officers as well as many of the men were wounded; many were in the sick-list; and the whole were worn out and exhausted by four days' continual fighting, as well as thinned and dispirited by the wholesale desertion of the Provincials, while the enemy was hourly increasing; so that to hold out longer without the promised reinforcement, or even to retreat, became impossible. Capt. Nolan enjoyed a high character among his brethren in arms, as an expert and gallant officer; nor do those military men, best acquainted with the affair, believe that any blame whatever attached to him or the officers and regular troops who were with him on that melancholy occasion. Yet there was and must have been a fault somewhere; but no inquiry has been yet instituted, and no example made to remove this stain from the British arms.—Ed.

that opinion well supported at the fountain head. Let this (though strong in fact) be weak in general estimation, and we are already self-subdued, whilst our enemies increase proportionally, not only numerically but (what is more dangerous) in confidence. It is much to be feared that neither the Court of Directors nor his Majesty's Government are duly impressed with the great importance of those considerations, and that they repose too much upon the almost miraculous escapes we have had hitherto, in the least to attend seriously to warnings of disaster, perhaps repeated, oftener unrealized heretofore than they will be hereafter. Our Eastern empire is now, as it were, so overgrown as to territory, population and states, and so very feebly supported with troops, that it may justly be likened to a bubble ready to burst into nonentity at the touch.

The European troops, however gallant and efficient, however capable of exciting, leading, and infusing confidence into the mass of the Native army, it must be allowed are much too small a body to resist a general rising without its cordial aid. It is from the general feeling of the country we have to apprehend ruin, and so long as this does not extend to the army, there is little cause for alarm, provided the latter be duly augmented and attended to. It should ever be kept in view, that India has always been revolutionary, and accustomed to yield nearly with indifference to the predominating power of the day; that (whatever some persons may think of the permanency of British rule) the public mind is in reality fully predisposed for change, from an innate instinctive impression of its taking place sooner or later; that though our superiority over preceding governments be admitted, its stability on such ground is merely comparative; that whilst any measures tending to irritate the inhabitants against us must prove injurious in proportion to their extent, yet our utmost and even successful care towards gaining their affections can only yield us passive indifference, and not always this in critical times, for the population have no feelings in common with us: and though they would probably regret eventually the fall of our dominion, yet experience of suffering is required in many parts of the country to enable a contrast to be formed in the first instance, and reaction of feeling, therefore, could not be expected till too late for effectual purposes; but, above all, let it never be forgotten that the Native army is composed of the inhabitants of the conquered country, and therefore cannot have too much attention constantly directed towards its feelings, affections, and morals.

That it has been upon the decline for many years must be obvious to many. It no longer evinces that decided superiority in action, nor are its ordinary duties of escort, camp and cantonment, performed with punctuality, vigilance, and spirit.

Slovenliness, indifference, and, in very many cases, carelessness to a criminal degree, characterize the common routine—want of energy, and confident successful gallantry in presence of the enemy.

The *materiel* of the troops is the same, but the *morale* is injured to an extent truly alarming and destructive to our Eastern empire.

For the performance of ordinary duties, we need only advert to the numerous recorded instances of treasure-escorts being successfully

¹ An invasion by an European power is not taken into account here, though it becomes more probable daily, and should be kept in view.

attacked—of prisoners effecting their escape—of sepoy on duty being actually concerned in theft and robbery.

Conduct against an enemy seldom partakes of brilliancy—often of shameful backwardness. The former is lauded in romantic terms; the latter seldom reported, but either varnished over or thanked in general terms, from the generous feeling which victory inspires. But the day approaches fast, if it be not already arrived, when success is to be attained only by the full exertion of the mental and physical powers of all ranks.

It may be doubted whether the deterioration alluded to is positive, or only comparative; whether it may not be the improvement of the enemy, aided by the gradual removal of the delusion which time and events cannot fail to have materially dispelled, of our being invincible under all circumstances, however inferior in number and position. Allowing it to be comparative, it is, perhaps, the more dangerous, and improvement is the more to be desired; but the evil, in fact, partakes of both.

The enemy are improved, and will continue to improve, in military knowledge—in knowledge of our weakness and of their own strength, whilst we must continue to fall off, unless suitable measures be adopted to renovate the system.

In considering existing evils, it may be advantageous first to advert to the Native soldier, and, secondly, to the European officers as a distinct body.

Of various causes tending to the deterioration of the Native army, the diminution of their officers' authority and influence may be brought forward as a primary one. Whether from a feeling of jealousy towards officers, or of kindness towards the men, is not necessary to surmise, but the fact is indisputable, that for about the last twenty years the power of the former has been gradually curtailed, till at length rendered nearly passive; possessing not the authority to effect good, or materially to check evil, they are disgusted and rendered indifferent to their immediate charge, and the great interest of the service at large.

It would be superfluous to enter into a minute detail of facts in elucidation of the above. Let a few suffice:

1. The use of the rattan has been (very properly) discouraged, and forbidden on all occasions.
2. A commanding officer cannot discharge a man unless convicted of theft.
3. He cannot carry the sentence of a court martial into effect if it exceed 300 lashes, without previous reference to the Commander-in-Chief.*
4. He cannot carry a sentence into execution without previous reference to the Commander-in-Chief, if the court should recommend the prisoner to be discharged the service.
5. In recommending for promotion, he is tied down to seniority; or obliged to detail reasons for deviation opposite each individual's name.³
6. Although no prohibitory order exists, yet neither the regulation nor custom of the service vests him with the discretionary power (all his Majesty's officers hold) of reducing non-commissioned officers to the ranks.⁴

* Who is generally in Calcutta, so distant from many stations, that an answer cannot be received to a reference in less than five weeks!

³ Consequently promotion is demanded pertinaciously as a right, not for good conduct, &c. &c., but because "first on the roll."

⁴ A most serious evil where there is so much petty escort duty.

Other points might be adverted to, but these are probably sufficient to show what little power remains for the maintenance of an energetic spirited discharge of duty in cantonments and camp. Surely it is far short of adequacy to so important an end—the main end of every army. But insufficiency is not the only, nor perhaps the chief objection: what do such restrictions intimate to officers? That they are tyrannically and cruelly disposed towards their men; that they have not capacity for command; that turpid partiality overcomes a sense of duty; or, that they are a set of traitors, ready to turn against their government and country, and therefore divested of that authority and influence over their men, indispensable to a due discharge of a soldier's primary functions. Admitting them for a moment to be such, or worse if possible, is not the remedy applied nearly as bad as the supposed evil it is intended to guard against, viz, the subversion of Government? The cause, indeed, is changed, but is not the fatal result equally if not more sure? It is true, a set of supposed bad men are weakened, but are not those the men from whom support is to be derived in the hour of peril; by whom chiefly the country must be lost or saved, as previously rendered weak or powerful? To say that some did or would abuse their authority, only leads to a question of—whether we can ever expect entire good from any measures, however wise, unalloyed by some evil? But might not the evil be materially checked by a proper attention to character on the part of the Adjutant-General,^a and not by generalizing, shackle the whole, and by restraining the bad from wickedness, prevent the upright, zealous, and able from effecting good?

Officers may be considered the nerve, the invigorating spirit, the very soul of Native troops. British soldiers are the most undaunted, courageous, and persevering perhaps in the world, yet their officers are not only more numerous, but possess more authority than those of the Native army. Is not this strangely inconsistent? To what erroneous principle is it traceable? Is it a well known error, allowed to continue, from consideration of the expense involved in its remedy, combined with the apprehension entertained of the officers before referred to? Or are Native troops so much more spirited than our own gallant countrymen, as to require fewer animating leaders? Or is it, that the former already perform all that can reasonably be looked for, and that an augmented proportion of officers are therefore superfluous? Admitting, as a matter of necessity, that the numbers cannot be increased, should not the paucity be compensated by increasing their power, influence, energies, and all moral qualities, instead of curtailing, undermining, and depressing them, as has been the constant endeavour of the last fifteen or twenty years? Surely this appears indisputable, and it is practically proved by the state of the army—a state of inanimate, decrepid, slumbering, torpid indifference.

The second cause is of the most alarming nature, because of its long secret working, but it may be in some measure traceable to the first.

Of the several and increasing instances of shameful backwardness on the part of Native troops many must be fully aware; but perhaps they may be somewhat at a loss to account for them. They are chiefly ascribable to misconduct being seldom noticed.

In the generous flow of feeling which success inspires, all are thanked

^a Aided by Brigadiers and General Officers, commanding stations and divisions.

in general terms: many very deservedly so, but there are others to whom disgrace would be more appropriate. To such procedure, officers are influenced by many feelings and considerations, viz.

1. It is not always known in the proper quarter till too late, and even then only by vague rumour.
2. Reporting misconduct is invidious and repugnant.
3. By natural (but unreasonable) feeling it comes home as a reflection upon commanding officers themselves.
4. Each thinks the particular instance of little consequence, as no immediate evil arose, without considering the influence of every such occurrence upon the service at large.

Thus every time a corps goes into action it deteriorates more and more. It is not only found possible to be backward with impunity, but that such is stamped as gallantry! Bravery is relative: is it wonderful that really brave men should exchange their own ideas of it (attended with so much danger) for ours, (as often brought home to them,) admitting of comparative security? The most gallant will not meet shot if it can be avoided with honour, without the loss of rank or reputation. Our Native troops, finding this to be the case, with little exception, are reduced to the alarming state already adverted to.

It may be a matter of astonishment that officers should be blind to this; or seeing, not check or bring it forward themselves; but it is easily accounted for. Reasons for not bringing it forward have already been given; and to check or remedy, they possess not the power. Were officers treated with honourable confidence, and vested with proper discretionary authority, they would apply remedies on the spot; or, without apprehension of inculpating themselves, submit the case for redress to superior power. Scarcely an action takes place that does not call for reward and punishment. The latter, however, should be mild, limited, but steadily applied, chiefly to the commissioned and non-commissioned. Whole troops or companies should never be discharged. There must be some amongst them not meriting punishment, and nothing operates so banefully as its infliction undeserved. Besides, we ourselves, not the troops, are to blame for admitting such habits to gain ground, and thereby actually deceiving the men as to what is required. How unjust then to inflict upon them what in reality *we* deserve. Such evils cannot be eradicated at once, but gradually as opportunity offers.

It may be thought that the curtailment of officers' power is a great advantage to the men, by ensuring to them more justice, and less arbitrary conduct. Such may be the case to them individually, and in peace to the service; but how does it operate in war? in action? A sepoy fights not for "cause," or "country;" and though he prefers British service because the best, he would not merely, in support of that preference, be influenced by other considerations, sacrifice his life. He must be considered a mercenary, and a mercenary with less stimulating motive than any in Europe. Self-interest must be taken in the most abstracted sense for the law of his conduct; and so long as this can be secured by a lukewarm discharge of duty, it would evince but little wisdom to expect more from him. The authority and influence of which officers have been divested, centre now ostensibly in the Commander-in-Chief, but virtually in the Adjutant-General, and consequently the effects must

depend a good deal upon the qualifications⁶ of the latter. When high-minded, spirited, liberal, talented, and active, the evil will not be so much felt, as his genius will influence every measure. The meritorious will be certain of a congenial recognition; the slothful and ill-disposed of quick detection. But how truly lamentable must be the reverse of those characteristics! General want of spirit and of confidence must prevail; all must droop. The Commander-in-Chief, knowing little of the army, and still less of individuals, *who* is to provide him with the requisite information, bearing upon its interests and prosperity at large, or the merits of particular men? The restrictions imposed upon officers, whilst they prevent and damp their exertion, may be made, by a disqualified Adjutant-General, the means of unworthy, suspicious, jealous irritation, quite destructive of an energetic efficient spirit throughout all ranks. The army falls into disrepute with its head, the Commander-in-Chief; and what is worse, it is sensible that it must, and therefore droops by anticipation in self-opinion. Officers cannot be selected for important commands with discrimination. On trial they fail lamentably, entailing not only extensive loss of life, but serious injury to the empire; dishonour and humiliation upon the whole army; and a consequent exclusion from future trust in favour of officers of his Majesty's service, who replace them with augmented means, chiefly Europeans, and may well triumph not only over the enemy, but the pride and interests of our own army. Can there be even one officer throughout the whole service insensible to such occurrences? And what must be the effect? Mortification, disgust, and eventual passive indifference.

But to return more directly to the men. If officers be thus reduced to such a state of degradation, and the men be taught that their officers are so limited in power as to be able to inflict no punishment, to confer no reward, that all is rule and regulation, is it to be expected that much devotion or attachment can exist?⁷

In contrasting the Native with the British soldier, it is to be recollected that, independent of the natural superiority of the latter, he has likewise that incomparable stimulant, the applause and scorn of his country. Of this the Native is nearly, if not totally void; he has comparatively no national feeling; and his conduct as a soldier, whether good or bad, affects him little after his discharge. No means exist of proclaiming his heroic or disgraceful deeds to the world, and bringing them home to the bosom of his family in tears of glowing pride or bitterness.

Wanting such excitements to heroism, with less physical power and energy, with fewer officers by one half, we perhaps should admire with gratitude the fidelity and services of our Native troops, and certainly should adopt every means to support and renovate them, till they attain that high state of which they are doubtless capable, and which the safety of our dominion requires.

It may be thought that justice to the men imposes a rigid scrutiny over

⁶ We cannot reflect upon this without being reminded, with strong feelings of pride and regret, of the late Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Fagan, who filled the situation so eminently for several years, as to command the highest respect and admiration both of the Government and the army.

⁷ These principles apply to mankind all over the world, but more forcibly to the East, where power more indigenously gains devotion, obedience, and affected, if not real, regard.

the conduct of their European officers. Though this is partially correct; yet it may be safely asserted that, generally, no two bodies are more kindly disposed towards each other, than the sepoy and his European officer. Can the former then be pleased at such treatment of those, whom before they looked up to with affectionate obedience? Can they be pleased at any measure tending to relaxation of duty in cantonments, to disgrace and death in the field? Assuredly not. A soldier feels forcibly the necessity of prompt obedience, and all agree to yield it; but if not habitually directed towards their officers, and to them alone, as the sources of reward, of punishment, severe suffering and danger overcome nature; and being indifferent to the only power at hand, (their officers,) they yield to immediate fear, with little apprehension from subsequent law process, which has so often proved to them a screen, rather than the sure means of detection and punishment.

It may be supposed, that the power and influence taken from officers has been, with much increase, transferred to Government; that the consideration and kindness manifested thereby, have directed the affections of the soldiery to an object of greater safety and stability. Allowing this for a moment, as to fact, is the Government thereby weakened or strengthened? It may, indeed, be strengthened abstractedly, but is reduced nearly to imbecility as a governing power: as in the human body, when the blood is all centered in the heart, the nerves and different members cease to exercise their functions; so when all power is concentrated in the immediate governing body of a state, the distant members, the natural sources of health and vigour, become inert and morbid; at length the hour of trial comes; at that momentous crisis, how fatal must prove the diminution of officers' authority! Can Government then stretch forth the sword, or raise a voice of thunder, to direct and invigorate its distant forces? No; the nerves, the animating power, are too much injured; all yield and recoil upon the Government, which at length becomes sensible, when too late, of its fatal error, and attempts to remedy when no longer possible.

Incessant harassing duty may be considered a third cause of unfavourable operation upon the Native soldier. He is worked out of his spirits by heavy duty in cantonment, by frequent long marches at all seasons of the year, and to such he sees no end. The whole army may be considered as performing the duties of an incessant campaign.

So extensive is the theatre, so disproportioned the number of troops, that even if war should not rage in the vicinity of where a soldier may be, it soon breaks out elsewhere: he is ordered off to the scene, perhaps a thousand miles distant, or left behind to perform heavy duty without a daily relief. This not only depresses his spirits, but gives him habits of indifference and negligence which can never be obliterated, and which are too frequently developed in the loss of treasure, escape of prisoners, &c. &c. These evils work deeper and more injuriously upon the tone and conduct of the whole army than can be readily supposed.

A fourth cause is the removal of officers of rank and standing from corps: no sooner is a Major promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, than he is transferred from a regiment with which he most probably spent the whole of his previous career. Thus all the knowledge of character acquired in that time is lost to every good purpose, as likewise, not only all the attachment; but the attachment is less than it would have been, did a dif-

ferent system prevail, of keeping officers and men as inseparable as possible. Officers would then endeavour more to win the confidence of their men, whilst the latter would yield it more readily, and be more circumspect in their conduct, when satisfied of being always under the eyes of the same individuals; but when constant change takes place, the evil deeds of the bad, and praiseworthy conduct of the good, are alike lost sight of; hence much excitement to general improvement is lost to the service at large. It will be readily conceived how indifferent an officer must be to a corps, with which he is not certain of remaining even a few months, and that the only exertions will be directed to a little parade exercise for appearance sake: indeed, beyond that would appear to him labour in vain, not knowing how soon his ephemeral successor would render it so by an opposite line of conduct.

Independently of the removals above referred to, it not unfrequently happens that commands of corps devolve upon officers of only a few years standing, owing to staff situations, furloughs to Europe, leaves of absence, volunteers, formation of grenadier and light infantry battalions, taking away so many, and no provision whatever existing, even partially, to make good the deficiency. Officers just entered the service, get charge of companies; the men cannot be attended to either in the discharge of their public duty, or private wants and interests: thus they feel themselves slighted and injured; their pride and self-consequence sink, not readily, perhaps never, to rise again.

Unquestionably some method should be adopted to correct this very serious evil. An increase of officers strikes one as the most simple, so as to meet the constant drain from corps for various other employments; and such must virtually be the mode, however modified by name or principle: but besides this, an European serjeant or corporal might be attached to each company with considerable effect. These, if well selected, would prove of essential service under all circumstances, but more especially in the field.

Notwithstanding the very great extension of our frontier, and all inland, without the aid of water-carriage, no consideration has been shown to the men. Full batta should be allowed them on all distant frontier commands, whether in camp or cantonments; for their duty is not only much increased in those situations, but they are more distant from their families, and the expense of subsistence is greater. In short, the characteristic superiority of the service is considerably diminished by the heavy augmentation of duty and increase of expense, without a commensurate increase of allowance; and such impressions are the more to be regretted, for, once established, they are not quickly removed by the application of even direct remedies. But if to this be added the fact, that husbandry, or almost any domestic occupation, now offers as good and secure maintenance, with less trouble and danger, the difficulty of recruiting to any extent may be viewed with considerable uneasiness, and this the more in proportion to the emergency.

* They suffer much on petty escort duty, being ordered off without any previous notice, unprovided with carriage of any kind; and the strictest orders preclude the use of any temporary intermediate aid from village to village; a trifling expense in the provision of a few Brunjara bullocks for each corps would most happily obviate this, and at the same time admit of Government orders being duly attended to regarding seizures, &c.

Whatever the Native troops have been, are now, or will be, has depended, and must ever depend, not upon them, but upon ourselves. They are faithful, quietly disposed, attentive, and brave; but all in proportion to our course of management. No people are so malleable, none so sensitive, or more readily turned to what we please. None can be more devotedly gallant; but they must have strong exciting motives. Dealing out bare justice by law will not answer that end. We ought to offer to them higher motives for serving us than mere self-interest in its narrowest sense.

THE POET'S HAUNT.

'Twas where the silver aspen quiver'd high
Above the solitary lapsing stream,
With many silent groves and ruins nigh,
Where drowsy Time seemed o'er his scythe to dream;

That I would sit erewhile, at evening hour,
When a soft sadness o'er my spirit came,
Listening the nestling birds within their bower
Singing to their answering mates their genial flame.

The fly went buzzing o'er the waters dim,
The fox peep'd cautious from the neighbouring brake,
And aye I mark'd the rapid swallow skim
The sleeping flood, and many a circle make.

And then my fancy shook her eager wings,
And snuff'd her quarry in the realms of thought,
And, as the sky-lark light, that mounts and sings
When her keen eye hath morning's beaming caught,

Sprang from the ground of what has been, to view
Things possible in rich invention's land,
Where forms eterne of every beauteous hue
Innumerable as dreams in order stand.

There Love, and Grace, and Beauty might be seen,
Perfect, and naked to the gazer's eye,
And there was Passion in his mighty mien,
And Nature in her infinite majesty.

And all, obedient to the potent wand
Of Fancy, flitted swift through earth and heaven,
Thick as the locusts on the Red Sea strand
In clouds before the furious tempest driven;

And aye that moving power seem'd to be,
Like Atlas huge, the pivot of the world;
But Art was not, to lend her ministry;
And so these mighty visions all were hurled
To herd with unremember'd dreams, in night,
Escaped from Memory's grasp, and vanished quite.

Brow.

POLITICAL REVIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE, IN 1825.¹

[Concluded from p. 577. of Vol. V.]

Illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnant.

Russia would in vain attempt to dispute with Great Britain pre-eminence, to stay its ascendancy, or to balance with brute force those moral powers which England possesses within its own bosom, and would awaken in that of all other nations. This colossal empire, how much soever it may extend itself over Europe, would be compelled to give way before a colossus still mightier than itself; but as Russia is not yet surrounded by those great events, she prepares to take the lead in them, whatever they may be. She exercises a supreme power upon the Continent; she has succeeded to the inheritance of Napoleon. Her orders, which traverse and fill all Europe, have the same weight at Paris that they have at Petersburg. She does not utter them in an overbearing tone; her ambassadors are forbidden to be proud; she does not threaten, nor appeal to her armies; she is scarcely heard; but her nod is like the nod of Jupiter. With the most civilized manners, she inculcates Oriental submission, and, by a mixture of policy and European, and Asiatic manners, gives to every thing a new physiognomy.

Russia cannot be viewed without surprise and alarm. She was hardly observed by Europe a few years ago, and is, indeed, like a newly-discovered world. Her gigantic armies seem to have sprung from the clouds of the North. In our own days, we have seen the Emperor of Russia signing a treaty of peace with the French King at Paris, at the same time that he signed a treaty of boundaries with the Emperor of China; an immeasurable greatness, which carries with it admiration and terror, and equals the power, and almost the majesty, of consular and imperial Rome.¹ It is not long since the highest wishes of its Emperors were bounded by the possession of Turkey, and the title of Emperors of Greece; but, since the fall of the French empire, its destinies have taken so lofty a flight, that it regards so easy a conquest with indifference. It has certainly something better to do than to add to its territory an inconsiderable outskirts of Europe: it presides in the councils of kings, whose sceptres it sways as it pleases; its sole will predominates over continental Europe; the other powers can merely form wishes. Russia has attained the power, and adopted the policy, of Rome; like her, she interferes in the quarrels between princes and their people; like her, she is chosen for arbiter: like her, keeping up peace between them, she advises or commands it; and, in conclusion, like her, she maintains her supreme power over all. What does Russia care for the intestine quarrels of France, or the senseless party which she protects? She has also protected the other party. What does it signify to her? It will be long

¹ Russia can hardly be said to hold the same rank among the nations now, which consular Rome did formerly. To equal Rome in power it must hold such rank; and England is at this moment superior in power and majesty to Russia.—*Tr.*

before the tree of liberty takes root in her empire ; it is a soil that has not yet been broken up ; but it makes use of those two levers to establish its name and power in the very heart of France.

Russia is placed in circumstances the most favourable to its aggrandizement ; for not only do kings take no alarm at the exhibition of its immense power—they invoke it as their surest defence against the power and opinion of the people, which, they imagine, bear a threatening aspect towards them. Occupied entirely in the care of their own preservation, they neglect the dignity of their crowns ; and follow in the wake of a power against which they would have been anxious, a few years ago, to excite all the jealousies of Europe. Neither Louis XIV. nor Charles V. was ever so much to be dreaded as the Emperor of Russia ; and yet, in order to humble them, the wounded pride of the sovereigns of Europe most readily shed the blood of twenty nations. But Russia, being quite free from the fear that torments them, takes advantage of their danger, and finds her own safety in it. By taking them under her protection, she subjects them to her power, and, fulfilling at once both their desires and her own, keeps the people in obedience to their princes, and the princes in obedience to herself. Thus monarchs are in the same condition as their people. All obey, and there is only one commander. But in preferring their own slavery to the liberty of their people, princes have imitated the horse in the fable, who, to be avenged of his enemies, received the bridle into his mouth.

But we must do justice to the character of the Emperor Alexander. No one could make a more moderate use of such immense resources ; and although philosophy with justice withholds her praise from him who has gone over to the ranks of her enemies, it must yet be confessed that he conducts himself with a degree of wisdom, of which, in his situation, the greater part of princes would be altogether incapable. This is true magnanimity ; but this magnanimity is only the virtue of one man, and man does not live for ever. The Emperor is not the empire, and it is the empire that is dangerous. The present is in the hands of Alexander ; but the future will belong to his successors : and thus, the successor of Alexander may to-morrow lead a million and a half of soldiers into Europe, and found an empire on the principle of Oriental empires. Were the people less civilized, and could they be driven back to that state of humiliation and ignorance in which the French aristocracy and the Romish clergy wish to see them, such would be the inevitable destiny of Europe.

The Prussian and Austrian cabinets at present dissemble their secret fears of being the first to encounter this formidable empire ; but these inquietudes are somewhat moderated by their dread of free governments ; which is so great that they would submit to yet greater dangers to be removed from the constitutional contagion. Besides, kings cannot now attend minutely to the symptoms of future dangers. The policy of Europe is simplified, and changed in intention. Formerly, the people were only the means, now they are the end of policy ; for kings, being no longer engaged in mutual quarrels, have only to struggle with their people. As there is but one danger, there is but one mode of defence ; kings and nations respectively make common cause with each other ; absolute is opposed to constitutional power : there are but two maxims of policy in Europe, and victory will leave but one.

However, before the event of the contest, we may dissipate the alarms of princes: the constitutional is not the republican spirit. The most profound investigation of public opinion proves that the nations of Europe were never less averse to monarchy. Superficial writers have very imprudently asserted that republicanism is the spirit of the age; this is true only of America, which in no respect resembles Europe. The spirit of the age is opposed to aristocracy, not to royalty.² It was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the republican spirit prevailed, and put every crowned head in danger. There was not a state existing at that epoch which did not make some effort to become republican, and many were successful. The revolutions of Great Britain, of Holland, Switzerland, Genoa, Naples, and Geneva; the attempts of Spain; the revolts of Italy, of the German States, and of Belgium; the civil wars of France; the projects of the reformers; the plots of the league; every thing proved that Europe was agitated and carried away by the republican principle. Within our own times, France has been a republic; but its founders, not being seconded by a republican education or opinion, were compelled to establish it on violence and crime; and therefore not having its basis in the French character, this republic endured no longer than the violence that had produced it. It was the dream of a few men who expected to effect those things by laws which are only to be effected by manners. France, therefore, was a republic, without being republican; it was a mere name, and lasted but for a day; and the attempt only tended to prove the feebleness of laws and the force of manners. The latter may be changed, but cannot be resisted; but violent laws are never sufficiently lasting to work a change in manners: it belongs only to just and humane laws to take root in time, and to produce new manners.

If, at that period, the republican principle began to spring up in Europe, it was repressed by the crimes and misfortunes of France, and extinguished in the blood which overflowed that republic.³ At the sight of so many crimes, royalty appeared no longer culpable; it was reconciled to mankind, and now, by making a few concessions, might consider itself firmly established. This is proved by events the most recent. In the last revolutions of Naples, Piedmont, Spain, Portugal, not only the principle of royalty, but even that of legitimacy, was preserved. The people did not rise to overthrow their kings, but to procure themselves a constitution. Let misrepresentation be practised on neither side; let things be depicted as they are: war is now waged by mankind against aristocracy, not against royalty; and if in any instance it is against royalty, it is only where it attempts to be absolute, or arms the aristocracy against the rights of the people. And, to leave nothing doubtful in this great question, which comprehends all the interests of

² We are afraid that in determining what is the spirit of the age, writers form their opinions from an imperfect induction; or they are led by a vicious course of policy to belie their convictions. From almost every evidence of the spirit of the age that has yet appeared, we are inclined to think that there is really no distinct spirit at all, and that after all the experiments that have been made, mankind are yet in doubt on the subject of government. America may settle the question.—Ta.

³ It is surprising that political writers should so often sacrifice truth to figures of rhetoric. Who can for a moment believe that the above assertion is founded in fact? Had the essay contained many such passages as this, it would have ill deserved, or repaid the trouble of translating.—Ta.

Europe, it must be added, that the attacks of public opinion are not directed against aristocracy itself, but against that privileged aristocracy, incompatible with the present civilization, and become insupportable to the enlightened classes of society, by far too elevated by their fortune, education, and manners, to submit to humiliating and unmerited superiority, and to perpetuate, in the midst of them, a prejudice ill defended by the laws, revolting to manners, and which, if not put down by authority, will inevitably be overthrown by public opinion.

This is the real wound of the body politic; the real hardship that preys upon society, which refuses to acknowledge an aristocracy hostile to its principles, and demands one that is new, purer, and better deserving. It will no longer be content with the shadow of merit and virtue, but will have to honour the realities. Mere birth is a mere fallacy; for it is not conceivable that the suspicious remembrance of a merit and a virtue which have been extinguished, should be preferred to all that living merit which everywhere abounds. Not that society desires to destroy the dignity of names, it merely desires that they who bear should deserve them; it demands that their past splendour should be revived in actual virtue; but it is indignant that to names alone should be given up both rank, and dignity, and honour, and riches, and all the advantages of the state.

Of all political institutions, an hereditary aristocracy is undoubtedly the most fatal to virtue, to genius, and to the prosperity of mankind; we should discuss this question without prejudice, which would be detestable in so serious a discussion. As this aristocracy always grasps at all the power and consideration of the state, it follows that immense national majorities are condemned to a life of inactivity, and mere animal enjoyment; the seeds of talent are extinguished, the springs of enterprise repressed; and thus the governments of a nation find themselves deprived of all those wonders which would spring from the exertions of a free people.

This reasoning is supported by experience. Where is the splendour of Italy, Spain, Germany, or France, since its career has been closed? These are the countries in which the aristocracy of birth prevails most. In contrast with these stationary or retrograding states, let the progress, grandeur, and immense and rapid development of Russia, since the Emperor Fodor destroyed the hereditary aristocracy in that country, be considered. It may be said, that by that single action he laid the foundation of a power the most firm and extensive. In this manner a great empire springs from a great idea; there, men are what they should be; there, a man may build hopes on his virtues, his talents, his knowledge—things which are useless or hurtful in the countries of privileged orders; there, merit creates ambassadors, and generals, and ministers.⁴ A man whom the Russian Emperor employs as an ambassador could not be so employed by the King of France; for, in that proud country, a man of mean birth can never reach any post of eminence. Russia is represented by men, and France by names. Court maxims prevail in France over those of the statesman, or rather the court is the state; as is but too well

⁴ This panegyric on Russia is extremely incongruous with noble sentiments: whatever else a man may be in that country, he must still be a slave: and what does it signify to be a *slave-ambassador* or a *slave-general*?—The.

proved by the men of middling talents produced by it; and, indeed, what else could it produce? The understanding is guided by the heart, and, like it, is demeaned and extinguished in the neighbourhood of royalty; every thing lofty is lowered as soon as it enters a court; and many a man who suffers himself to be reduced to insignificance by a title, might without it have reached the greatest eminence. This was well understood by Louis XIV. who was taught by the Cardinal Richelieu; he degraded the great by drawing them about himself, and taking them into his pay.

But the example of France itself may be cited in support of our position; for did it not produce wonders during that short interval in which the hereditary aristocracy was removed? Did not great actions and great men spring up in all ranks and places, in spite of the crimes of the revolution? Was not Europe subdued as well by its genius as by its valour? By offering equal glory and honour to all kinds of merit, did not France create heroism in every heart, and genius in every head? How abundant would man, and the works of man, become under the hand of a great king, who should know how to search for the true springs and sources! But what are we now to expect of France, again subjected to the influence of courtiers and the clergy of Rome? She has fallen into the vulgar track, and can never be inspired to any sublime effort by priests, who, like the Caliph Omar, would have but one book upon the earth; or by courtiers, who regard the labours of genius as the task of a peasant. It is a truth which can never be too earnestly inculcated, that an hereditary aristocracy, by its exclusive pre-eminence, condemns the people to insignificance, extinguishes virtue in its seeds, arrests the flight of genius, dries up the springs of wealth, and paralyses the efforts of both kings and nations. This was asserted even to Louis XIV.; and it must be a truth carrying no ordinary conviction, since it was evident during that Oriental reign, a period in which prejudices subsisted in the greatest vigour.

It is, therefore, an established truth, that an hereditary nobility is not for the interest of monarchy, since it is opposed to the progress of nations. But there is another truth which renders this useless: it is, that kings are alarmed at the progress of nations, through a hatred of that spirit of liberty which is consequent on their development. They dread that greatness to which they are raised by liberty; they think that to honour mankind is to detract from their dignity; and are anxious to see all the collected majesty of an empire upon one brow, reckoning that whatever the people gain, they themselves necessarily lose. But this arises from kings taking a wrong view of the new tendencies of mankind: they are ignorant how much they might be beloved if they would become the chief defenders of their people's rights; it is an experiment to be tried, and may be tried without danger by the kings of France. The most beloved prince of their race was a popular king: the others have been admired, or feared, but he only was beloved; and it may be known, by his example, what sort of kings are proper for France.

Contemporary monarchs, not having been born in the era of written laws and reigning liberty, inheriting absolute power, which is the legacy

* The wolf has also hitherto been ignorant of how much he might be beloved, if he would only become the defender of the lamb. He may be more correctly instructed in the new order of things.—T.R.

of violence, never look to the principles of things, but take them up when they happen to overtake them. This is well enough for them ; but the people, whose only refuge is in principles, are careful to oppose them to abuses, as soon as they are able. Kings come into this world, and find the people enslaved ; and immediately conclude that slavery is a permanent condition of humanity : in their eyes, whatever is, is right. They mistake organized disorder for the most immutable order ; and, therefore, looking upon slavery as a part of the nature of things, regard those nations who demand back the right of which force has despoiled them, as rebels and enemies. And this prejudice is carried so far, that the Austrian cabinet, in all its political documents, confines the epithet *civilized* to enslaved nations. It is quite worthy of that cabinet to recognise civilization only in obedience. It is Oriental civilization, and is the only kind that suits Austria.

Austria is the real home of despotism. The justice of that Government consists in rendering it supportable ; but although the principle is somewhat mollified in its action, it still continues to preserve the whole extent of its nature. An emperor of Austria understands nothing else ; except despotism, every thing appears to him heresy and sophistry ; and, therefore, he is most active and intolerant in the coalition of kings against mankind. The policy of Charles V. is still as vigorous there as it was in his own times, and is only modified in action by the differences of times. The imperial power considers all independence as hostility : that of the German States is insupportable to it ; it is as constantly occupied in contriving their ruin, as Rome was in contriving that of Carthage. But patient hatred is the basis of its policy ; it grants nothing to passion, lest it should permit something to chance. The intentions of Austria are ill discovered by its actions, for of all court policy it follows the most crooked : it is made up of all the wheels of Italian politics. But if its springs are mysterious, its end is very often visible enough. It should never be forgotten by the German States, that Austria is engaged in a perpetual conspiracy against their independence ; and that she will, if it be necessary, consume two ages in compassing their destruction. Time is counted for nothing by the Government of Austria ; in changing its emperor, it never changes its means or end, but looks for success in the mere permanence and unity of its views. The end being once laid down, it determines to reach it by justice or by injustice ; the policy of Austria recognises neither crimes nor virtues, but merely means to an end. Its behaviour towards the Greeks is a trait of its character. Yet it must be said to its honour, that if its government is despotic, it is not tyrannical, at least not towards its natural subjects ; but its acquired provinces are treated like conquered countries. At home it governs with the sceptre, elsewhere with the sword ; Austria is subjected to laws, Italy to servitude.

Austria is in the height of her glory, when she succeeds in establishing force in any country ; for, more than any other power, she regards it as the principle of every thing, and accepts the consequences of it with remarkable resignation. All her homage is paid to force. Her conduct

* This is an unmeaning paradox : in Austria, the Emperor entirely sways the laws, banishes, imprisons, executes, whomsoever he pleases. He commands the Professors of his Universities to falsify history, and then do it. His word is law ; and yet the author of this essay tells us that Austria is governed by laws !—Tu.

towards Napoleon is the last example she has given of this. No government sustains reverses better: in her opinion force is never unjust; she does not accuse it even when she herself is overcome by it, and, therefore, expects that no one shall accuse her when she triumphs by it. Hope and courage cleave to her in her greatest reverses; she knows how to draw more advantage from a defeat, than any other power from a victory. After losing ten battles, she is exactly where she was; for when her arms are subdued, her policy is still victorious; and if no cabinet knows better how to bend to circumstances, neither does any understand better how to draw advantage from them.

At no period has the policy of Austria been more determined than at the present moment; for absolute power is attacked by the constitutional principle, and, therefore, she has no longer any thing to disguise. For the first time her language is sincere: she proclaims the principles of despotism, and maintains them by the sword. She preserves no measures with her new enemy; but, forgetting her old hatreds, she directs her sword and her influence against the sole object of her fear and terror,—the constitutional principle. In order to attack it, she has entered into a league with her rivals—she has joined with Prussia. The cause of absolute power has, therefore, united those whom so many jarring interests had hitherto kept asunder; has produced this monstrous friendship.

The cabinet of Prussia is no less terrified than that of Austria. Her fear had extorted from her a promise, which was forgotten when the fear ceased; but the Prussian people were easily duped, for it was not at all probable that a military government could coalesce with a constitution. What guarantee could be given in a monarchy of bayonets, that the rights of the citizen should be respected? Prussia is hardly capable of any other form. She can neither change her policy nor her administration: she must be always in arms, and her land must be a perpetual camp. And, in reality, she is encamped, like the Romans, in the heart of Europe; and, like Pompey's soldiers, is always on her feet. Her open situation keeps her in this state of alarm and prudence; and by these means alone can she maintain herself in the rank of a first-rate power, for she would sink down among the last on the instant she should become a civil, rather than a military community. Lying almost defenceless between nations that keep her in perpetual fear, she finds her only safety in being perpetually under arms. Villages defended by good armies are strong places; it is the saying of Turenne put in practice by Prussia. It is the military system of the first Romans. The whole nation is animated by the same warlike spirit, as may easily be judged by that military attitude in which it delights; by that passion for strategic study universal among this people, whose literature is composed of nothing but military memoirs, treatises on tactics, in a word, of works on the art of war. The military spirit and condition of Prussia keep up its political existence; and its neighbours respect without fearing it, because it may always maintain equal rank, but never a superior. The Prussian government being, therefore, military, and being compelled to continue so, is the cause why the other European nations are obliged to maintain their warlike establishments, ruinous and hostile to liberty in every condition. Freedom does not spring up on parades. How, therefore, should Prussia, which is nothing but one grand parade, be ever converted into an asylum of public liberty? Still its population desire freedom,—they even

demand it, and may, perhaps, shortly be driven to take it by force. They have already obtained an organ of public opinion, which is a principle of life for its future destiny. This victory is greater than its government are aware: a great river may flow from a very small spring. This nation, with almost all those of Europe, is in opposition to its government; and has united in that general but tacit struggle, which it is to be hoped; for the sake of monarchy, may never become open and declared.

Those nations who are anxious to obtain and exercise their rights, are not in want of examples: Prussia borders upon Belgium, that second land of liberty in Europe; and every contact has consequences. Its desire of being free cannot fail to increase by observing a nation which can boast of being so. The House of Orange is fertile in noble and generous princes; their government is mild and liberal; the happiness of living under their protection is truly enviable. Of all the royal families of Europe, it is undoubtedly the most friendly towards the people. It is just and useful to make and give rise to this reflection; no living monarch possesses more virtues than the present King of Belgium; no one is more disposed to perform the duties of royalty, nor is there any king or private individual more thoroughly imbued with the love of justice and respect for the laws: under such princes the republican principle seldom spreads in a nation.

Nevertheless, this excellent prince is incapable of bestowing happiness on his people. It bends beneath the weight of taxes; the commerce of the country is attacked by Great Britain, which has put its own in the place of it; its system of administration is bad. These are not endless and irremediable evils, but they are quite sufficient to weigh down the heart of a whole people. To be free is not every thing, nor should that happiness be bought at the expense of every other; it is not enough to be left to breathe at ease; the air must not be weighed out and sold at an enormous price. No king should be ignorant, that if there is but little danger in wounding a few classes of citizens, there is a great deal in touching large masses; nor should he ever forget that overwhelming taxation is the mediate or immediate cause of revolutions, which it gives rise to or directs; and of which, if not the cause, it is always the excuse.

It would be worthy of the wise King of Belgium not to leave to his successors the pleasure and glory of healing the wounds of his country, and to remove that sad concert of complaints, which must often disturb the repose of so virtuous a king. But if at any time the happiness of this kingdom should be secured, it would still be wanting in dignity; for it is much too weak, inclosed as it is by such mighty powers, to resist the influences which must come upon it by its coasts or frontiers.

Nations are not wise enough to judge of their condition by comparison: else there are very few who might not, by looking at Greece and Spain, learn to be content with their own. What cries of lamentation arise in those countries! The Indians of America are thoroughly avenged! But what has Spain lately performed to excite the anger of kings, and to bring upon herself the calamities she has experienced! As a reward for her devotion to her king, she demanded the restoration of those rights which Charles V. and his atrocious son trampled under foot. She owes all her misfortunes to the new leaguers of France. The Spanish revolution, they say, sprang from that of France, and the two monsters should

be drowned together in the blood of the Spaniards; revolution must be killed at Madrid, that it may die at Paris. Such were the thoughts of the advisers of this war, termed by a minister of religion a *holy war*—a mysterious name set apart for the proscriptions of the Romish church. But what has happened? Why, the spirit of revolution has gained new strength both at Madrid and Paris; it subsists in blood, and grows amongst hecatombs. The authors of this war assumed a right of interfering, for violence is very desirous of being called right when it does any thing. When Philip II. sent his armies to Paris to the assistance of the league, he also exercised the right of interfering; for such are the maxims of unjust power. Austria did not fail to apply them to Italy; its violent code is rich in these maxims; but if republican governments were strong and unjust enough to establish their right of interference, we should see some strange consequences from this politic legislation. It is upon this basis, however, that the Holy Alliance is erected; but what is this right of interference but the right of invasion? And where is the right of invasion, when no offence has been committed, no attack made? Justice only is a principle: the term can never belong to violence.

The French Ministers, who have now for three years governed only by their passions, were the beginners of that odious war. They despatched the warriors of France, like the gendarmes of the Holy Alliance, against Spain. Such is the humiliation into which they are fallen. Such has been the mission of that France, which, when it shall be guided by nobler hands, and be in possession of its constitutional rights, will make that Holy Alliance tremble, which now represses but cannot terrify it.

All Europe rung with the joyful exclamations of the preachers of this war; it is the cause of kings, said they; it is the cause of God, said the Romish priests: it was only the cause of tyranny. What hopes did they not raise on their plan of extermination! But all these efforts of pride, all these desires of vengeance, all these barbarous wishes, came to nothing through the virtue of a single man. When they saw their fury deceived, and their projects destroyed, they formed a more inhuman desire: they were anxious to see that virtue itself annihilated in the crimes of Spain; this is no revelation; the desire was but too publicly expressed. The Prince, who was the object of this base desire, to whom all the honour gathered in Spain is due, effaced by his humane and magnanimous conduct the odiousness of the enterprise; he triumphed over the passions of a corrupt people—a triumph much more glorious than could be acquired by arms; for, to speak like the Athenians, he gained a *tearless victory*; his army that was sent to destroy, came to protect. If it had executed the barbarous design of those who sent it, the French nation would have been as criminal towards the Spaniards, as the Spaniards formerly were towards the Indians. They who carried on this war are as worthy of praise, as they who planned it of execration; for they have turned Spain into a land of crimes and misfortunes, of which there appears no end.

To pass from Spain to Greece, is to pass from crime to crime, and from one abyss of villainy to another. In this cause the monarchical policy appears undisguised. The name of the Holy Alliance is only a cruel derision in the eyes of a whole Christian people, whom the kings that compose it contemplate unmoved, bleeding in the fangs of tigers in the shape of men. It might have been believed that a whole Christian people, threatened with extermination, would find refuge beneath the

banners of Christ, so pompously raised up in the hands of royalty; but the easy cold manner in which princes have looked on, is a public avowal that they speak of the interests of religion merely through a kind of decorum. Indeed, in the councils of nations, religion is never any thing more than a pretence: human interests are called divine only that they may be more readily respected. What now becomes of the right of kings to interfere? It is in such a case that it would be justified: but what is the Greek nation to them? It is not governed by a king of European race. Kings lend assistance to kings, not to nations.

But if we are astonished at the inaction of kings, what shall we say of the silence of Rome? In former times, Christian Rome excited all Europe to rush upon Asia; she drew together beneath the banners of Christ, kings, nobles, and people; at her voice all the kingdoms of the west joined in a Holy Alliance,—and for what? Only to secure the pilgrims to Syria; only to possess a ruin whose oracles had become dumb. But Rome did not then hesitate to bury whole generations in the sands of Asia, in order to establish its dominion there, and to make a Roman parish of Palestine. At present, this same Rome is mute at the sight of the massacre of a whole Christian people, who stain with their blood that celebrated country, which taught learning and refinement to Europe; the country which was the cradle of letters and religion, and in which the ministers of that religion have preserved the purity and mildness of the gospel. Rome no longer forms crusades against the Mussulmans, she now directs them against the Protestants. But the secret of her silence, with respect to Greece, is by no means impenetrable; for the Greek patriarchs do not acknowledge her supremacy—an unpardonable crime at Rome; and for this reason we are not to be astonished if Constantinople be dearer to her than Athens.

Rome has many other things to care for, besides the safety of Greece; her whole policy is employed in extinguishing philosophy: the Vatican is the seat and origin of a vast conspiracy, which pervades all the kingdoms of the West; the chiefs of her secret armies are in the courts of kings. The spirit of Rome penetrates into councils, and exerts itself in congresses. Throughout all the countries of Europe it silently directs a devoted clergy, united by one desire, actuated by one principle, obeying one will, tending to one end. And kings would one day awake in the chains of Rome, if the philosophical league of the people, which they so much dread, did not save them from this yoke.

The East is of no consequence to Rome; all its magazines are in the West. France is its place of defence and attack. There, are its visible and invisible armies, its most able ambassadors, its generals, its writers, its preachers; there, it possesses the direction of education; it has the heart of princes in its hands, and gives its commands to their ministers. Modern Rome, like the ancient, possesses the empire of Gaul; and in the midst of so great a triumph, what are the misfortunes of Greece to it? Christian Greece is deluged in blood, but Greece is schismatic; Rome does not acknowledge it; Greece is independent, and Rome desires none but slaves; it treats all who do not obey as rebellious; the sword of the Mussulmans is the exterminating sword spoken of by the prophet.

But, whatever may be the secrets of Rome, and the projects of the enemies of Greece, the empire of the East is at length falling to pieces;

according to the expression of Bossuet, *it can now do no more*. This famous counterpoise, introduced by Louis XIV. into the balance of Europe, has lost all its importance; the system of equilibrium, the chimera of the ancient policy, has disappeared. This system, which cost Europe so much blood to fix a point of equality of power, as impossible to seize as the point of Archimedes, resting only on the calculation of multitude, on the extent and relations of positions, must fall, of necessity, in an age in which the moral power of the people has destroyed all the springs of the old policy. Formerly, nations were estimated only in proportion to their physical force; they were calculated on like mere impelling and repelling powers; they were allowed to possess nothing but motion; they have now added thought to motion, and the former is gaining the mastery over the latter.

This hateful empire, which flatterers still more hateful, proposed to Louis XIV. as a model of the most stupid obedience, and most insolent command, has but too long offended the sight of the western nations. Its fall is an immense gain to mankind, for kings will now possess one horrible model the less. Louis XIV. envied the complete despotism of the sultans; but, perhaps, had they not been so near, the thought would not have occurred to him. Kings have a natural toleration for the prejudices of the East, where monarchs are better worshipped than gods. The arbitrary sway of those countries would flatter their ambition, were their people disposed to submit to it: the most moderate princes have never refused divine honours. Some of the kings of France have very strongly resembled the sovereigns of the East; all are like them in pomp, and delight in the adoration that is paid them; a few have exercised an equal power; and there was a time when France appeared only a more polished kind of Asia. The English, who understand government, compared that of France to those of the East; at present the comparison would not hold, but formerly the sole difference was the magistracy.

Besides, by casting out a ferocious people, European civilization will have an additional guarantee; and, in fact, if we reflect well upon it, we despise Asia; and yet the spirit of Asia is allowed to enter Europe by the north and by the east. What would become of her, should these two points extend and unite?

It is really wonderful to observe a people, perpetuated for centuries, in the country of the arts, sciences, and liberty, which has yet preserved undiminished its ignorance, its slavish spirit, and its brutality; which, lying on the threshold of civilized Europe, has perpetually remained barbarous, and preferred its stupid ignorance to the civilization and genius of other nations. Religion alone is capable of producing and explaining such phenomena.

The majesty of the European monarchs is degraded in Constantinople. The sultans receive, but they do not pay homage to any one; kings send them ambassadors,—they send none to any country. The ambassadors of kings possess no sacred character at Constantinople: they are insulted, imprisoned, driven away, but their masters do not avenge them; on the contrary, they send out new ambassadors to carry new homage to the barbarians. All the sultans have not shown the same degree of insolence and pride; but, abstracting personal character, such is the policy of the empire, such is the contempt of these barbarians for European nations. May Greece avenge Europe. and even those kings that abandon her! *Io*

one year the Grecian government would change the face of affairs in the East.

In the present state of society, in that rapid movement which bears it forward, a year is of much weight in the destiny of empires; events follow and press upon each other with a promptitude and celerity which discover the agitation of the world. This agitation itself will increase daily; and this motion will not cease, until the people have acquired that happiness of which they have now framed an idea, until they have obtained from their rulers a concession of those rights which belong to them, and, in one word, until policy shall harmonize with morals, and be suitable to the knowledge and civilization at which Europe has arrived. Its situation is full of violence and uncertainty; but we must confine ourselves to the traits which it exhibits.

Thus France, without any fixed condition, placed between her old and new *régime*, and carried back towards her ancient prejudices; Italy impatiently awaiting the moment to shake off hers; the civilized half of Europe reduced to silence and despair by the portion that is barbarous; Austria preserving the model of happy slavery; Prussia not knowing how to produce an agreement between her civil and political existence; Poland preserving her Polish spirit; Germany perpetually occupied with the rights of kings and people, inquiring about every thing, and deciding nothing; Russia instructing Europe in the maxims of Oriental policy; Turkey vanishing at the acclamations of civilized nations; Greece rising up out of its ruins, and taking its rank among the noblest of nations; Sweden moving towards its destiny with wisdom and order; Denmark immovable in the midst of agitated nations; Belgium only one step from being one of the most fortunate nations of Europe; Switzerland become less hospitable, and its rights and liberties disturbed by its Catholic population; Ireland growing more fanatical in proportion to its misery; Portugal escaping from the yoke of kings; Rome pursuing philosophy wherever it exists, and filling all Europe with its secret armies; and, to close all, proud England, supported by America, whose destinies she sanctions, hovering, from the bosom of the sea, over agitated Europe, observing, without danger, the storms that are gathering in it, and having it in her power to direct them to the destruction of tyranny. Such is Europe at the beginning of 1825; it will no longer be the same at the end of it.

THE DREAM OF YOUTH.

I stood, through sickness, near the gates of Death,
 Pausing to enter; and, behold, there rose
 Before my mental eye in long array
 The forms of all my deeds, and hopes, and fears:
 They passed before me, rapid as the light
 Travels at dawn, and so a moment shew'd
 The miniature of all that I had seen,
 Or been, or thought, or acted, or endured.
 There was the warm paternal roof embower'd
 In summer foliage, there the alleys trim,
 The quaint clipped box, the swarms of golden bees
 Issuing in myriads o'er the painted flowers.

The Dream of Youth.

And there the sun streamed on the lattice green,
 Just seen through clustering woodbine ; and, quite near,
 In ruddy health, and full of hope and joy,
 The two parental forms walked through the shade ;
 Their children round. Now flowed the muttered prayer,
 Over the wild unconscious heads that glanced
 Tween flowers and fruit—But what has man to do
 With aught on earth beyond the present hour ?
 The father's and the mother's prayers unheard
 The winds dispersed ; for, lo ! the conqueror Death
 Stood with his scythe ready to mow the hopes
 Of all, in taking down the prop of all,—
 The father ! Then came on the widowed scene,
 The mother, with her children fatherless,
 Following with broken heart the gloomy bier,
 Now bearing to the coldness of the tomb
 The cheerful face, the strong protecting hand
 On which her feminine and helpless form
 Had leaned through life. Down to the grave they go !
 And then the urchins wring their little hands,
 As, dust to dust, the priest consigns to earth
 The knees on which they prattled, and the lips
 On which their kisses wander'd like a dream
 When life was in them. But the mother's sorrow
 None but a parent left in loneliness
 Can paint or feel—the mantle of the world,
 The garb of hope in which it shone erewhile,
 Seem'd stript at once, and all looked cold and bare,
 The skeletons of what we hate or love,
 Tending in mere indifference to their ends.

Now followed other scenes, the wheels of life
 Still moving onward ; Learning and her train,
 Bearded and wise and tranquil solemn men,
 Led me to view the groves of Academe.
 Sometimes I wander'd by th' eternal sea,
 Poring o'er tongues of other lands, or, rapt
 With Milton to the primal scene of time,
 Imbibing visions sweet of perfect love.
 And then I sought midst all's deep principles,
 Fining the ore of nature, to detect
 The path of Genius to the House of Fame ;
 And thought I had discovered, and pressed on
 Midst many ills, encouraged by the glimpse,
 Caught frequently through numerous avenues,
 Of Hope's Elysium. But the cankering blight
 Of illness came, and dimmed the brilliant scene,
 And led me to Death's porch, and let me see,
 In one swift glance darted through many years,
 A world of hopes all wither'd in their spring !
 But this has passed, and Hope once more renews
 Her ardour, and her armour buckles on
 To struggle with the world—perhaps in vain !

CELEBRATION OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS
IN AMERICA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I am aware that the objects of your attention must be chiefly *Oriental*; nor would I depreciate their importance, especially when contemplating the British, or rather the human interests connected with that portion of the globe, and then contrasting with their magnitude the intellectual littleness displayed in the British administration of British India. Yet I have observed the ardour you discover for the advancement, in every region, of that most important science,—a knowledge of human rights and human duties, as conducive to that consummation of rational government, the “greatest good of the greatest number.” I am thus encouraged to make you a respectful tender of correspondence, though with pretensions to your notice, as far from *Oriental* as the east is from the west, to which point of the compass my thoughts are, just now, peculiarly directed.

I am an untraveller Englishman; yet, as the natural result of very early and endeared associations, I have been always conscious of an attachment to the various fortunes of *Anglo-America*, such as might be rather expected from a native citizen. Thus, in my boyish days, I possessed myself, among a few literary treasures, of her Declaration of Independence, with a portrait of John Hancock, her first revolutionary patriot, at the top of the page. Thus, too, after the lapse of almost half a century, I am gratified to pore over the representation, which her newspapers have lately brought to us, of an interesting event,—the celebration of the landing in 1620, of the Fathers of New England. You will, I am persuaded, oblige some of your readers, besides myself, perhaps not a few of them, both in Britain and in British India, by preserving among your pages that document, which I beg leave to offer you, annexing a few explanatory notes.

The earliest attempt of the English to settle on any part of the now United States was in 1585. No attempt, however, succeeded, till 1607, when James Town, on James River, in Virginia, became the first permanent settlement. There, too, in 1620, by the purchase of twenty negroes from a Dutch ship, commenced the nefarious assumption of property in MAN, still the *opprobrium* of Republican America, too many of whose citizens were justly described by that consistent advocate of freedom, Thomas Day, as signing a declaration of Independence with one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over their afflicted slaves.

This first English settlement, whose results were comparatively unimportant, appears to have originated chiefly, if not entirely, from the motive which has generally produced emigration, a desire natural to man, to improve his worldly condition. The next settlers, who became the Fathers of New England, professed, nor is there any reason to question their sincerity, to be actuated by considerations of superior moment

Governor Hutchinson, indeed, in his *History of Massachusetts*, (1765, i. 3.) doubts, "whether Britain would have had any colonies in America, if religion had not been the grand inducement."

Bishop Hurd (Vol. i. Sermon 13.) relates with evident approbation, how the royal reformation of the Church of England "advanced under the eye of the magistrate, by slow degrees;" nor does it appear to have offended a Protestant *Lord Spiritual*, that "it was, more than once, checked and kept back by him." There were, however, a small, though an increasing number, who, believing that they had got "into a direct way from *Babylon* toward the city of God, held on in a good round trot, through thick and thin," as Dr. Henry More (Div. Dial. v. 25.) says of Luther. Thus eagerly pursuing the road of reformation, they quickly outstripped the deliberate pace of the royal magistrate, and left both "Lords Spiritual and Temporal" far behind.

Of these uncompromising reformers, called, in derision, *Puritans*, a number, in the north of England, united to form a religious association, which they deemed a more *Christian Church* than that "by law established." Of this Church, a leading member, and the principal minister, John Robinson, was commemorated in the late *celebrations*, of whom, as well as of Roger Williams, another American hero, I propose soon to offer you a few biographical notices. Weary of the injuries they sustained from the hierarchy and the civil power, Mr. Robinson and his Church, in 1607 and 1608, removed, or rather escaped to Holland,¹ the asylum of the persecuted, where, as contrasted with England, was exemplified that great political maxim, so difficult for kings and parliaments to learn, but which a king (Frederic of Prussia) has well expressed: "Le faux zèle est un Tyran qui dépeuple les Provinces. La Tolérance est une tendre Mère qui les rend florissantes." Such is the concluding paragraph of the *Memoirs de Brandenbourg*.

After remaining a year at Amsterdam, Mr. Robinson and his Church removed to Leyden, a circumstance which Professor Everett, as you will perceive, has improved into one of the finest sentiments expressed on the *celebration*.

In 1617, they determined on emigration to America, a design which they began to accomplish in 1620: King James, as whose subjects they were still to be regarded, agreeing "not to tolerate them by his public authority," but only that he "would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carry peaceably." July 21, 1620, a part of this

¹ The case of these refugees was thus noticed at the time, in a MS. of Governor Bradford, one of the *Fathers*: "1607. Thus falls Mr. Robinson's Church, in the north of England, being extremely harassed; some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families; they begin to fly over to Holland for purity of worship and liberty of conscience."

"1608. This spring, more of Mr. Robinson's Church, through great difficulties from their pursuers, get over to Holland; and, afterwards, the rest with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, who are of the last, having tarried to help the weakest over before them." See 'Chronol. Hist. of N. England, by Thomas Prince, M. A.' *Boston, N. E.* 1736, pp. 23, 24. There is a fine passage on "The embarkation of the Pilgrims from Holland," in 'A discourse delivered at Plymouth, Dec. 23, 1820, in commemoration of the first settlement of New England, by the Hon. D. Webster.' See *Mon. Repos.* (1822.) xvii, 342.

Church, (Mr. Robinson, and the remainder proposing to follow,) depart from Leyden² for Southampton, there to be joined by some of their brethren who had remained in England. Sept. 6. The joint-company bid a final adieu to their native land in the *May-flower*, a ship of 180 tons; and Nov. 9, at break of day, after long beating the sea, they make the land of Cape Cod. After various attempts to find a spot on the coast for disembarkation, "it was on the 11th of Dec. 1620," says Dr. Holmes, (*Amer. Ann.* i. 170.) "that the venerable Fathers of New England first stepped on that Rock, which is sacredly preserved in memory of their arrival. A ponderous fragment of it," he adds, "has been removed into the main street of Plymouth. The 22d day of Dec. N.S., corresponding to the 11th O.S., has been long observed at Plymouth, and several years at Boston, as the anniversary of the landing of the Fathers."

The number which landed was 101, too many of them destined to find in the New World little, besides a grave.³ The same number had embarked from England, but one had died on the passage; and while the *May-flower* was on the coast, a child was born, named *Peregrine*, who witnessed through 84 years, for he lived till 1704, the daily inroads of art and industry on "the wilderness and the solitary place."

OCCIDENTALIS.

Celebration of the Landing of the Fathers in America.

THE two hundred and fourth anniversary of the landing of the *Pilgrim Fathers* at Plymouth, was commemorated in that town on Wednesday (Dec. 22.) with augmented demonstrations of gratitude and festivity, and by greatly increased numbers. On Tuesday evening, the town appeared thronged by visitors from every part of New England, many from New York, with the addition of several ladies and gentlemen of distinction, from foreign countries. The evening being dark, the citizens spontaneously placed lights in their windows, and what was intended to prevent accidents, had the gratifying appearance of a splendid illumination of the whole town. We feel it a duty to add, that the exertions of the Committee of Arrangements were so efficient and successful, that after the hotels and inns were filled to overflowing, the mansions of all the citizens were thrown open, and no one had cause to complain of the want of ample and hospitable accommodation.

A salute of artillery, and a peal from the bells, opened the anniversary. A procession was formed in the new *Pilgrim Hall*, (where the "Landing of the Fathers," an excellent picture, from the pencil of Col. Sargent, was suspended,) composed of the Pilgrim Society; at the head of which was the venerable John Watson, the only surviving member of the Ante-revolutionary *Pilgrim*

² "Being accompanied by most of their brethren to *Delph-Haven*, where their ship lay ready, and sundry come from Amsterdam to see them shipped and take their leave; they spent that night in friendly entertaining and christian converse. And July 22, the wind being fair, they go aboard, their friends attending them. At their parting, Mr. Robinson, falling down on his knees, and they all with him, he with watery cheeks commends them with most fervent prayer to God; and then with mutual embraces and many tears, they take their leave, and with a prosperous gale, come to *Southampton*. There 700*l.* sterling are laid out, and they carry about 1700 pounds venture with them." Governor Bradford's MS. *Prince*, p. 70.

³ Dr. Holmes says, they lost "half their number within the first three months." *Amer. Ann.* i. 173.

Club,⁴ many of the clergy, and a long line of citizens and strangers, many of them descendants from the Pilgrims, and which moved to the meeting-house, escorted by the Standish Guards,⁵ a handsome company of infantry. The house was crowded to excess by a brilliant and venerable assemblage. The services of the sanctuary commenced with a sacred song, read and sung, line by line, as in olden times. The Throne of Grace was addressed, in prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Kendall, in a strain of uncommon piety and appropriateness. The performance of the beautiful hymn, "Hail, Pilgrim Fathers of our Race," sung to the tune of "Old Hundred," preceded the Anniversary Address, by Professor Edward Everett.⁶ We confess our inability to notice this splendid performance in language in any way adequate to convey to our readers a just idea of its excellence as an historical memoir; its flowing description of the virtues, disinterestedness and sacrifices of the Pilgrim Fathers; its impressive eloquence; the liberality of its description of the natal land of the Fathers; or of the lofty and patriotic spirit of divination with which it concluded. The impression on the audience was better felt than can be described. The Address will unquestionably be printed, and, it is hoped, will be accompanied by a copy of the prayer.

The procession then returned to Pilgrim Hall, where more than 500 persons partook of truly "a feast of reason, and a flow of soul." The venerable John Watson, Esq. presided at the board, assisted by the Hon. Perez Morton, Hon. E. H. Robbins; Judge White, of Salem; Joseph Head, Esq. of Boston; and John Howland, Esq., of Providence, as Vice Presidents. The following were among the toasts:—

1. The principles of the Pilgrim Fathers—which forbid all compromise with pernicious errors, and all submission to civil and ecclesiastical usurpation.
2. The events and characters we commemorate; may they ever be portrayed, as this day, by the lips and the pencil of genius.
3. The memory of John Robinson, with whom it was orthodox to improve, and who inculcated the improvement of orthodoxy.
4. "The table spread in the wilderness," and the devout thanksgivings of two hundred years ago.
5. Our Sister Association in New York—may it extend the principle of the Pilgrims, from the populous isle of the Manhadoes to "every log-house beyond the mountains."
6. Honest freedom of opinion, and the memory of Roger Williams.
7. That portion of the human race "guilty of a skin not coloured like our own." May all Christendom soon learn to do right, and they be exempted from wrong.
8. The spirit of our popular elections, a precious legacy of our fathers, which calls the pride of our scholars to grace the halls of our Legislature.
9. The "Pulpit"—truth its creed, and charity its covenant.
10. The Fisheries—"Couple-gaine" to its followers and defenders.
11. The memory of Washington.

⁴ Instituted, probably, in 1769, when this Celebration commenced.

⁵ Named in honour of Captain Miles Standish, one of the Settlers, called by Dr. Holmes, "The Hero of New England." He "died at Duxborough, at an advanced age, in 1687. His sword is preserved in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society."—*Amer. Ann.* 1. 307.

⁶ Greek Professor in Harvard College, Cambridge, N. H. This gentleman, a few years since, travelled in Europe on a mission to promote the literary objects of that institution.

12. The venerable Sachem of Mount Wollaston (President Adams).
13. President of the United States.
14. His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth.
15. "The memory of Judge Thomas, the first and late President of the Pilgrim Society—who united to the principles of the Fathers the bland and courteous manners of modern days."

Volunteers.

By Professor Everett: "The moral electricity of the Pilgrims—may the nations of the earth take a shock from the Leyden Jar."

By Colonel Sargent: "The Pilgrim's Progress, from the days of darkness to the realms of light."

By the hon. Perez Morton: "The rock on which the Pilgrims first landed in the wilderness, now become the corner-stone of the temple of civil liberty, and the foot of the altar of religious freedom for a mighty nation."

By the hon. Edward H. Robbins: "The descendants of the Pilgrims—may they never be less pious and patriotic than their ancestors were, and always understand and practise those principles which are best calculated to diffuse and perpetuate the blessings of civil and religious liberty among all nations of men."

By the hon. Judge Davis: "Our Sister Society lately assembled at Philadelphia; in the mansion of William Penn—we commemorate the forlorn hope, the centre column of the champions of freedom, truth and duty."

By Major Alden: "The memories of Governor Winslow and Miles Standish—through whose vigilance and valour the Pilgrims were protected."

By Dr. Thatcher: "General La Fayette, as brave as Standish, and as disinterested as Washington."

By George E. Head, Esq.: "Our Pilgrim Fathers;—religious intolerance drove them from their native land; let us avenge their wrongs by driving religious intolerance from ours."

"New-England System of Free Schools—the noblest monument the Fathers erected, let not the sons impair it."

"The Anniversary of 1850, when the descendants and friends of our pious forefathers shall perform a pilgrimage from the Columbia River to this hallowed spot, and present their offerings of gratitude on the Rock of Plymouth."

After Mr. Bradford, as toast-master, had read a letter from Governor Penn to Governor Hinckley, of the Old Plymouth Colony, written in 1683, he called on Mr. H. Ruggles, a member of the Society of Friends, for a toast, who, stepping on a seat, remarked, that he was unexpectedly called on, and that he had no unity with the custom of drinking toasts, but that he would nevertheless offer a sentiment:—

"I rejoice at the birth, on this day, of American eloquence, and may we take it in the same spirit in which it has this day been delivered to us."

By Nathan Appleton, Esq.: "The May-flower, whose blossoms are displacing the wilderness from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

By a Guest: "That Liberty of the Press which acknowledges no censorship but truth, and fears no disgrace but that of licentiousness."

In the evening a splendid ball and supper gave more than 300 of the fair descendants of the Pilgrims an opportunity to unite in partaking of the festivity of the memorable occasion. The hall was fancifully and beautifully decorated with evergreens by the Plymouth ladies.

Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in America.

SONG—WRITTEN BY THE REV. MR. PIERPONT.

The Pilgrim Fathers—where are they?
The waves that brought them o'er
Still roll in the bay, and throw their spray
As they break along the shore:
Still roll in the bay, as they rolled that day,
When the May-flower moored below,
When the sea around was black with storms,
And white the shore with snow.

The mists that wrapp'd the Pilgrim's sleep
Still brood upon the tide;
And his rocks yet keep their watch by the deep,
To stay its waves of pride.
But the snow-white sail that he gave to the gale
When the heavens looked dark, is gone:—
As an angel's wing, through an opening cloud,
Is seen, and then withdrawn.

The Pilgrim exile—sainted name!
The hill, whose icy brow
Rejoiced, when he came, in the morning's flame,
In the morning's flame burns now.
And the moon's cold light, as it lay that night
On the hill side and the sea,
Still lies where he laid his houseless head;—
But the Pilgrim—where is he?

The Pilgrim Fathers are at rest;
When summer's throned on high,
And the world's warm breast is in verdure drest,
Go, stand on the hull where they lie.
The earliest ray of the golden day
On that hallowed spot is cast;
And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
Looks kindly on that spot last.

The Pilgrim spirit has not fled:
It walks in noon's broad light;
And it watches the bed of the glorious dead,
With the holy stars, by night.
It watches the bed of the brave who have bled,
And shall guard this ice-bound shore,
Till the wave of the bay, where the May-flower lay,
Shall foam and freeze no more.

? "The dead," says Dr. Holmes, (see Note 3,) "were buried on the bank, at a little distance from the rock where the Fathers landed; and lest the Indians should take advantage of the weak and wretched state of the English, the graves were levelled and sown, for the purpose of concealment. Human bones have been washed out of the bank, by high tides, within the memory of the present generation."—*Amer. Ann.* 1. 173.

ON THE AGE AT WHICH IT IS PROPER TO SEND CADETS
TO INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Upper Provinces of Hindoostan, Nov. 1824.

As I understand the Directors of the East India Company consult your pages with avidity, for the sake of the valuable information and suggestions that abound in them, I shall avail myself of this opportunity to offer them a few hints on subjects of great importance to their Empire. Some of that venerable body have never seen the land they govern, or have been connected only with a particular class of its inhabitants, or have had their recollection of it obliterated by the number of good dinners they have since eaten at the London Tavern. All, I conclude, must be willing to listen candidly to any proposition which professes to have in view the welfare of a country committed to their charge, and which it is their best policy, as well as their most sacred duty, to cherish and improve. What pretensions I may have for the task I have undertaken is of little consequence, if the facts I produce be undeniable, and the reasons I offer conclusive. A residence of some length in India, and an attentive observation of what is passing around me, a mind early cultivated and accustomed to generalize on experience, and a total exemption from either selfishness or prejudice, may give me as good a title to discuss these subjects as the influence of a distinguished name, or the superadded importance of official dignity. Truth, they say, needs but to be seen in order to be admired; and as I cannot dress her up in those borrowed charms, which too often appear requisite to attract the attention of the world, I must trust to her native beauty to make the impression I am desirous of producing.

The subject of my present remarks will be the early age at which Cadets for the Company's army are sent out to India, some of them not being more than 16 years old; and I hope to show cause, as the lawyers say, why they should not be permitted to enter the service till they are at least 18 years of age.

The first and most obvious advantage to be gained by this plan is the more finished education of the young officers. If there be any one at this time of day hardy enough to deny the importance of this circumstance, I can only say, that I pity, from the bottom of my soul, so short-sighted a politician. Indeed, no one can fairly estimate the value of this advantage who has not himself enjoyed it—who is not conscious, in some degree, of the moral dignity and exaltation it imparts to our nature, as well as the pleasurable sensations it gives to temper and beautify our days—

He best can paint them who has felt them most.

But here, perhaps, Sir, you will take an exception against me. Granting, you will say, all that is demanded in favour of these mental qualifications, of what possible use can they be to you in the military profession? Had you been clerk to an attorney, or apprentice to a shop-keeper, or pimp to a man of quality, or had it but been your fate to blacken shoes at some corner in Cheapside,—this rhapsody in praise of education would not have been so lamentably misplaced. But in your walk of life,

we look for no such intellectual refinements. We merely wish you to hold up your head, to march with your left leg first, to wear clothes of a particular cut and colour, and to break your adversary's head in battle, ~~though your own~~ broken by him, as chance may determine. No one, however, Sir, likes to have his profession run down in this petulant manner, ~~be it what it may~~; and I shall still contend that it requires more to ~~be a~~ man for that in question than is commonly supposed. I know they said of old in Lacedæmon, (and they were high authorities on this subject,) that a soldier has but two things to learn—viz. to command and to obey; ~~but he must command without insolence, and obey without murmuring.~~ Neither of these, I fear, is an easy task to the human mind; yet they are both absolutely necessary; for he, who wishes to sway the passions of others, must first gain a thorough mastery over his own. I appeal to common sense then, if the lawyer, the surgeon, and the priest, require a laborious system of education to prepare them for their relative duties—on what principle can it be held unnecessary for a military man? I go further. I say, there is no profession in which a more extensive and varied knowledge is indispensable to success; and I may quote, in support of this assertion, not only those great characters who have risen in consequence of their superior information, but also the many who have failed for want of it. But if some degree of mental cultivation be essential to form a soldier under any circumstances, how much more so in this country, where the youngest Ensign has a high character to support, and the reputation of a distant nation to maintain—where we act, one and all, under the gaze of an acute and discerning people, who have been surprised into submission rather than subdued, who fortunately suppose us to be by nature a superior race of beings; and before whom; therefore, it is impolitic, in the last degree, to exhibit the European character in a state of shapeless imbecility.

Now, Sir, is it not a reproach to us, that, after possessing this country for many years, we have taught so little of our arts and sciences to the Natives? We still see the same cumbrous cart upon their roads, the same misshapen boat upon their waters, and the same miserable plough, with its still more miserable appendages, in their fields, as were in use among them three centuries ago. Nay, more: we see these things in the service of Europeans themselves; and you might travel through many a dreary coast of the Company's territory, without observing any thing to remind you that you were under the sway of a civilized nation, unless it were a few wretches hanging by the road-side. At Calcutta, and one or two of the largest stations perhaps, where Colonization is gradually taking place in spite of the maledictions of the Directors, there may be some slight improvement; but I am confident that this picture of the country in general is not too highly coloured. If then it be said that we have taught the Natives nothing, I reply, it is partly because we came here at an age at which our knowledge was too imperfect to enable us to communicate it to others; and we all know how unfavourable this climate is to any thing like intellectual exertion, and what a lassitude insensibly steals over both the body and the mind, and paralyzes all their powers. Even as I trace these lines, Sir, there is a lazy apathy in the motion of my goose-quill, as unlike the spirited jerks and dashes in which it ~~once~~ delighted, as these desultory remarks are to the meteor flashes of a juvenile imagination. And then come the pinnings of a broken constitution; and

the vices of idleness and the selfishness of blighted feelings, and the habit of perpetual variety, to destroy the little chance of improvement that was left us.

This leads me naturally enough to notice the second object that would be gained by my proposal, and that is—an improvement in the *moral habits* of the Company's servants. These might, perhaps, without impropriety, have been included under the head of education; or, more properly speaking, they ought to be its main concern; for they are to the mind what a solid foundation is to a building, which the elegancies that are superadded merely serve to decorate. Now, every one must have remarked, that the first two or three years of a man's residence in this country probably make more alteration in his character, than all the rest of his life put together. Of course, this must, in some degree, be attributed to the sudden change from subjection to independence, and to his being called upon for the first time to think and act for himself. But of what consequence is it, that, under such circumstances, his mind should be rightly attuned by instruction, and fortified by principle. Do you ask me why? I bid you look for a moment at the situation in which we stand. There is nothing so often advanced in theory, or so little attended to in practice, as that our Empire in the East depends upon *opinion*. Perhaps people think they have done ample justice to the subject by incessantly talking about it; and that, as it cuts so great a figure in their speeches, it need not have any influence on their conduct. Yet it is a most serious and important truth, that cannot be too often inculcated on the ear of authority. In the event of a protracted war, we must inevitably rely upon our regular Native troops, and upon the high idea they have conceived of our character, which makes them suppose themselves incapable of exertion, or even of opinion, unless under our guidance. If this notion be once destroyed, and the European name degraded in the estimation of these people, our Asiatic possessions are not worth an hour's purchase.

Again, I am of opinion, that more regard would be shown to the feelings of the Natives, at the age that I recommend, than at an earlier period. I have no wish to give an exaggerated idea of the manner in which young men treat their dependents, nor do I suppose that those who come to this country are a bit worse than those of the same age who remain to be whipped at home. But the transition is too sudden. They are scarcely emancipated from the restraints and discipline of childhood, before they find themselves intrusted with a degree of power that astonishes them. The fact is, Sir, that weakness will always tempt insolence in a young and unreflecting mind; and I have often known lads on their first arrival in this country display a peevish and irritable tone of feeling towards the "black fellows," which time and experience, added to the natural growth of intellect, have entirely dissipated. Among the Natives, indeed, "*Taza Wilaat*" is synonymous with a person of eager and violent disposition. But, you will say, the Company have forbidden any ill-treatment of their subjects. The Company might as well call spirits from the vasty deep. But, you rejoin, they have made proper examples of such as have ventured to disobey their orders. The Company, Sir, have done all they can do; that is, they have treated with merited severity those extreme cases that have occasionally been brought before them. But this does not strike at the root of the mischief, nor will, they

ever do so, till they learn that in moral, as well as in physical evils, prevention is better than cure.

Moreover, I conceive, that boys who arrive at this tender age know nothing of the value of money, but continue to get more and more involved, till the importunity of some angry creditor literally arrests the giddy victim in his career, and then the devouring rate of interest exacted in this country rivets the debt upon him for ever. Alas, Sir, I describe no imaginary or unfelt misfortune, for I, like other dogs, "have had my day," and have felt as much carelessness of heart, and contempt of filthy lucre, as Diogenes himself might have envied. But the season of reflection comes at last; and then is the time to hear sage observations, and to learn humiliating truths, which were never obtruded upon us, and would have found probably no reception in the morning of our prosperity. He must be grossly ignorant of human nature, who does not know how much embarrassments of this kind are apt to warp the character of those who are exposed to them. Such men have always temptations sufficiently trying; but in India, particularly, I have seen them, after a long course of shifts and evasions, guilty at last of conduct, from which, under other circumstances, they would have shrunk with abhorrence. Nay, I have known the sense of pecuniary obligations weigh so oppressively upon the mind, as to have even *fatal* effects, and hasten the destruction of their unhappy victim.

Further, I contend, that youths of a maturer age are more likely to keep their native country in remembrance, and to cherish a desire of returning to it. Do you doubt the importance of this circumstance? I reply—that the attachment of British Officers to their native country is the tie by which alone our Asiatic possessions can be held together. On this subject, however, there appears to me to be generally a strange confusion of ideas. When a man's love for his country is spoken of, you might conclude from the language in use, that it consisted in a regard for the soil itself. We hear of "the white cliffs of Albion," "the green valley of Erin," as if these were the real objects of our affection. This is as absurd as the notion of the Scotchman, who refused whilst in London to be cured of his cutaneous disorder, "because it made him unco' thoughtful of his wife and bonny Inverary!" What endears our country to our remembrance is, the aged parent, whose eye is there glittering at our success, or weeping over our misfortunes—the friend of our early boyhood—the countrymen in whose estimation we were anxious to stand high—the congenial feelings, and the manners to which we were first accustomed, in that vernal season when every thing seemed bright and animated and joyous, when life was new, and hope was full of promise, and the heart could throw its own warmth and colouring over the objects to which it was attached. These are the causes that so often tempt us to look back on the scenes of our youth with feelings of melancholy delight, and amidst all the hardships and eccentricities of life, they can never be wholly obliterated from the mind. I do not say that the recollections of childhood are not equally sweet—the tree, under which we used to romp with many who are now mouldering in the grave—the little garden, in which our puny industry was first exercised—or the social hearth, round which we crowded to listen to the tale of some garrulous companion, not forgetting every now and then to draw our chairs a little closer into the circle, and cast a terrified look behind, lest the monsters of the story should be upon

us. But these sentiments, however pleasing, do not exert the same influence over our characters, or make us long for home so eagerly in after life, as those before alluded to. It is only at that flexible period, when feeling and reflection are beginning to struggle for the mastery over us, when the habits are gradually forming, and the mind is expanding with the consciousness of its own powers, and the heart is yet free, and the fancy is full of sunshine, that those indelible impressions can be made, which attach us to the land of our birth, which make us feel as if we did but "drag at each remove a lengthening chain," and which furnish one of the best possible securities that our conduct shall not be unworthy of our origin.

I might add to all these considerations, the benefit that would accrue to the society in India, were young men to marry soon after their arrival in the country, which they might do, did they not come out at an age when they are scarcely capable of taking care of themselves. I do not merely allude to the check it would give to individual dissipation, but to a great political evil that is growing up among us, and which is more dreaded by reflecting men, than the ambition of Runjeet Singh, or the arrogance of the "Golden Foot." You will understand me as adverting to the half-castes: but this is both a difficult and an unpleasant subject, and I shall content myself with just pointing it out as an additional argument that might be urged in my favour.

The last advantage I shall mention, is the greater strength of constitution which the young Officers would acquire. I am not ignorant that a very opposite position may be taken up against me. In youth, it will be said, there is a pliancy of constitution that more readily adapts itself to a new climate, and many valuable lives might be sacrificed to a fanciful and uncertain theory. Had I proposed the age of twenty-five or thirty, I should have been compelled to admit the force of this argument, but I do not think it just under the present limitations. Reasoning merely upon theory, I should suppose that any injury done to the frame at that critical time, when it is just acquiring the vigour and stability of manhood, would be attended with the worst consequences, and would leave its victim to linger on a life of long disease—miserable in himself, and useless to his employers. But the best appeal is to experience, and you cannot have a better criterion than the medical men afford, who generally come to this country at rather a later period of life than that I have recommended. Yet no one can assert that the casualties among them are more numerous, or that they are more liable to any of the infirmities that flesh is heir to, than their comrades in other branches of the service. This you may ascribe, partly to these gentlemen never taking their own medicines (in order, I suppose, that they may have a larger quantity at the service of their friends), and partly to their possessing a certain northern prudence—a *savilling* virtue, as Mr. Shandy aptly termed it, but certainly a very useful one in life. I admit the value of the first argument; but to what is their prudence chiefly owing, but to their superior age, and more finished education, which enable them to resist the temptations of dissipation, and the tyranny of custom, better than our unfledged recruits can be expected to do. After all, room may be left for argument, but I can safely say, that my own experience, and the opinion of the medical men I have consulted, is in favour of the doctrine I have advanced.

But granting, you will say, that great and unquestioned benefits would

arise from your proposal, are there no objections which detract from its merits, and which ought in fairness to be weighed against them? Considerable improvements, Sir, I fear, could seldom be attempted; if they must first be shown to be free from all attending disadvantages. I will notice, however, some of the principal objections that occur to me as likely to be raised against my plan.

First, you might contend, that the remedy, if it be required at all, does not go far enough. Why, you ask, fix upon eighteen as a minimum—why not take another step, and refuse to admit your recruits till the age of twenty? Are these two years of no importance in the formation of the human character; or, rather, does not the mind then particularly stand in need both of instruction and example? All this is very true; nor can I deny that twenty would be a still better age than eighteen,—probably the very best that could be fixed on. But a great deal would be gained by what I ask, (and it is no objection to my theory, but rather a confirmation of its truth,) that it may be safely extended even further than was proposed. If the principle were found by experience to be correct, it might afterwards be carried to greater lengths, without alarming the timid into hostility against you. Much, however, would already be secured. The temper and dispositions of our youths—those materials that form, according to circumstances, the greatest or the most mischievous characters, would have a longer trial, and a better chance of being properly directed. A great accession of knowledge and principle would be gained to the Indian army; and though it is the fashion to repeat that “a little learning is a dangerous thing,” I am sure I may fairly say that it is infinitely better than none at all.

The second objection that I conceive may be taken against me, is, that at an advanced age a new language is not so easily acquired. This assertion, again, is true as far as it goes; but I think by no latitude of speech can eighteen, or even twenty, be called an advanced age; nor is it one at which the mind has lost any of its energies, or in which it is at all unfitted for making new acquisitions. On the contrary, a young man, who has been properly educated up to this period, is much more likely to devote himself successfully to fresh studies, than a child, who is too young to know the value of such pursuits, and who rejoices at having escaped from the discipline of a school, and the necessity of mental exertion. Besides, the medical men, who usually come here at a still later age, are among the best oriental scholars we can produce—a circumstance which I conceive sets this argument at rest for ever. The fact is, Sir, that if proper encouragement be given, young men will apply themselves to the study of these languages; if not, they will neglect them at any age. Nor, to confess the truth, do I believe that more than a superficial acquaintance with them is so important as some people imagine. I am aware that those who have spent so much time and industry upon this pursuit, will speak highly in its praise—perhaps because they have gradually acquired a fondness for it, or, it may be, because they do not care to acknowledge that they have wasted such painful efforts on an ungrateful subject. I have no desire to unniche these scholars from their elevation, but I may be permitted to doubt the excessive value of their acquisitions; and I suppose the Company are of the same opinion, as they have lately refused to allow the few military men, who gave their minds to the subject, to prosecute their studies in the College of Fort William.

But here, perhaps, you will try to turn one of my own arguments against me. If it be desirable, you will say, that we should spend the evening of our days in our native land, the chance of our doing so is diminished, or is at all events pretracted, by this proposal. This cannot be denied; but it may be remarked, that two years at the close of our career bear no comparison with the same length of time at its commencement. Suppose a man, for instance, to retire after two-and-twenty years' service, when he becomes entitled to his pension, (and he must be indeed a clever fellow if he can manage to do so in times like these,) we shall find the period between thirty-eight and forty far less important and full of change than that between sixteen and eighteen; and even in the hour of retirement, how much more happy should we be in ourselves, as well as useful to those around us, had our minds been early stored with valuable knowledge, and so disciplined by education as to dispose us continually to augment it. But I will not dwell on this argument, because I have a more simple way of obviating the objection; and that is, by striking two years from the required period of our service. To this the Company, I presume, would gladly accede, with such advantages in view; and it is a mode of disposing of the subject not likely to be opposed in any other quarter.

If it be said, that though young men are permitted to come out as early as sixteen, in point of fact many do not reach India till long after that age, I reply, that it is sufficient for my argument that the permission does exist, and that it will sometimes be taken advantage of. To such as would have otherwise arrived at a proper age, the new rule would not do the smallest injury: on the contrary, it would save them from being commanded by those who are younger, worse educated, and less experienced than themselves.

I will but notice one more objection, which, though not ostentatiously brought forward, will, I fear, secretly weigh more against my suggestion than all the rest put together: I mean the dislike people will feel to it, simply because it is an *innovation*. There lurks about the minds of many well-meaning men a sensitive abhorrence of every change, however obviously beneficial, and a rooted prejudice in favour of old customs, however confessedly absurd. I remember, while in England, endeavouring to persuade a farmer of the old school to adopt some agricultural improvement, the value of which had been established by repeated experiments; but I could make no impression on the dogged obstinacy of the thorough-bred Englishman. "No, Sir," said he, repeating for the twentieth time what appeared to him an incontrovertible reply, "the old way was good enough for our fathers, and I don't see why it should not be good enough for their children." This feeling, while it makes thinking men cast a suspicious eye on any alteration proposed to them, gives others an opportunity of sneering at what they are unable to appreciate. "To innovate is not always to reform," mutter these cautious folks; but surely this does not prove that innovation and reform are incompatible with each other, or that we are blindly to adhere to every folly and abuse, if the rust of antiquity has but gathered over it. But fortune, Sir, steps in to save us from this dilemma. While poring over the 'Annual Register,' which amuses many a vacant hour, and reflecting on the slowness of my own promotion, I discovered that a change of a similar nature has already been introduced: The Act of Parliament provides only, that no Cadet shall be below the age of fifteen; but the Court of Directors resolved, on the 7th

of December 1808, that none should be admitted younger than sixteen. It seems, therefore, that I am only pleading for the extension of a principle, of which the justice has been already recognised; and as progressive improvement is the best privilege of human nature, I do not despair of seeing it attempted in this instance.

I believe, Sir, I have now brought my argument fairly to a close, and I ought, in obedience to established custom, to apologize for the trial I have given to your patience, to confess my conscious inability to do justice to the subject, and to assure you that my only object was to elicit the opinions of more competent judges. But I shall do no such thing. The question is of sufficient importance to deserve the fullest discussion; and I am perfectly convinced in my own mind that I have taken a fair and proper view of it. Whether I have been equally happy in conveying my sentiments to others, is of less moment, as, should I have failed, I would deduce from that very fact a new proof of the necessity of my suggestion. I speak as a sufferer against the injury I have sustained; and my own limited knowledge, and ill-managed mode of reasoning, though they might seem at first sight to prejudice my cause, may be quoted as consequences of the evil I am labouring to remove. I have the peculiar good fortune, therefore, to be able to enlist even my errors and imperfections on my side; and I comfort myself under the mortification my vanity must sustain, by hoping that the living example may convince, though the theory were urged in vain.

PHILIP.

A FEW CONSIDERATIONS OF THE EDITOR, ON THE SAME
SUBJECT.

We concur entirely in the view taken by our intelligent Correspondent, and are persuaded that the health, the understanding, the morals, and the general character of Cadets and Writers would be all less liable to injury, were they to leave England at 18 instead of at 16 years of age. If, indeed, the sincere desire of the Directors was, the benefit of the country committed to their care, then "fitness for duty" would be the chief object of their attention in the persons sent out to govern it. But this is not the case. Their first object is, to provide for as many of their immediate relatives and dependants as possible: and next, to exercise their patronage in providing for the relatives and dependants of those by whose votes they can alone maintain their places and authority. As such persons entail considerable expense on those who must maintain them while they continue in England, the sooner they can enter on that career of life, in which they are to maintain themselves, the better pleased will those be who are to be thus relieved by their departure. There are, no doubt, exceptions to this rule; but that it is a general one, no person who considers the subject can for a moment doubt.

We are glad that our Correspondent has taken up the subject, and hope that he and others will pursue it till some beneficial change is effected. Our notions on this matter, as on most others, are likely to be so much at variance with those of the Directors, that the mere statement of them is sure to excite surprise. We shall, nevertheless, perform our duty, however unpalatable to others, and state very briefly what we conceive

would be great improvements on the present mode of educating and despatching Cadets and Writers to India:

1st. A fixed standard of qualifications should be determined on for both classes of candidates, and publicly proclaimed in such a manner as that all England might know its conditions.

2d. The nomination to candidatureships should belong entirely to the Proprietors of East India Stock, who might have a certain number of nominations to the civil and military candidatureships, for every 1000*l.* stock held by them in the Company's funds: the Directors to have no more than other Proprietors, and all according to their amount of interest in the Company's general concerns.

3d. The parents of the candidates should be at liberty to educate them wherever they thought proper; and all exclusive establishments for this purpose be abolished.

4th. A yearly public examination of the candidates should take place before competent Masters, in each branch of the acquirements demanded of them, and before an audience of the whole body of Proprietors, or as many as chose to attend.

5th. The civil and military appointments should be awarded in the strict order of comparative excellence: and the unsuccessful candidates remanded till another year; two unsuccessful examinations forfeiting their candidatureship entirely.

6th. The examination should not take place till the candidate had completed his eighteenth year; after which, should he prove himself qualified and receive his appointment, he should be compelled to leave England within three months.

7th. Every civil and military servant should be required to make his journey to India by land, by whatever route might be open to them; and the full period of two years, from the date of their examination, allowed them for that purpose.

8th. They should receive half-pay from the moment of their quitting England, till the period of their arrival at the Presidency to which they might be appointed; and full pay only from the period of their entering on their duties in India, which they would then do at about the age of twenty.

9th. On the arrival of the individuals at the termination of their journey, they should again undergo a public examination before a board of competent persons, and in presence of the whole of the society of which they were about to become members: and the class, rank, and order of their appointments to office in India should also depend on the degree of merit or excellence evinced in the examination, to which they would there be subjected.

The advantages of such a system as this would be incalculable; and good reasons might be assigned for all the changes here recommended.

By the first condition, candidates would be invited from all parts of England: and if the standard of excellence were high, (as it should be,) none but youths of undoubted high character and extraordinary talent would waste their time in the attainment of so difficult an object.

By the second, every subject of his Majesty who chose to give a pledge of his willingness to risk his property with the East India Company, might nominate candidates for the Service from his own family, or that of his friends (and no other ought to have that privilege); while

the value of the Company's stock would be proportionately increased thereby.

By the third, there would be the utmost freedom of superintendence allowed the parent over his child during its education, so as to form his moral character, as well as to cultivate his understanding.

By the fourth, the most complete security would be afforded, that no inefficient candidates were appointed, through the secret influence of private patronage : and Directors' sons would be placed on a level with all others : merit alone determining the class, as well as the order, of appointments.

By the sixth, the strongest possible inducement would be held out to encourage the candidate in his exertions, the public approbation of which would crown him with honour as well as reward.

By the seventh, every appointed servant of the Company would be progressively weaned from the effeminizing and enervating life, now led by almost every young man of family or condition in England. His constitution would be rendered strong and robust by travel : he would acquire a better knowledge of foreign languages, manners and institutions, than years of reading could give him. He would approach India by such gradual steps, as to familiarize him with Asiatic people before he reached his destination, and teach him to regard the Natives of India as not altogether objects of aversion and contempt. He would not land in India, as he now does, fresh from an Indiaman's cabin, where he has had no privations, no fatigue, no necessity of providing, or even thinking for himself ; where life has been a perfect blank to him for six months, seeing nothing but sky and water ; where he has acquired no useful knowledge since he left his luxurious home ; and, notwithstanding all the aids of four meals a day, at a table bending beneath the weight of its provisions, has been devoured with *ennui* during the short intervals necessarily passed between them. By employing two years in travelling, from eighteen to twenty, he would unite the advantages of gaining information, and enjoying pleasure, which, at no subsequent period of his career, could he ever hope to do ; and be better qualified to enter on his public duties at twenty, after such a preparation as this, which would strengthen both body and mind, than he would be at thirty, under the present system.

By the eighth, the appointed servant would be sufficiently remunerated for the mere expenses of his journey ; and at the same time sufficiently stimulated to perform it within the limited time, as his higher reward would commence when it was at an end.

By the ninth, the most complete security would be taken for the servant making the best use of his time by acquiring all possible information on his way, and by establishing his claim to honour and reward in India as well as in England, so that his masters might be entirely satisfied with the use made of his time and their money, in preparing him for the important duties of their service.

If the East India Company would adopt some such plan as this, with respect to the candidates for their service, we should see, at the time of the expiration of their Charter, such a body of men in the civil and military offices of that country, as has never yet been formed in any country under the sun. They are even now of a higher order than most classes of public servants in England ; but only because more pains are taken in the selection and preparation of them for their places. It is but to extend

this principle still farther, and India might, in a few years, exhibit a spectacle such as the world has never yet seen.

But the Directors will neither adopt this, nor any other plan of reform, which lessens their own immediate patronage, unless compelled by Parliament and the voice of the nation so to do. And as for the Proprietors of India Stock, as long as they can receive their $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dividend, whether the affairs of India are well or ill managed, they will not move a step to bring about a better order of things. We perform our duty, however, by pointing out what ought to be done. Let those bear the dishonour of neglecting theirs, who, seeing what is right, will use no efforts to accomplish its adoption.

THE PERSECUTED GIRL.—FROM ‘THE SONGS OF GREECE.’

A MAIDEN rich in nature's wealth,
In beauty's fatal dower,
Has dared to trust the roaring seas,
But not the Pasha's power.

With bags of gold she hoped to bribe
A Rover's sordid soul,
To guard her fame, and keep his crew
In honour's stern control.

But when unseen his galley rode
Old Ocean's hoary crest,
That faithless ruffian laid his hand
Upon her virgin breast !

The lovely girl, whom ne'er before
A manly hand profan'd,
Shrunk, swoon'd away, and on the deck
Immoveably remain'd.

The Rover thought that breathless form
Was beauty's marble corse,
And in the deep he threw the maid
With blind and reckless force.

The waves as cold, yet wild as he,
On frothy pinions bore
What once had life and loveliness
To wells along the shore.

Morea's dancing damsels came
To fill their ewers with water ;
They start to see the graceful corse
Of Naxia's murder'd daughter.

“ Oh ! what a form to grace the silk,
“ A hand to hold the reed !
“ What lips to tempt a mournful kiss,
“ Thus beauteous, though they bleed ! ”

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF MERIT AND INTEREST
AT MADRAS.

'Twas meritorious, and shall I be rewarded for it?—No. 'Twas meritorious, therefore I shall not—nay, rather, therefore I ought not: for it rewards itself.—*The Double Dealer*.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Madras, Dec. 1824.

THE following Order, published at Madras on the 21st of Sept. 1824, has induced me to compare the advancement of Merit and Interest in the army under that Presidency:

GENERAL ORDER, 21st September, 1824.

The Hon. the Governor in Council having lately been pleased to award a gratuity of 500 rupees to Lieut. and Brevet-Captain W. N. Pace, Quarter-Master to the 25th reg. N. I. as a mark of its approbation of the essential aid he rendered to the Collector of Bellary, on a recent service at Kurnool, by his knowledge of the Persian and Hindostanee languages: His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief feels it due to Captain Pace, as well as advantageous to the service, thus publicly to mark his Excellency's sense of Captain Pace's merits, and to call the attention of the officers of the army to the advantages which must, in various ways, result to such as by perseverance and study qualify themselves to be useful to the service, and conspicuous in discharging, in a creditable manner, the duties of their profession.

Little difference of opinion, I believe, can exist regarding the above Order. The publication of the offer to an officer of such a miserable "gratuity," for the render of "essential aid" on an important service, (for such it was,) seems degrading to the army in general, and to Captain Pace in particular.

One can hardly repress a smile to see a rich and powerful Government ostentatiously publishing the "reward" of a "gratuity" of not quite 50*l*. to lucky literature.

Captain Pace had powers; but it was merely by accident that those powers were brought into play: it was fortune added to merit that procured him from the Madras Government the reward of 50*l*.!

The order therefore says, in other words, that "If an officer, by hard study and perseverance, make himself master of two of perhaps the most uninviting languages in the world, (for the best native works in them are but ingenious nonsense,) he shall receive gratis a ticket in a lottery where there are many blanks, and the highest prize 50*l*. Fifty pounds (setting aside the honour and glory of the learning) is here proclaimed to be the ultima meta of the learned soldier's ambition; which, further, he must only hope to reach under the guidance of lucky stars:—

Certum voto fide finem.

It cannot be said that the reward to Captain Pace, for the "essential aid" rendered by him, consisted in the panegyric which accompanied it: because the panegyric is neutralized by the anticlimax of the value at which, with mercantile precision, it is rated by the panegyrists themselves.

The publication of the order in question proceeds, indeed, immediately

from his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; but that it emanates from superior civil authority, no man, with the feelings of a soldier, will doubt.

Now, mark the difference of the reward to merit and interest, both in substance and mode! A gentleman with a civil appointment, who may make himself a proficient in one of those two languages which Captain Pace has thoroughly acquired, becomes entitled to a gratuity of 3,500 rupees, before bringing that proficiency into use; and if, in addition to this language, he further obtain a good knowledge of one out of many provincial languages offered to his choice, his gratuity is doubled. Further, he is placed in a wider and shorter road to power and riches than is proposed to the more capable soldier.

Pains are taken by the Government, as we have seen, to re-echo throughout the Peninsula its twopenny rewards to merit. On the other hand, it, with bashful modesty, in silence bestows situations of emolument upon interest.

Merit receives—

A noisy nothing, and an empty wind;

whilst to Interest our Indian rulers, like the good Man of Ross,

Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.

In proof of this, I must state what service Captain Pace performed. He acted as interpreter, in the Persian and Hindostanee languages, during a negotiation by the Collector of Bellary with the Nabob of Kurnool; that is to say, he did what is, or ought to be, the duty of the Persian Interpreter to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who receives for that (as things are) nearly sinecure appointment, a *monthly* salary of 350 rupees. Now, it does so happen, that the Persian Interpreter to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who is also Deputy Judge Advocate-General, married a lady with the auspicious name of CAMPBELL; that his predecessor, reported to be a first-rate Persian scholar, but whose interest had worn out during above fifteen years' service as Persian Interpreter, was removed from the situation to make way for Benedict, on the ground of his unwillingness to quit the Presidency when the duties of that situation might call him. What are those duties?—Certainly amongst them is not included personal attendance upon his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; for Benedict *resides eighty-seven miles distant from the Presidency*;—is he not, then, bound to render his services available whenever and wherever they may be required?

Why should the Government be put to additional expense for services which the Persian Interpreter ought to be the best able to execute? It is no answer, that a Deputy Judge Advocate's presence is always required within his division: because, if the holder of two staff situations cannot *always* perform the duties of both, he ought to resign one.

Thus we see the man of merit, who does *more* than his duty, and renders "essential aid," receives a wipe-off of 500 rupees, from noisy gratitude; the man of interest, who does *less* than his duty, and renders us no aid at all, continues silently to pocket a monthly salary, nearly equal in amount to the totality of the wipe-off.

The contrast I have exemplified is unfortunately not singular. A General Order by Government, dated 14th March 1823, requires, as an indispensable qualification for eligibility to regimental staff situations, the previous performance of two years' regimental duty with a corps; for

eligibility of the general staff the same service for three years: and in both cases, the General Order, dated 6th Feb. 1824, (quoting directions to the same effect from the Court of Directors, in a letter dated 17th June 1810,) states a "competent knowledge of the Hindoostanee language to be also of absolute necessity." This competency is explained by the Commander-in-Chief, in General Orders, dated 17th March 1824, to me as "such proficiency as will enable the candidate to undergo an examination, which extends to his powers of reading, writing, translating, and composing." The General Order, dated 4th June 1824, declares all staff appointments to be "temporary," until such an examination shall have been gone through. Nothing can be better than those Orders in appearance; but in practice they operate as very convenient bars to merit without interest; while they oppose no check whatever to interest without merit. I have no intention of unnecessarily wounding the feelings of any one; I therefore refrain from publishing the names of these gentlemen who have been appointed to the staff in barefaced contradiction to the Orders abovementioned; but I send a list for your private inspection, to be made use of by you if occasion requires it.

I have heard that an officer of high military rank on the Madras establishment compared the Honourable the Court of Directors reprimanding their Indian authorities, to dogs barking at the moon. If this simile be just, (and no man who has been long in India will doubt it is so, more especially where English orders clash with Indian patronage, however unjustly exerted, I am not vain enough to suppose that an anonymous letter will effect what has been vainly attempted by supreme authority—or that my strictures will induce the heads of Government to act rightly, in opposition to their interest; but they may perhaps induce them not to act wrong without a motive—not wantonly to offer a petty insult to their army—to profit by the moral of a story in the spelling-book, and not themselves proclaim their praise to be nearly as valueless as the priest's blessing.

AN OLD INDIAN.

HINTS TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A PERFECT ALPHABET.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR.—The present you have lately made to the lovers of literature, in laying before your readers Dr. Gilchrist's scheme of a universal alphabet, will, I have no doubt, be duly appreciated by all those who have fallen into a similar course of study with the author. My temporary residence in the East having led me, like many others, to follow (*haud passibus æquis*) the steps of the learned Doctor, to whom all Oriental students are so deeply indebted, I have perused with great interest the plan he has now laid before the world, and would fain hope that public attention has not been called to this important subject in vain. The great defectiveness of our present system of orthography, even as regards the English language, must be apparent to all, (but particularly to your Oriental readers,) who will give the subject a moment's consideration. None, however, feel it so much as those who may attempt to apply our alphabetical symbols to a foreign tongue. They imme-

diately find thousands of words which no possible combinations of our letters, as we use them, will correctly represent. Hence the eternal irregularity found in the spelling of foreign names, especially in India; and the Babel-confusion among those, who, from the orthography, attempt their pronunciation. How many centuries did it remain doubtful, whether the title of one of the greatest of Asiatic Princes should be written the "Cham," the "Kan," or the "Han;" and still, to this day, how are we to convey in writing to an English reader, a just idea of the pronunciation of the "*Khan* of Tartary"? Even the name of the whole people, as well as that of their prince and of their country, is grossly corrupted; "*Tartar*" being the nearest approach made to the sound of *Taatar*. In like manner, after we have been hundreds of years in possession of the dominions of the Great Mogul, the true sound of his name and that of his tribe or nation, is hardly known to one in a thousand among the reading public of England.

But what is much worse than this, the labour of acquiring our own language is vastly increased by the difficulty its orthography presents, which retards our youth for several years on the very threshold of learning. Owing to the time thus unprofitably wasted they are kept back from useful knowledge, and their education is, at the close, much more imperfect than it would otherwise have been. Many, notwithstanding years of study, never attain the facility of reading and writing; their mother tongue with its just pronunciation and orthography; whereas, were a better system introduced, this might be accomplished with ease in a few weeks. But the misfortune is, that persons who have themselves got over the difficulty, usually in their very early years, forget its magnitude, and therefore feel little sympathy for others who have yet to encounter it. They find it more convenient to use that system of writing to which they are now habituated, than to learn a new one, however much superior. It is this which makes so many (like Dr. Johnson) the adherents and partizans of whatever is established; regardless of its injurious consequences to the rising generation and to posterity, and even to the general welfare at the present day. On the same principle, the Chinese literati cling to their impracticable alphabet, which is a sort of "great wall" or insurmountable barrier, shutting out the great body of the people from sharing with them the empire of learning.

To foreigners, who cannot make the study of English the business of life, it is rendered almost inaccessible by its irregular orthography. Thus, instead of a facility of communicating with all nations, which the greatest trading country on earth ought to possess in an eminent degree, the instrument we use for conveying our thoughts is clogged with superfluous difficulties, by the absurd use we make of six-and-twenty letters. By our obstinacy in adhering to the practice which is established, we give the French and other nations a very great advantage over us; since we are obliged to acquire their languages as a medium of communication; whereas, by simplifying our own, a knowledge of it might be rapidly spread in other countries, where people would then be able to pay us the compliment of talking with us in our own tongue. The benefits to be derived from such an improved orthography are so great and obvious, that when such practical men as Franklin and Gilchrist recommend it, we cannot but be surprised that "the most

thinking people of Europe" should have hitherto consented to remain in this respect so much behind their neighbours. The only consolation I can feel for our backwardness in this particular, is in the hope that when something is at last attempted, we shall eclipse them all.

The first thing to be done with this view is a systematic classification of the alphabetical sounds, according to the relation they bear each other, and the organs of the human voice by which they are formed. The most philosophical arrangement I have seen adopted, is that of the *Devanaguree* or sacred character of the Brahmuns, in which the Sanscrit is written; but either that was originally very imperfect, or has been since corrupted in the lapse of ages. In the subjoined scheme, I suggest a different order, on the principle of beginning with the sounds most simple and easy of articulation, which are the labials; and proceeding gradually to those which are more difficult. The object proposed by it is, to classify every simple sound which the human voice seems capable of distinctly articulating. In the following observations, I beg to refer the reader to the first part of the accompanying table.

The vocal sounds appear to me to fall naturally into four great classes, as there exhibited, according to the organs of speech chiefly employed in forming them. In each class there are first three simple consonants, which we may call "primitives," distinguished from one another only by the different degree of vocality; secondly, three aspirated sounds, one corresponding with each of these primitives; thirdly, a set of vowels having a near relation to those consonants, in being pronounced by the stress of the voice falling chiefly on the same organs. The vowels, in all known alphabets, lie scattered about in great confusion, and are less easily reduced to rule, from the organs of voice being kept in a much more loose and undefined position in forming them.

I. The first class is perfect, having six consonants and six vowels (three short and three long), all distinctly recognised in the French and English languages, and all unquestionably labials.

II. Of the second class, the two first consonants (*t d*) do not occur in English, being the soft dentals of the French, Persians, &c. Again, the *th* and *dh*, or corresponding aspirates, are used by us, and not by them. The last is the soft *r*, found in "card," "horse," often so delicately pronounced, that some believe it to be dropped altogether, who are accustomed only to the harsher pronunciation of the strong *r*. The *n* and *l* are the soft liquids found in the French and Italian.

III. The third class is very nearly allied to the second, both being formed by a similar agency of the tongue, which, however, is applied in the former case to the teeth; in this to the palate. All the consonants of this class are strictly English, the last being the strong *r* found in "rob," "borough," &c. We have here a double set of aspirates; the second set may be termed compound, being an additional aspiration of the former. The second of the latter species, written *zh*, is intended to represent the sound of the French *j*; the last is the ambiguous consonant *y*, which approaches very near to a perfect vowel. Of the vowels of this class, two having a middle sound between *e* and *a* in day, are not perceptible in English, but are found in the Scotch dialect, and, I believe, in the French. The *u* and *i* are English.

IV. The two first aspirates of this class (represented by *kh* and *gh*) are very familiar in Oriental languages, but abhorrent to pure English

ears. The vowels, with one exception, the long sound of *a* in "but," seem completely fixed. However, something like the long sound of *a* in "but" is heard in the Cockney pronunciation of the word "barn." The *n* of this class is the French nasal, as in *non*; the *ng* the common English sound in "song." I add two letters to this class, under the title of anomalous, which are the Arabic *qaf*, (incorrectly written *g*, in the Plate, instead of *q*), and the Hebrew, or Arabic *ain*, which some suppose to be inarticulable by a European voice.

Again, taking the consonants in their vocal orders, a very close analogy seems to pervade the manner of their modulation, or transformation, from mute to semivocal, liquid, &c., and the list of ambiguous letters evidently forms the link of transition between the consonants and vowels. These mongrels consequently partake largely of the uncertain character of the latter, the organs of speech being kept too loose and open to impress any very definite character upon them.

The liquids are again divided into two classes: some, as *n*, being sounded through the nose; others, as *l*, through the mouth only; and others, as *m* and *ng*, through both jointly. Most of these, as well as of the corresponding column of *ambigui*, are capable of receiving stronger aspiration; of which the Greek *rh*, the English *wh*, and the Spanish double *ll*, are examples.

When a mode of classification is once agreed upon, the only thing remaining to be done is, to devise or select symbols, which may be combined together so as to form a set of characters having a similar relation to each other in form as in power. The simple elements of the letters may consequently be very few; since, with regard to the consonants, we have only first to find four symbols, one for each of the classes, and then three discriminating marks to be superadded to each, in order to note the different species of vocality represented. These seven elementary signs combined in this manner, give (four multiplied by three, or) twelve letters. These again may be multiplied into twenty-four, by adding to each one symbol of aspiration. I present a table of characters in which the letters are so formed, as an example of the manner in which it might be done, rather than as possessing any merit in itself. The symbols given in the second table, are meant to correspond to the vocal sounds as classified in the first.

Explanation of the Universal Characters.

1. Two curved and two straight lines, distinguished from each other by one of each pair ascending and the other descending from the body of the letter, are fixed upon as the most simple signs that can be found to distinguish the four fundamental organic characters of letters, as divided into labials, dentals, palatals, and gutturals. They are further discriminated by the one ascendant line receiving additions from the right hand, and the other from the left; the same rule being observed with regard to the descendant lines.

2. These primitive symbols are combined in the first place with one common sign, in which state they represent the mutes, as *p*, *t*, *tt*, and *k*. Secondly, with a sign of semivocality which converts them into *b*, *d*, *dd*, *g*; thirdly, with the mark which represents the full liquid sound.

3. By the addition of a hook as the symbol of aspiration to the characteristic lines, the twelve letters already formed are multiplied into twenty-four.

4. The three compound aspirates are easily distinguished by a slight bend in the form of the simple aspirates. In the same manner, the different powers of *n*, with the French nasal, are distinguished from the different sounds of *l*, and voco-nasal *ng*, by slight variations of form. So also the anomalous letters are represented by modifications of the nearest cognate characters.

I might easily modify a number of the consonants in such a manner as to give them greater beauty or variety of form, without obliterating their characteristic features; but although this would improve their appearance, it would defeat my present object, which is to give an exemplification of a regular alphabet.

These fifty-four symbols probably embrace the whole circle of distinct vocal sounds; but it will be a difficult matter indeed, among the multitude of characters that might be chosen, to agree upon which would be the best. Informing symbols, it seems advisable to attend to the following rules: 1st, That to save time and space, the construction of the characters should be as simple as is consistent with variety of form; and that, on the other hand, the distinctions between the different letters should be sufficiently broad, to prevent them from being easily confounded with one another. 2. That form, not size, should constitute the distinction between them; otherwise a niceness of proportion in constructing them, and of discrimination in the perusal, would be required, which cannot be expected of writers and readers in general. 3. All the parts of the letters should be formed at once, otherwise haste or indolence will often prevent the penman from returning to give the finishing touches,—points, dashes, or whatever they may be. From this cause alone the current hand of the Persians, called “*Shukust*,” is little better than a system of stenography; almost all the dots, or *nooktahs*, being usually omitted. Now, since what is written by one is often intended to be read by many, it is contrary to the principle of utility that the writer should be saved a little pains, which will probably cost a great deal of trouble to hundreds of readers.

In the two latter particulars I think Dr. Gilchrist’s system not perfect: and also that his division of the vowel-sounds into long, middle, and short, adds some difficulty to the subject which might be avoided. I should, therefore, be glad if he were to throw this away, as well as his central dots and cross bars. The consonants I propose consist wholly of projecting letters, and the vowels of short circular ones,—a distinction to which our present alphabet strongly inclines. A perfect system of symbols would render the qualities of composition visible to the eye almost before perusal. The strength of jarring consonants, the harmony of alliteration, the melodious intermixture of vowels and liquids, would be perceived at a glance. By the addition of a few other symbols to mark the various inflections of the human voice, the eloquence of the orator would be placed on an imperishable record, where it might be read with exactness by future generations. We might then boast, with justice, of having acquired the valuable faculty of expressing our thoughts accurately upon paper, which is far from being the case at present; the most simple sentence being often quite ambiguous, and liable to four or five interpretations, according to the manner in which it might be uttered.

As to the advantages of such an orthographical reform, I may observe, that according to our present mode of writing English, to learn to read it tolerably, considered altogether apart from understanding it, would require

Classification of Vocal Sounds.

	Primitives				Aspirates			Vowels							
	Mutes	Semi-vowel	Liquids		Mutes	Semi-vowel	Ambiguous	Short Sounds				Long Sounds			
			Oral	Nasal											
Labials	p	b	m		f	v	w	puh	ts	se	pooh	ts	mu	hu	hu
Dentals	t	d	l	n	th	dh	r	feh	ts	bed	ts	ts			
Palatals	l	d	l	n	s	j	rr								
Compound Aspirates					sh	h	y								
Gutturals	k	g	ng	u	kh	gh	h								
Nasal	q	h	h	q	h	h	h								

Universal Alphabet. Formed on Regular Principles.

	Primitives				Aspirates			Vowels					
			Liquids					Short			Long		
			Oral	Nasal									
Labials	p	p	p		f	p	β	a	m	o	a	oo	so
Dentals	k	b	k	B	h	b	B	c	w	e	o	oo	eo
Palatals	l	a	l	a	i	a	i	e	e	e	e	e	e
Compound Aspirates					i	g	g						
Gutturals	y	g	g	g	y	g	g						
Nasal	q												

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at least one year. On the new system proposed, a person might learn to *read* all the languages in the world in a single month; and to read them much more accurately than he can now do English alone, after ten times more study. Such a saving of labour is surely worth attending to in this age of political economists.

I shall conclude by expressing a hope that your learned Correspondent will pursue this subject with his usual perseverance and success.

A.

LETTER OF COLONEL STANHOPE TO RAM MOHUN ROY.

WORTHY PHILANTHROPIST,

YOUR Memorial to the King of England, demonstrating the usefulness and safety of a free press in British India, and praying for its restoration, I forwarded, with a letter, to the Secretary of the Board of Control. He honoured me with a courteous reply, stating that it had been graciously received by his Majesty.

This Memorial, considering it as the production of a foreigner, and an Hindoo of this age, displays so much sense, knowledge, argument, and even eloquence, that the friends of liberty have dwelt upon it with wonder; while the monopolists, who would doom one hundred millions of England's subjects to eternal despotism, unequal to combat with its logic, have denied its authenticity.

The advocates for censors and licensors are now in the full sway of their bad power. They are, however, either silenced by their fears, or struck dumb by the reasonings of their antagonists, or reduced to a most lame and impotent defence. What are their arguments? Read the proceedings on the late Appeal before the Privy Council, and you will not find one that has truth or reason to support it.

Mr. Bosanquet contended, that "a free press was adapted only to countries, the government of which depended on the good opinion which the people entertained of its justice and wisdom, and the other qualities which belong to good government." Certainly a free press is not calculated for an unjust, an unwise, or a bad government, which are the characteristics implied by Mr. Bosanquet of our Indian rule. Yet who but the Honourable East India Company's advocate would maintain such rank immorality? The Directors who attended the debate must have been vexed enough to hear him slide into so imprudent an admission. The Holy Alliance would blush to hear such doctrines. The Holy Inquisition, when it reigned in all its glory at Goa, never supported any thing so diabolical. If a demon were sent on earth to seek out some crime for which a nation was to be condemned, he could not devise a more frightful one than that of a race of civilized conquerors dooming one hundred millions of their distant and submissive subjects, and their descendants, to eternal misgovernment.

"De Lolme," said Mr. Spaukie, "had stated that the establishment of a printing press in Constantinople would, *ipso facto*, overturn the government."¹ No doubt: but does Mr. Spaukie mean to compare

¹ This was an error of the learned Serjeant: De Lolme has stated no such thing. We shall enlarge on this subject hereafter.—ED.

Lord Amherst to a Sultan—Censor Adam to his Vizier—our Collectors and Judges to Bashaws—our Sepoys to Janissaries; and one hundred millions of English subjects to Turkish slaves? And if he does, can any statesman, Tory or Whig, wish to perpetuate such a system? “The liberty of the press and a free government,” said Mr. Spankie; “might amalgamate together; but if it were united with an absolute government, it would speedily mildew and destroy its brother.” What does Mr. Spankie mean by free and absolute governments? There are degrees in both these systems of rule. England is *less* free than America; for, according to Mr. Spankie, though she admits of no slavery at home, she has nothing but slaves in Hindoostan. France is *less* despotic than Austria, and Austria *less* despotic than Turkey. Prussia is a despotism—but still under Frederick the Great she enjoyed great liberty of discussion. Our slave colonies are despotisms—but they have their constitutions, laws, and free presses. India, too, is called a despotism; but the press *was* free to licentiousness, in the dangerous times of Warren Hastings; and, according to Mr. Spankie, during Lord Hastings’s administration.

This advocate was not, however, satisfied with simple despotism, such as it prevailed in Prussia, or even in our slave colonies. He was for a despotism more unlimited than that which existed in the time when Burke told the Parliament, that the British rule in India was the most galling tyranny that had ever existed on the face of the globe; and that her protection was worse than all the irruptions of the Tartars and the Arabs.

“A cargo of European clothing,” observed Lawyer Bosanquet, “would no more fit the persons, than our laws and maxims would suit the moral, political, and religious opinions of the people of India;” notwithstanding that all the Sepoys are clothed in garments made in and sent out from England. Mr. Bosanquet seems to think that the natives of Hindoostan are a curious race of animals—a species of ouran-outangs, somewhat resembling man, but inferior to him in form and reason; and hence he would domineer over them as herdsmen do over the brutes of the field. If we speak of curious races, however, where is there, after all, to be found an animal less like a man than your English lawyer, with his legal reason, and his artificial reason,¹ his rusty stuff-gown, and his dusty ridiculous wig? These are the only human beings who do not in all things admit the pre-eminence of reason, founded, not in law, but in truth; and whom no clothes will fit but silk gowns or robes of ermine.

Mr. Bosanquet asserts, that “not a single step can be taken in India without hazard and peril;” and, according to Mr. Spankie, “we could not induce the people to feel an affection for our Government, nor to rise to take up arms in its defence. The only thing we could hope,” said he, “was to prevent them from taking arms against us.” This is a most melancholy prospect. It must be evident, indeed, to all men, that no structure ever rested upon a worse foundation. It is like those modern metropolitan houses of ours that are built to stand for a few years, and then to overwhelm their inhabitants in their ruins. The sooner we change a course so replete with weakness and danger, and follow Lord Hastings’s wise steps, the better; for there can be no root to any government but in the good will and good opinion of the people. “And the surest way,”

¹ Vide Lord Coke, 12th Report.

as Lord Bacon has it, "to prevent seditions is, to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to say whence the spark shall come that shall set it all on fire."

You will rejoice to learn that the Marquis of Hastings has returned from Malta to England. All who know his gallant spirit and high honour anticipate good from this event. Rest assured that no paltry motive of private interest, or want of ministerial favour, of going to Ireland or going to India, will prevent this illustrious nobleman from clearing his character and name from the odious slur that has been cast upon it by the Court of Directors, and which, though so ably defended by Mr. Kinnaird, Mr. Hume, Mr. Buckingham, Sir J. Doyle, and other liberals, (for these alone stood by him in the hour of trial,) still left many sceptical and prejudiced minds in a state of DOUBT. Nor will any hope of obtaining power or pension from the Court of Directors prevent this high-minded statesman from manfully defending, in the face of this country and the world, that course which he and Warren Hastings pursued towards the Asiatic press, which long experience has proved so safe and useful, and which he advocated in his answer to the Madras address, in language that will be remembered when his great military triumphs are either forgotten or jumbled together with those of tyrants.

God grant that your Memorial, recommending a free press in India, may be attended to by our good Sovereign. That it will, I have reason to hope, because Mr. Randle Jackson did, on the 4th of April 1821, in the face of the East India Company and the world, insist on Mr. Canning's decided intentions to oppose the renewal of restrictions on the press; a determination quite worthy of the noble character of Mr. Canning's administration. I am, your sincere friend,

London, June 9, 1825.

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

CHINESE LITERATURE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In your Number for the present month, (June 1825,) there was inserted a notice of Remusat's Chinese Grammar, with the review of it, by M. Klaproth. In that critique there are some general accusations brought against Dr. Morrison's Chinese Grammar and Dictionary, and also against himself, as not having the "smallest idea" of the two styles in Chinese, which M. Remusat is said to have illustrated; and which M. Klaproth asserts "form entirely different languages." The proof of this is, that Dr. Morrison has incessantly confounded the two styles in his dictionary.

There is nothing, I believe, more uninteresting to general readers, than the verbal disputes of grammarians and lexicographers; and, therefore, I shall not enter into a minute discussion of the question, but shall hazard an assertion on the other side, which is, that Dr. Morrison would not, I am sure, decline, in respect to Chinese, a fair examination, before competent judges, with our French and German friends, M. Remusat and M. Klaproth. But in the present state of Chinese literature in Europe, these judges are difficult to be found; I, therefore, deem it a frivolous and foolish thing for the "Sipalognes" to assail each other in the spirit

of M. Klaproth's critique. I agree with Montucci (a Continental veteran in Chinese philology) in the following sentiment: "Every individual engaged in the study of Chinese, ought to profess obligation to his fellow-labourers, and especially to those who have published works of some use before him." Now, Dr. Morrison's grammar was anterior to Remusat's; and I dare say, however "mediocre" in its conception, it was not "utterly useless" to him.

I approve not of that ultra feeling and expression, which condemns either men or books that are "faulty," to utter worthlessness or uselessness. Candid criticism will take into account an author's object, and not censure him for not accomplishing what he never intended to do. Dr. Morrison's object, in his grammar, was, to enable a man who thought in English, to express these thoughts in Chinese; and for that purpose the "ancient style" was not a proper medium, and, therefore, he did not collect quotations from ancient books. Candid criticism will, moreover, take into account an author's circumstances when he wrote. Dr. Morrison's grammar was compiled and sent out of his hands in 1811, when he was but yet young as a Chinese student. But still, I hesitate not to say, that it contained more correct practical information concerning Chinese, than any grammar that had preceded it. Dr. Morrison has nowhere attempted to philosophize about Chinese; practical utility has always been his object: and, after looking over M. Remusat's grammar, I do not perceive any new ideas of importance. Every thing that M. Remusat has compiled and edited concerning Chinese, is most creditable to his scholarship, accuracy, and elegance. But his productions are not "faultless." I could point out, in his Ching-yung, a mis-translation of the Chinese in the very first page, by which the sense of the paragraphs is entirely altered. And in the grammar, (which, as a whole, is a very good work of the kind, and, I think, an improvement on Dr. Morrison's,) I can point out, after a hasty perusal, cases in which M. Remusat has mistaken one word for another, of the same sound or pronunciation, as some Englishmen would mistake *heir* for *air*, or *toe* for *tow*. [See pages 50 and 161.] And in page 116 there is a phrase which, I believe, is utterly unknown in China, and must have been "fabricated" by the author. But notwithstanding these faults, "mediocre" certainly in conception, I would by no means pronounce the works in which they are found "utterly useless."

However, not to dwell on these verbal matters, I would beg leave to remark, concerning the two styles called *ancient* and *modern*, that I differ in opinion as to the propriety of these terms, both with the Royal Professor and the Aulic Counsellor, Messrs. Remusat and Klaproth; nor do I admit that they "form entirely different languages."

Neither, again, do I admit, that "Morrison's confounding" (blending) them in his dictionary, showed any ignorance of his subject. In proof of these my dissenting opinions, I shall quote M. Remusat's statement contained in the grammar, where this "discovery" of two styles, constituting two *entirely different languages*, is contained. M. Remusat says:

"The rules of ancient style concerning the use of grammatical terms, and the relative position of words, which are not formally treated in this second part (of the grammar) are generally applicable to modern style, inasmuch as they pertain to the genius of the Chinese language;

and because a *mixed style is authorized* in many kinds of composition, and a great number of *phrases, or speeches, taken or imitated from ancient books, are introduced into the vulgar tongue*; and at length, reciprocally, *many vulgar terms have been admitted, even into books where it was proposed to imitate the style of ancient composition.*"

Now, Sir, if native Chinese authors thus mix and confound the styles in their compositions, where is the utility of the great discovery made, by Europeans, in separating them? or how could a dictionary-writer, whose duty it was to explain all sorts of words, be charged with ignorance, because he did not attempt to separate what the natives themselves blended?

Leaving, however, this topic, I deny that the words *ancient and modern* convey a correct idea of the case: the difference between the styles spoken of will, in my opinion, be better understood by considering the one as the *style of grave literary composition*, and the other the *colloquial style*, reduced to writing. The Chinese so distinguish them, calling the first, "*wăn*," an *elegant literary style*; and the last, "*shū*," the *vulgar or common style of conversation*. To blend these (not in a dictionary, where single words and phrases are to be explained, but) in the same composition, is considered bad taste; just as an English style would be considered bad, which was half poetry and half prose.

Although M. Klaproth has chosen to write so severely, and, perhaps, uncandidly, concerning the Chinese labours of Dr. Morrison, it is said, that he personally expressed himself to Dr. Morrison as having received considerable assistance from some parts of his dictionary. Of the truth of this I have no doubt.

Dr. Morrison went to China, but with very few helps to the acquisition of the language. His first work was the grammar, which was published before he had decided on an uniform orthography for his dictionary. During the progress of the dictionary, which extended to six quarto volumes, he published an octavo volume of Dialogues, Chinese and English; and a small quarto, entitled, 'A View of China for Philological Purposes,' containing an outline of chronology, Chinese geography, festivals, religious terms, and remarkable occurrences. In the chronological part, instead of copying from the Chinese chronological tables, in which they affect to give the very day of every occurrence for more than three thousand years back, he took their historical books, which give the number of years of each reign, and, from a comparison of these, made a comparative chronology for general purposes, which should lead the mind to nearly the period in which the occurrences took place: for he has *no faith in the perfect accuracy* of ancient chronology.

The chronology thus drawn up, differs slightly from the Chinese tables; on which account M. Klaproth, in a German work of his, has pronounced it utterly "*false*," and altogether "*useless*." Now, Sir for all useful purposes in the history of mankind, approximations to chronological accuracy, in reference to ancient dates, if not all that is desirable, is, there is every reason to believe, all that is attainable. With this exhibition of facts in behalf of Dr. Morrison, whose works do, I am convinced, contain more correct practical assistance towards the acquisition of Chinese, than is to be found in all the works of all the nations of Europe that have heretofore been printed,—I shall now conclude, only expressing a hope that the "*Sinologues*" will endeavour either to amuse

or edify us with something good from China, instead of thread-bare and ill-natured contests about grammars and dictionaries.¹

A WELL-WISHER TO CHINESE LITERATURE.

We rejoice to see part of the original text of a Chinese author of celebrity, Mǎng-tsze, (or, as it has been latinized, *Mencius*;) printed at the lithographic press in Paris, accompanied by a Latin translation, edited by M. Julien. Franciscus Noël, a Jesuit, published a translation of this, and other classical books of the Chinese, at Prague, in 1711; from which, no doubt, as well from other stores supplied by the early Catholic missionaries, the present Sinalogues of France and Germany have derived much assistance. What is now presented to the public, is about one-fourth of the original work, which, it is presumed, will be continued, as the last page of Chinese characters (the 64th) breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The characters, which we suppose to be a fac-simile from some Chinese copy, are not so well formed as those in M. Remusat's publications; for the Chinese, like ourselves, have both good and bad printing; and the copy from which these plates have been taken, is inferior, although it professes to be from the "copper-plates" of the College of Pekin; which plates, by the way, we believe, have no existence but in the title-pages of Chinese books. M. Julien's labours are dedicated to our countryman, Sir William Drummond, who, we suppose, has patronized it. Thus the study of Chinese in France appears to be patronized not only by the French monarch, but also by English gentlemen; whilst in England it is neglected, both by our Government and by all the literary institutions in the land. It is curious enough to see the "incredulous English" (as M. Klaproth calls them) assisting our friends on the Continent, to realize their proud boast of high superiority over us; whilst Englishmen, as he predicts, will, in future, be compelled to go even from China to Paris, "in order to raise themselves to the height which the Frenchmen occupy." We hope we shall not be "compelled" to do so; but rather, that Chinese literature, in England, will receive such countenance and aid as to render so long a voyage unnecessary. At all events, we shall endeavour to cherish the best wishes for the success of the promoters of Chinese literature in Paris, as well as elsewhere; and we congratulate M. Julien on the success of his first essay, without pledging ourselves to consider it faultless or infallible.

¹ Permit me to give you a golden apothegm of the Chinese; wishing to ascertain from our new discoverers, whether it be in the ancient or modern style:

1891 2203 5180 526 9453 1803 4693

E gae ke che sin;—gal jin;

1891 10912 46 3 526 9453 10912 5180

E tsih jin che sin;—tsih ke.

"By love-sell's heart;—love men;

By reprove-men's heart;—reprove self."

(Or freely thus:

With the same feelings of tenderness that you cherish towards yourself, regard other men; and with the same severity that you censure other men, censure yourself.

Or thus, more briefly;—Let

4693 5180 12195 9955

jin ke yih te: i. e.

"Men and self exchange places."

LORD AMHERST'S ABUSE OF PATRONAGE IN THE CASE OF
DOCTOR ABEL.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In the present fettered state of the Indian press, you must be well aware of the impossibility of bringing to the notice of our honourable masters at Leadenhall-street, through that medium, instances that occur of injustice and abuse of patronage by the local Governments. I therefore hope that your valuable publication may be the means of calling the attention of the Directors of Indian affairs, to one of the most flagrant instances that has come under my notice, in the course of a tolerably long period of service in the Bengal army.

On referring to the orders of the Governor-General in Council, dated 30th December last, you will find the appointment of Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Clarke Abel to the situation of Apothecary-General, the most lucrative appointment that a member of the medical list, under the rank of Superintending-Surgeon, can hold. One would, therefore, imagine that this appointment would be granted to surgeons of tolerable standing, as a reward for long and faithful services performed in situations of less emolument. The gentleman now selected to fill the situation, is an Assistant-Surgeon, almost the junior on the Bengal list; has been little above a year in the country, and has not performed a day's general duty; but, from the eve of his landing, has been attached to the present Governor-General as personal surgeon, the salary of which appointment is inferior only to that of the situation now conjoined with it. The selection of so young an Assistant-Surgeon is a serious reflection on the Bengal medical establishment, which they deeply feel, and undoubtedly do not merit, and which, I am confident, the Court of Directors, when aware of, will not permit to hang over them, but refuse to sanction the nomination. No one can for a moment doubt, but that there do exist, among the hundred Surgeons on the list, many individuals well qualified to fill the situation of Apothecary-General, who, during periods of service varying from fifteen to twenty-four years, have, by indefatigable exertion in the performance of their duties, well merited such a reward of their past services. Supposing that the Court of Directors were willing to sanction the appointment of an Assistant-Surgeon to this situation, I would ask any one who knows the Bengal army, if there is no one among 172 Assistant-Surgeons, senior to Doctor Abel, who has served his honourable masters in a manner to deserve such a mark of their favour?

The Governor-General, by his present selection, casts a painful reflection not only on the service in general, but on individual character, by his neglect of individual claims. The Apothecary-General is the head of a detachment consisting of three full Surgeons, and several Assistants, all of whom are senior to the gentleman now holding the superior appointment. Two of these three full Surgeons have been a considerable period of years in the department, in charge of the depôts of Agra and Cawnpore; a third has lately been appointed to that at Dacca. From the nature of their appointments, these gentlemen appear to have undoubted claims to fill the superior situation; their serving under their present junior superior is an anomaly in the medical branch of the service. By a reference to

former lists, it will be observed how different a selection our late Governor-General twice made for this very situation: on both occasions, an old Surgeon, senior to both those holding charge of the inferior depôts, was selected. The giving of the few lucrative appointments, usually held by Surgeons on this establishment, to Assistants, and the most junior of these, appears to be a very impolitic measure, in as far as it removes that spur to active exertion in the earlier periods of service,—the prospect of eventually succeeding, through merit, to these honourable and more lucrative appointments. Were the present Apothecary-General to be selected to fill the vacancy that is now about to occur in the Medical Board, he would supersede few more individuals than he already has, and the nomination could hardly offend in a greater degree the members of the medical establishment.

There is another ground on which this appointment is objectionable, being in contravention of the positive orders of the Court of Directors relative to pluralities of appointments. The combination of the appointments of Military Secretary to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, when these high situations are vested in one individual,—that of the Secretary to the Military and Clothing Boards, all of which were separated by express orders of the Court,—do not appear so objectionable as that of Surgeon to the Governor-General, and Apothecary-General, two of the most lucrative appointments at this Presidency. These appear incompatible, from the circumstance, that the Governor-General resides the greater part of the week at Barrackpore, sixteen miles distant from the Honourable Company's Dispensary, where the regulations of the Government require the Apothecary-General constantly to be present. I have strong reason to believe, that, in addition to these situations, the Inspectorship of Opium is already, or about to be given, to the same gentleman.

In penning the above lines, I have been influenced by no personal feeling of disappointment, not having even proposed myself as a candidate for the appointment; but solely by a wish to prevent further instances of misplaced patronage of the local Government,—unjust and degrading to a highly honourable and useful branch of the Honourable East India Company's service.

AN OLD SURGEON.

Bengal, January 1825.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We have only to add to this exposure our sincere hope, that all and every similar case of the unjust exertion of patronage, to favour personal friends and dependents at the expense of long servitude, experience, and merit, will be communicated to us from all the Presidencies of India. The pages of the *Oriental Herald* will be always open to such communications, when coming to us authenticated by the real name and address of the writer, as a guarantee for the accuracy of the facts.

BRIEF REMARKS ON LAW AND LAWYERS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

June 9, 1825.

SIR,—My venerated acquaintance, Granville Sharp, has recorded, in an eminent instance, the *versatility* of the English Bar, which allowed that justly-celebrated advocate, Dunning, to maintain, as legal, the claims of a British slave-holder, only a few short months after he had been counsel for a negro slave. On that more honourable occasion, holding up in the Court Mr. Sharp's book on 'The Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England,' the then eloquent advocate of freedom had indignantly exclaimed: "I will maintain in any place, and in any Court of the kingdom, that our laws admit of no such property." Mr. Clarkson records, as "the result of the trial," that "the jury pronounced the plaintiff not to have been the property of the defendant, several of them crying out, *No property! no property!*"

You, also, have had too just an occasion to regret (p. 737) "the perverting influence of legal habits," discovered in a late striking contrast between an "advocate" and "a man;" and that *man*, to be looked for, unless strangely out of place, only among those who are nobly conspiring to "let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke." Such a man, though detained, for a moment, by a supposed professional *etiquette*, among mere lawyers, that *servum pecus*, was born to be foremost in another assemblage, such as an eastern sage has well described:—"leaders of the people by their counsel, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions, honoured in their generations, and the glory of their times."

That a man, illustrious, without the herald's "slender help to fame," and whose advancement no King or Chancellor can retard, for it depends not on the *fabric* of his gown, should appear eager to be heard "in support of the necessity and policy of the regulation," which, while it checks the intellectual progress of the Native, makes every Briton resident in British India as really a slave as those his *protégés*, worthy of his senatorial eloquence, the Catholic of Ireland, or the Negro of the West Indies, is passing strange. Yet it is by no means strange that *common serjeants* (not such as Mr. Denman) should have been desirous that the free press of England might record a *Brougham's* professional hostility to the free press of India, and the apologies which his ingenuity would suggest, for arguments he could not have prostituted, in behalf of British Oriental despotism.

Whether Cicero would have supported "the necessity and policy of the regulations" of *Verres*, instead of leaving the task to *Hortensius*, had a retainer been proffered from the late Prætor of Sicily, before an application could arrive from the plundered province, cannot now be determined. Yet the Roman forum appears to have allowed to advocates a selection, more favourable to consistency than the practice of the English bar, which was early distinguished by the *Satanic* skill of making "the worse appear the better reason." Thus in *The Complaint of Conscience*, published by Bishop Percy, from an old ms. (*Relics* ii. 289.) *Conscience* thus describes her reception among the gentlemen of the long robe alluding, probably, to a Court still popularly called by that name:

Then did I remember, and call to my minde,
 The Court of Conscience, where once I did sit;
 Not doubting but there I some favor should find,
 For my name and the place agreed soe fit;
 But there of my purpose I fayled a whit,
 For thoughte the judge us'd my name in everye commission,
 The lawyers with their quilllets wold get my dismission.
 Then Westminster-hall was noe place for me:—
 Good Lord! how the lawyers began to assemble,
 And fearfull they were, lest there I shold bee!
 The silly poore clarkes began for to tremble:
 Soe they gave me some money my charges to beare,
 But swore me on a booke I must never come there.

Sir Thomas More wrote his *Utopia* about 1516, and evidently designed to record his own opinions, which are those of no careless observer, in describing the imaginary commonwealth. "They have," says his *Raphael Hythoday*, "no lawyers among them; for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters, and to wrest the laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge." It should be recollected, that the *Utopian* judge was not made out of an attorney-general, nor raised to judicial authority from any other station, as the reward of courtly compliances.

Sir Matthew Hale entertained a view of this subject, which some aspiring lawyer may esteem almost as absurd as that judge's marvellous folly of *witch-finding*, (p. 693.) Yet by yourself and many of your readers the following will be received as redeeming passages:—"If he saw a cause was unjust," says Bishop Burnet, (*Life* 1682, p. 143,) "he for a great while would not meddle further in it, but to give his advice that it was so. If the parties, after that, would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice." Then, after remarking his caution not to decline a cause hastily, on its first unfavourable appearance, and thus prejudice an applicant, his biographer remarks that "he pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to say, 'it was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought.'"

Thus Sir M. Hale appears to have exhibited the practical influence of the religion he professed, though he degraded *Christianity* by making it "part and parcel of the law" of any land.

N. L. T.

SUPRESESSION OF THE ENGINEERS BY OTHER BRANCHES
 OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—My last letter to CANDIDUS remaining unanswered, I beg to solicit your attention to the accompanying statements, which were transmitted to me by an intimate friend. They need no comment; carrying with them conviction to the most prejudiced mind. Charity would induce one to hope that even Candidus may be convinced of his error.

I have already shown you, Sir, that however backward the senior officers of the corps of Bombay Engineers are in promotion, those of the Madras corps are equally so, and of the Bengal corps worse. I have asked of Candidus, when it is probable that the *third* Captain of the Engineer Corps can reasonably expect to be promoted to a majority? but Candidus is dumb.

I shall now, with your leave, tell Candidus, that if he will take up some of his favourite *old* India Directories, he will find, that not many years since there was no promotion among the field-officers of the Bombay Engineers for a period of fourteen years. During the whole of that long time, the senior Captain remained at the head of the list. Will Candidus produce a similar instance from the rest of the army?

But if Candidus would rather inquire into the number of vacancies by death and retirement, during the last thirty-five years, among the field officers of the Bombay Engineers, he will find, that two have retired and four died, making an average of one step in six years. Now, Sir, the third Captain is forty-four years of age; so, that in eighteen years to come, at the advanced period of life of sixty-two years, he may have a chance of a majority!!

It will be seen by the annexed statement, that all of the officers on the list of the season 1797, excepting one, are now Lieutenant-Colonels-Commandants, or Lieutenant-Colonels commanding regiments; and may therefore retire from the service with an annual income of 450*l.* and 375*l.*: while the Engineers are obliged to toil on; and at the expiration of eighteen years, the third Captain will then only have a *chance* of Major's pay of 270*l.* per annum. If the Engineer officer leaves a widow, she will be equally unfortunate.—A part of her husband's net pay of his rank, without reference to his length of service, is her only portion.

One word more, and I have done. Whenever the backward rank of the Engineer Corps has been mentioned to the good people of the East India House, the reply has always been, that the superior pay and allowances of the Engineer Corps make amends for the loss of rank. Candidus asserts the same.

To prove how egregiously Candidus is in error, I shall desire him to inquire the *lowest* rate of pay and allowances received by any one of the infantry officers of the season 1797. He will find it to be 1200 rupees a month, the pay of a Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a regiment; and 1100 rupees the Major's pay. If Candidus will also inquire the amount received by the senior Captain of Engineers, of the same season of 1797, who is now the executive officer in the southern division of Guzerat, he will discover that his pay, and allowances of every description, and then only when he has works in hand, do not amount to more than 780 rupees a month. When there are no public works in progress, he only receives 250 rupees a month!!

The contrast might be pushed further, by comparing the Engineer officers with the officers of 1797, in command of garrisons, stations, field forces, and on the general staff; but enough has been said to prove how utterly unfounded in truth are the assertions of Candidus, and the other enemies of the Engineer Corps.

A valued friend of mine has said, that proof only hardens the heart of Pharaoh. I should be sorry to have so bad an opinion of the "modern"

Pharos; but, Sir, it is not my intention to harden or to grieve his heart; my object is, to induce those Honourable Directors, who make justice their guide, to examine into the true situation of the senior officers of the three Engineer Corps, which they publicly profess to patronise; and to solicit the attention of the Honourable Court to the details and urgent solicitation to augment the corps, transmitted to them by the local Governments in India.

INVESTIGATOR.

Perth, April 12, 1825.

List of the surviving Cadets of the Season of 1797, on the effective Strength of the Bombay Army in the year 1824, showing the unprecedented Supersession of the Engineers by every other Branch of the Service.

Names in the Order of Rank settled per Government Orders of the 5th Dec. 1799.	Regimental Ranks in 1824.	Remarks.
* 1 Robert Drummond .	Captain of Engineers .	{ On duty at Surat, of which garrison, the commanding officer, Lieut.-Col. Whish, of the Artillery, is a much junior Cadet, and arrived in India two years after him.
2 A. Wilson . . .	Lieut.-Col. Com. of Cav.	{ Brigadier of the 1st Class.
3 Adam Hogg . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ On furlough.
4 W. D. Clelland . . .	Lieut.-Col. Com. of Inf.	{ Brigadier of the 1st Class.
* 5 Christopher Hodgson	Sen. Lieut.-Col. of Artil.	{ Commis. of Stores, Grand Arsenal.
6 T. F. Dyson . . .	Lieut.-Col. Com. of Inf.	{ Brigadier of the 2d Class.
* 7 Thomas Dickinson .	Captain of Engineers .	{ On duty at Bombay, the Commandant of which garrison, Lieut. Col. Sandwith, came into the Service after him.
8 B. W. Sealy . . .	Lieut.-Col. Com. of Inf.	{ On command.
9 H. Tovey . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ On furlough.
10 E. W. Shulldham . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Quaterm. Gen. of the Army
11 Kingston Egan . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Commanding at Deesa.
12 Isaac Kinnersley . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Military Paymaster Gen.
13 John Mayne . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Deputy Quarterm. Gen., Poonah Division.
14 Francis Staunton . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Commanding at Ahmednuggur.
15 John Hicks . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Sick leave.
* 16 John Hawkins . . .	Captain of Engineers .	{ Detained on duty in England.
17 David Campbell . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Commanding 19th Regt.
18 William Grant . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{
19 Charles Ellwood . . .	Major of Infantry .	{
20 Delamotte . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Cavalry .	{ On furlough.
21 William Tucker . . .	Lieut.-Col. of Infantry .	{ Deputy Adj.-General of the Army.

* These officers were selected from the original List, and sent to Woolwich for a couple of years, under a guarantee, afterwards made good by the Court, that their army rank was to be preserved to them.

COMPARATIVE LIST, showing the relative Numbers of the Field Officers of the different Branches of the British Army, between the years 1797 and 1824, and the inadequate Degree in which the highest Ranks of the Engineers' Corps have been benefited by the different Augmentations to the Army, and by the late Military Arrangement.

	Commandants.		Lieut. Colonels.		Majors.		Total of Field Officers.		
	1797.	1824.	1797.	1824.	1797.	1824.	1797.	1824.	
Artil.	1	3	1	3	1	3	3	9	Displaying an excess of field-officers of three times the original number, by which the Engineers have been irrecoverably superseded.
Engin.	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	5	Displaying an excess of not twice the original number of field-officers, by which not an officer on any other branch of the service has been superseded.
Caval.	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	9	Displaying a creation of nine field officers, by which all ranks of the Infantry were promoted, and those of the Engineers superseded.
Infan.	7	26	14	26	15	26	36	78	Displaying, unitedly, an excess of two and a half times the original number of field-officers, by which the Engineers have been irrecoverably superseded.

DISTINGUISHED TRAITS OF INDIAN CORRESPONDENCE.

It has been asserted, both in the House of Commons and in the Court of Proprietors at the India House, that no person in India had any just reason to apprehend danger from expressing his sentiments freely, yet temperately, to the individuals in authority there. Sir Francis Macnaghten, indeed, when acting as Chief Justice in the Supreme Court at Bengal, went still farther, and asserted that he had never lived in any community so free and fearless as that of India; adding, that no man had any thing to fear from the expression of his sentiments in any manner that he thought best. That this state of things is desirable, we fully admit; but that it ever existed in India, we as plainly deny. As a check upon all the correspondence that passes between the Interior Provinces and the Capital, as well as between India and England, the letters put into the Indian Post-office are marked on the outside with the name of the writer, which is ascertained by the Post-office clerk from the servant who takes it there for despatch, (there being no collecting postmen as in England, nor boxes for dropping in letters from the outside.) We have before us, at the present moment, a letter written from the Upper Provinces, addressed to the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*, and

having on the outside, above the seal, the name, rank, and residence of the writer: so that any one of the Government's servants, through whose hands the letter might pass, could determine from it, at least, that the person named was a contributor to this work; and if his general sentiments were known to be liberal, we have no hesitation in affirming our belief, that many of those Government servants would have little scruple in opening the letter, and, if objectionable, preventing its reaching its destination. The only way to avoid the liability to this is, for correspondents in India to address their letters under cover to friends or relatives in England, with instructions to have them forwarded to us at the place of publication here. Some of our friends in India have already adopted this plan, with perfect safety and success; and we hope to see it become general. As we have received a great many letters of this description lately, and shall no doubt soon receive more, we select one of the shortest and least easy to be traced, from a mass in our possession: assuring the writer and his friends, as well as all others who may follow the example, that the most scrupulous attention shall be paid to their wishes, and their confidence inviolably respected. The letter is as follows:—

MY DEAR SIR,—I have authorized my brother to send you a letter, on the subject of some strange things going on in this quarter. As one of your old supporters, when the CALCUTTA JOURNAL was in being, I feel satisfied that the information will be acceptable, and you may rely upon its correctness in every respect. I am no volunteer for *martyrdom*; and the author of a Memorial has lately been suspended: therefore, it is my wish that you should not publish the letter itself, but give the substance of it, as information that may be relied on, from a correspondent on the spot.

My handwriting would be known immediately; therefore, it had better not be shown to any one. That you are doing good by calling the public attention to Indian affairs, no one with common sense can deny; and the late arrangements and derangements at Calcutta, will afford ample scope for observation. Tell the good people at home, that a weak Governor-General may, in a few years, lose the brightest jewel in the British Crown. All are interested, as there is scarcely a family in England unconcerned, in some measure, with India.

Believe me, my dear Sir, yours, faithfully.

P.S.—I always receive your Work here; but I have requested my brother to take it in also, and send it to me, to avoid delay.

Our correspondent will see that we have made the best use of his information, without suffering any thing to escape which might betray him. In that free and happy country in which he resides, where, according to Sir Francis Macnaghten, men are open and fearless, because they really have nothing to apprehend from speaking or writing freely, the mere writing a Memorial to the Government, and sending it through the regular channels—the constituted authorities—is sufficient to cause an officer to be suspended; and the refusal of an editor to deliver up the name of his correspondent would be deemed sufficient to warrant his banishment. We are not, however, quite so much enslaved in England; and, therefore, our Indian friends may send us their authenticated communications freely, giving us their names and proofs in confidence: when the Court of Directors—Chairman, Deputy, and all—shall see in vain for the surrender of any of our informants, who may desire to remain safe in

their disguise, unless the consent of the parties themselves be first given to us in writing for that purpose. If the Directors find it disagreeable to have the people of England too minutely acquainted with their affairs, let them thank their faithful slave, Mr. Adam, who removed the freedom of discussion from within the range of his own ears, in order that those of his Honourable Masters might be more frequently regaled with its pleasing sounds.

REMARKABLE ORIGIN OF AN INDIAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

May 22, 1825.

IN the 'East India Military Calendar,' (vi. 92,) I observed a short article on "the late Lieutenant-General Giles Stibbert." This brought to my recollection some particulars, with which I have long been acquainted, respecting the rise of that distinguished officer from the *ground-floor* of society, whence some in every age have felicitously aspired "to govern men and guide the state." The records of the service in British India, both civil and military, are not destitute of such examples; yet what I am about to relate is, perhaps, as remarkable as any which have occurred:

A gentleman, who has been deceased nearly half a century, but with whom, in my boyish days, I was intimately acquainted, was once travelling in Kent, when he called at the house of a Baronet of his acquaintance. He was from home, but his chaplain, who was also the minister of the parish, invited my friend to dinner. As they proceeded to the parsonage, the clergyman requested a lad, in a labourer's frock, to jump into a pond, by which they were passing, to procure some fish. This service he performed with marked agility, while the clergyman was expressing to Mr. Whatley, for that was my friend's name, his opinion of the boy's fitness for something better than his present employment of working in a hop-ground at four-pence per day. On this suggestion, Mr. W. hired him, and subsequently recommended him as a servant to his brother, Mr. George Whatley, a friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin, and for many years treasurer of the Foundling Hospital. This gentleman had been a consul in the Mediterranean, and a merchant in that trade. Thus he had occasionally *Streights Captains* among his visitors. To one of these our young adventurer, who had, no doubt, already felt the ambition of an aspirant, prevailed on his master to recommend him, and he made two or three voyages to the Mediterranean as Captain's servant. He then applied to his late master, requesting his assistance to go out to India, having learned that he was a friend of Colonel Clive, to whom Mr. George Whatley kindly wrote a letter of recommendation. Colonel Clive told the applicant that he could only give him a musket, but that he should have his eye upon him. Such appears to have been the introduction of Giles Stibbert to Bengal, of whose army he was, in 1784, if not earlier, Commander-in-Chief.

This introduction to India was, probably, about 1756, when Clive was rapidly advancing in military reputation. It is also no improbable con-

lecture, that the battle of Plassey, fought June 23, 1757, might afford our young soldier some occasions to distinguish himself. His advancement, however, was rapid; for, according to the *Calendar*, he was promoted, at Bankypore, in 1761, a battalion of Native infantry," which "he commanded in 1763 at the siege of Patna, where he was wounded," and "at the battle of Buxar, (1764,) he commanded the left wing of the army." He had become Major "in 1765," when he "besieged and captured Chunar, then considered the strongest fortress in India," and thus "he gradually rose to the command of the Bengal army." He became Major-General in 1783, and, in 1796, Lieutenant-General. "He retired," adds the *Calendar*, "on the conclusion of the war, and died, after several years' residence in England, much respected by his acquaintances."

Nor, I trust, should one of his surviving acquaintance look upon this page, will that respect be abated by an anecdote related in the family where I gained all my information as to the early history of this fortunate soldier. The first five hundred pounds which he could acquire in India, he immediately remitted for the support of his mother, now, by the death of her husband, his step-father, become a widow; a fine expression of filial piety, deserving to be admired when military fame shall have become obsolete; when, as the heaven-taught *seer* of Judah sweetly sang, men "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; neither shall they learn war any more."

BIOGRAPHICAL.

THE LOVE THAT GROWS WITH YEARS.

There is, there is a love
All change and chance above,
And doubts and fears,
That scorns the winter wind,
And fortune's turns unkind,
And grows with years.

This love, with eagle pride,
Disdains the mountain side,
And builds its nest
In those high master-minds
Which no light changing winds
Or clouds molest.

And on those golden heights,
Where Passion's self delights
His wings to wave,
Love sits in changeless joy,
Nor fears the daring boy
The mighty grave!

This, this is love!—and they
Who never feel its sway,
Who never prove
The bliss of living but for one,—
To all forms else as cold as stone,—
Can never love!

Bion.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

THE intelligence from India, public and private, during the past month, has fully confirmed the gloomy anticipations hitherto formed of the result of the war in which we are unfortunately engaged. By the latest accounts, when the season for active operations was well over, it appeared that no effectual impression had been made upon the enemy, after a whole year of active hostilities, with an immense sacrifice of men and money, not to say of reputation, in which we have been grievous sufferers. How much the political aspect of affairs has been injured throughout India, can only be guessed at, during the present suppression of intelligence and of public discussion, from the hints occasionally given of insurrections in the interior, the cause, extent, or object of which are involved in mystery. That the reader may judge for himself, we shall give as brief and clear an abstract as possible, and begin with a private letter, which contains several interesting particulars:—

I have a friend just arrived from Rangoon, whose verbal statements but reiterate the complaints with which every letter and communication teems. His description of Rangoon and the country about has astonished, as well as delighted me. He speaks in raptures of its beauty, calls it the Eden of India. It is, he says, one continuous garden of fruits, and sweets and flowers. The pine is not only finer in appearance, but more delicious in flavour, than any he ever tasted,—and none more competent to judge. He has, during a residence of twenty-three years, seen as much of India as most men; and although he had made every arrangement for a return to England, to enjoy the pleasure of revisiting home, curiosity and an innate love of research induced him to run over to Rangoon. The jack he described as being nearly two feet long: they have also a fruit, to which they gave the name of “maugoe plum,” which none of them had seen in any other part of India.

The Natives he describes as a more robust and muscular race than any he had seen, although a material change for the worse was perceptible latterly. Like our own troops, they appeared emaciated, exhausted, and quite tired of the thing; and he is confident, that under good management, we might have had the whole country on our side before this time: while, on the contrary, every unwise measure was adopted, every thing done to keep those enemies, which precipitation had made so. For instance: on finding a disposition on the part of a few of the Native men (for the villages were left full of old women and children) to return to their homes and villages, a representation was made to the General Commandant, of the propriety of endeavouring to conciliate them. This was effected, confidence quickly established, and little contiguous shops sprung up by degrees in every direction. This was wise, and should have been encouraged; but it was not in keeping with the blind policy which had marked so many other ill-featured measures, and a tax was levied on every man (so offending) furnishing supplies of beef, poultry, eggs, bread, vegetables, to our famishing soldiers and sick!! Really it appears too monstrous; but, in many instances, the folly was carried further. The stall tax, not altogether effecting the object of driving the supplies away, seizures were made of bullocks, on pretext they were not a vendor's property, and, prob pudor! this vexatious system carried on till not a shop or man remained. He describes the whole line of conduct as one of mismanagement, and wishes the rich harvest the Commander-in-Chief will reap from the campaign, were about to be gathered in by one more deserving of it.

I am sorry to hear how much the system of not only destruction by dismantling the pagodas of the images, but wanton dilapidation has been pursued. My friend tells me, that the search for treasure set on foot by the Commander-in-Chief, was the signal for all hands; and while they were digging and opening

shafts in every direction, under the pagoda,—above, all was destruction and havoc.

They expect to find a considerable quantity, when they succeed in reaching the desired city, where it is said to be buried in masses beneath the pagoda, whose sacred caverns never yield it up, unless now and then a block be ravished thence by some sad sacrilegious hand, as expert as that of our grave-banishing resurrection-men.

The Company are still hiring ships for six months certain, which looks as though they anticipated a continuance of the state of things. You know the price of bullocks about Calcutta. A Mr. Oliver has contracted with Government to deliver them at Rangoon at 125 rupees per head! and it is expected he will not make money by the contract. This leads to some idea of the expense of this ill-conducted war, when a bullock, which, I imagine, costs to about eight to ten rupees to a man who takes quantities, cannot be delivered at 125 rupees with any profit.

We subjoin another extract, which is taken from a private letter from India, dated 30th of January last :—

The importance of the Burmese war is not appreciated at home. It is, however, a subject of deep interest, whether considered in a public or private point of view. We are kept in a constant state of excitation here, by the important occurrences daily taking place. We have an officer now living, who left Rangoon only twelve days ago, suffering from scurvy and bowel-complaint. He states the slaughter among our officers, in the affairs of stockades, to have been dreadful in our last attack of the 15th of December, especially to the King's 13th regiment of foot. I have also a most deplorable account from an old friend of more than twenty years standing, a Brigadier, who states the privation of the troops, officers, and men, to be too great for endurance through another rainy season.

The extreme misery and want the troops have undergone, has reduced their bodily strength so, that they are become incapable of undergoing again what they have done. Until about the first of this month, they were feeding on bad bread, coarse rice, and decayed salt beef; sinking under bowel complaints, fever, and scurvy, until of 930 of my friend's regiment, 273 emaciated beings, alone, could mount a bayonet. Their situation is now ameliorated; but I much doubt whether any thing decisive will be done this campaign. The time for action is now very limited, and if the enemy persevere in the cautious line of conduct lately adopted, I see no alternative, but withdrawing our troops for the season altogether, or replacing them with fresh, to lose them in nearly as large a proportion as we have already done.

One singular transaction, strongly illustrative of the character of the Honourable John Adam's short but eventful reign, has never yet been made public, although it well deserves to be held up for the finger of public scorn to point at. Unfortunately, the general good which demands publicity is too often sacrificed to a regard for the feelings of private individuals: but this species of delicacy would not justify us in longer remaining silent, since the transaction in question related to a public institution, and is therefore justly to be considered as public property. It shows the underhand manner in which Mr. Adam and his minions carried on their persecution of the Calcutta Journal, and those connected with it, even after they had banished its conductor from the country, and fettered the press with the present odious restrictions. The wife of Mr. Sandys, the gentleman who succeeded him as Editor, having expressed a wish that a young lady, who was a ward of the Upper Orphan School, should spend a day with her, being her old school-fellow, the Deputy-Governor of that institution put his veto upon the proposal, for reasons that will immediately be seen. The Editor addressed a letter to the Secretary, appealing the matter to the judgment of the General Management. But the Deputy-Governor intercepted the appeal, directing the Secretary to reply as follows :—

"That as the chief executive officer of a military institution, he could not consi-

der the intercourse with any family; the head of which had *avowedly set himself up against and defied the authority of the Supreme Government of India*, as proper society for the wards committed to his charge, and to whom such example might be injurious; but that, should Lieut.-Colonel Paton now derive the satisfaction of being explicitly assured that his objections leave *no longer any grounds for apprehending* bad consequences from such a cause, he would again sanction Mr. Sandys' applications with as much pleasure and readiness as he ever did on any previous occasion.

The ambiguous phrase of "his objections leaving no longer any ground for apprehending," can only be interpreted into good sense by supposing him to mean, that Mr. Sandys should, at his suggestion, resign the office of Editor of the 'Calcutta Journal' altogether. For, as to the explicit assurance spoken of, if that only had been wanted, the Editor had distinctly declared in his paper, that on assuming its management, it was far from his desire to oppose the Government, much less set it at defiance; that it was his nature to take more pleasure in awarding praise than censure: and this was proved by the whole tenor of his conduct. Hence the meaning of this absurd accusation could be nothing else but this: that in becoming Editor of a publication belonging to a person whom Government had thought proper to banish, he had contributed to save that person's property, which it was the wish of Government to destroy, but which it could not now do so easily while under the management of Mr. Sandys, as it had not the power to banish him at its mere will and pleasure, as it can all British-born subjects. He, however, being born in India, was amenable only to the laws of England, as administered by their organ, the Supreme Court of Judicature established in Calcutta. The wisdom of the British Legislature had decreed, fifty years before, that persons born in India should have this privilege, and had seen no reason during that period to take it away. All that Mr. Sandys did, was to mention in his paper this fact, which was known to the whole world long before he was born; but so much had despotism gained ground of late, that for him to claim this right was now manufactured into a high crime and misdemeanor against the State, by the ephemeral Governor-General Adam, and the temporary acting Chief Justice, Macnaghten, who, by their joint authority, passed an act, depriving him and all his countrymen of the protection of the laws of England, which they had hitherto enjoyed—laws which the said judge was paid, and had sworn, to support.

Because Mr. Sandys had dared to state the notorious fact, that he was and considered himself amenable to the laws of England only, for his conduct as Editor, the Deputy-Governor of the Orphan Institution, imitating the high authorities above him, construed it into an act of such deep moral turpitude, that a young lady could not visit his family without contamination! The matter being referred to the General Management, two circulars were sent round to ascertain the sentiments of the Members. They, or at least most of them, strongly condemned in private the act of injustice done to the Editor; but were afraid to correct the ultra-loyal zeal of their Deputy Governor, lest their conduct should be misconstrued by the higher powers. Therefore, in what they said publicly, they laboured in various ways to avoid the real question; chiefly under the pretence, that it being a matter for the discretion of the Deputy-Governor, they could not interfere. Although their consciences would not allow them to approve of his conduct, they determined to refuse the person complaining of it even a hearing. The Deputy-Governor also circulated

among the Managers, a paper containing his view of the case, which was as follows (the time being about the beginning of September, 1823):—

Had the correspondence from the invitation-book been collected, *from the first refusal in March or April last*, and circulated with these papers, the General Management would have seen that my objections were stated *for guidance*, under circumstances of a subsisting ferment in the settlement, produced by the *three* which appeared in the Journal, on Mr. Sandys being announced as Editor, of his determination to yield to the authority of the Supreme Court *only*, in the conduct of his paper, which would accordingly admonish and *chastise* the Supreme Government with as little ceremony as individuals.

We may here remark, that although all this would have been perfectly lawful, as well as justifiable and highly salutary too, and although Mr. Sandys could not, if he would, divest himself of the right of doing so, which the laws of England conferred upon him and all his countrymen; yet he never to our knowledge used a threat of the kind attributed to him, in any language which could be construed into disaffection or defiance. The Deputy-Governor having painted a bugbear in his imagination, proceeds:—

This I consider settling myself up against, and defying the authority of the Supreme Government of India! and my instructing you to tell him so, arose from Mr. Shearman's unauthorized note, which in bungling terms assigned *political*, not (as he should have expressed himself) *disaffected* conduct, as my reason for declining intercourse with his family.

So, for a person born in India to express his *willingness* to pay obedience to the laws of England, the rule of conduct and shield of protection which the British Legislature has voluntarily extended to him; and his *unwillingness* to throw this away, that he may become the mere slave of the arbitrary will of the Servants of the Company, is by them viewed as conduct highly criminal and “disaffected!” The Deputy-Governor knowing well the character of the Amhersts and the Adams whom he had to back him, bravely set the authority of the General Management at defiance, and dared them either to control or remove him, as shown in the concluding part of the above quoted circular, in which he expressed himself as follows:—

I will not, as already communicated to you, admit of any discussion by the General Management touching the exercise of my prerogative as Deputy-Governor; neither will I, whilst vested with the office, admit of any infringement of that prerogative in the present, or any future instance. But the General Management, I am aware, can vote the removal of their Deputy Governor any time at their pleasure, however unprecedented that extreme measure would appear, and however *difficult* they might find it to explain the necessity for so doing to the satisfaction of the Governor of the Institution, [that is, we believe, the Commander-in-Chief] and that of the army at large, and to the Governor-General in Council; to all whom, as a matter of course, full explanations of the grounds of their proceedings must be communicated.

Difficult, indeed, it would have been for persons serving under the authority of the Bengal Government, to explain to its satisfaction why they exercised their right of displacing the Deputy-Governor for his *unhandsome* treatment of the Editor of the ‘Calcutta Journal’! Lord Amherst and his Council would be the most forward to encourage and applaud, or at least secretly protect any one who thought proper to pay court to it, by oppressing an individual so situated. But in England, it must certainly appear a high face, that a person engaged in editing a paper published under the express sanction of Government, in virtue of a

license at all times revocable at its mere will and pleasure, should be proscribed as a rebel setting its authority at defiance! That his house should be interdicted as the den of disaffection; and his wife cut off from social intercourse with her old school-fellows, lest they should catch at second hand the infection of "opposition principles." As when anything very bad is done, it is usually attempted to be palliated by excuses equally bad, Mr. Secretary Parson (a Reverend Minister of the Established Church!) crowned the climax of folly, by a grave defence of it to the following effect:

He thought the Deputy-Governor's decision should not be overruled in any case by the Managers. They would hardly believe, he went on, [and we wonder not at their incredulity] what a *political* humour there was among the female wards of the Upper School! To enter into details would *travestie* the subject; but suffice it to say, that one grown lass admires no writer so much as *JUVENAL*. She likes to see characters cut up in this style! Another, either then in the school, or shortly before removed for insubordination, said that she had some thoughts of turning "*Radical*"!!!

Would that the pious and loyal Secretary had informed us who it was (himself, the Governor, or Deputy-Governor) that put *JUVENAL* into their hands! It argues well at least for the progress of the pupils in the English language, that they have a taste for the style of that elegant writer, who will henceforth, no doubt, be included in the Index Expurgatorius of the Bengal Orphan Institution. Before this salutary precaution was taken, we are almost surprised that such a Deputy-Governor and Secretary did not advise the calling in of the Governor-General's Body-Guard to quell a mutiny among these little female Radicals!—The only additional security we can think of for his Lordship is, to have a law passed through the Supreme Court, subjecting them all to the power of transmission without trial, so that the "grown lasses" may be banished to England, or some other safe place, whenever his Lordship hears that they have been guilty of reading *JUVENAL*, or drinking tea with the wife of a liberal Editor!

The Calcutta papers of December last contained further court martials on the residue of the Sepoys who survived the Barrackpore massacre, by which about 130 more of them were condemned to death, which was commuted to hard labour in irons, for fourteen years; and one, for attempting to run away, to receive six hundred and sixty-six lashes, and be dismissed the service.

It has been long a subject of reproach to the British Government in India, that it suffered the public works, erected in that country by its Mohammedan predecessors, to go to ruin; such as tanks to supply the people with water in the dry season, and irrigate the soil; ghauts, or wharfs, on the river sides for bathing, and other purposes necessary to the comforts of the people; seraees, or choultries, (known in Europe by the name of caravansaries on the road sides,) for the accommodation of travellers,—which are more legitimate objects for the application of surplus revenue, than the division of it as tribute or spoil among the proprietor-conquerors of the country. What we could not hope from a sense

¹ This Reverend Gentleman, Mr. Joseph Parson, is now at home, and has been lately engaged, we hear, in some parts of the West of England, endeavouring to gain popularity as an active promoter of the spread of Christianity in India! His merits on this head are about equal to those of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, and no more.

of justice to the people, the Bengal Government seems to be now doing from a regard to its own convenience. On the new military road from Calcutta to Benares, no less than thirty-two staging bungalows, with proper out-offices, and as many seraees, have been built and completed at the average distance of less than fourteen miles, by the several postmasters under the superintendence of the Postmaster-General. The bungalows are furnished with tables, chairs, and couches; and have double apartments for the accommodation of two families meeting at the same time. Servants are also posted at each. "This arrangement, so liberally granted by the Government," (we quote from the Gazette which trumpets its praises throughout India by authority,) "both to European and Native travellers, will afford them the greatest comfort and convenience, without any expense of tent equipage. Applications for the use of the bungalows must, however," (it is added,) "previously be made to the Postmaster-General, or any of his deputies on the great road." And these persons are, of course, empowered to refuse all applicants, except such as the Government may please to instruct them to accommodate; otherwise, the application and admission would be a mere matter of course, not requiring to be announced in this formal manner. In fact, the real object of the thing is to save time and expense to its own servants, that is, to itself; since, if they were, as formerly, to travel by water, it would cause a great loss of time, and if on public business, a great charge to Government. How far the Natives of the country will be allowed to participate in the advantages of this military road, with the postmaster's license, (there every thing must be licensed,) remains to be seen. The Mohammedan "tyrants" never dreamt of such liberality. But the present Indian Government boasts of it, as if this stinted boon to their subjects were not given them out of the taxes paid by themselves, and, at best, only a very minute portion of their own property restored.

It is stated in the *Scotsman in the East*, that the police-officers stationed around Calcutta, levy a tax of two annas in the rupee, or upwards of 12 per cent. on articles brought into the city for sale; and it is asked, whether they do this of their own authority, or by that of Government? Although the former be the case, the person who had the temerity to mention the delinquency, clearly infringed the existing laws for the press, which prohibit "all libellous or abusive reflections and insinuations against public officers of Government," which includes every one, from a chief secretary to a common chowkeedar; therefore, since to accuse a police-officer of extortion and robbery, however true, is certainly a libellous reflection; the paper which published the fact, incurred the penalty of suppression; and both the writer and publisher (if British-born) might have been transported for it! Such are the atrocious regulations, which degenerate modern lawyers find to be neither "contrary to reason," nor "repugnant to the laws of England"!

Having alluded to those famous gagging laws, enacted, as was professed, to prevent "defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society," it may not be out of place to notice the "good order" into which they have brought the press at the end of 1824, after a year and a half's operation. We have the following account of it, on the authority of a Calcutta newspaper, (the *Scotsman* of December 11th,) which would not have dared to say so, unless it had been too notorious to be denied:—

It is a subject, indeed, highly deserving of remark, that all the virulence of the *John Bull*, of London, has for sometime manifested itself in the pages of the *Hurkaru*, [the paper edited by the Deputy Judge Advocate,] displaying itself in a system designed to grind and to crush all before it, by the mere weight of unmeasured arrogance, and showers of the most heartless and unfeeling personalities.

Strange to tell, the victim of this system, in the present instance, is no other than the editor of the Calcutta *John Bull*, the very man who, about two years previous, made himself a tool in the hands of masked li-bellers, supporting a similar system "to grind and to crush" the Editor of the Calcutta Journal. So soon has the hand of retributive justice made the same weapon to recoil on his own head ! Then he was the favoured organ of the Government-House cabal, and allowed to go any lengths against the individual it chose to persecute. Having performed the dirty work required of him, now, it appears, he is thrown by, and Lieutenant Mac-naghten, the editor of the *Hurkaru*, who is patronized by the Commander-in-Chief, (and, in that paper, expressed his regret that more blood was not shed at Barrackpore !) enjoys, it appears, from Government, the privilege of dealing out unmeasured virulence and scurrility on all his rivals. The *Scotsman*, a cotemporary publication not connected with either party, says :—

A dictatorship has been attempted by means of the most unabashed impudence, and a system of the most execrable personalities that ever disgraced this or any other press. This attempt it required the most overweening arrogance even to think of, and a belief, too, not very flattering to the society of this proud city, that they would calmly submit to be insulted by a system of the most disgraceful insinuations, directed against a member of their own body, a gentleman respected and beloved by all acquainted with him. He, conscious of the injustice of the insinuations levelled against him, has chosen silence for his weapon ; and had it been directed against an opponent possessing one spark of generosity, or the least sense of propriety, it would, no doubt, have been the most irresistible weapon that could be employed : but this has not been the case. Our feeling in this may be mistaken, but it exists ; and we, therefore, at once meet the danger in the face, and denounce the system as one insulting to the public, productive of heart-burnings and dissensions in society, and leading but too directly to the field of blood.

The Deputy Judge-Advocate, we understand, wished to supplant his brother editor of the *Bull* ; but being unsuccessful, and left unnoticed by the latter, had persevered in this sort of scurrility against him for nearly twelve months ; during which, two prosecutions were filed against his paper. This, however, did not stop his career ; and when accused of pursuing an infamous system, he coolly turned it off, by calling his personalities merely harmless "squibs."

On the same subject, a correspondent of the *Scotsman* observes, that "insults and daily brandings" may be called *squibs*, but what is the person assailed to do ?—

If he treats that with contempt which is really contemptible, he is sure to experience a daily increase in virulence of these gross personalities, and to endure the pang of knowing that the feelings of his friends (his wife and children, if he have them) are harrowed up by the merciless hand of insinuation. What is the consequence ? Either recourse to law, or to enter the ring with a wretch whose conduct has insinuated, if it does not declare,—I'll insult you daily, make you a laughing-stock to all the world, rack and torture your feelings without mercy, or drive you to the field of blood.

Such is the harmony and good order of society, which the Bengal Government is so anxious with its gagging laws to preserve ! It lets loose upon the public its well-paid flatterers and servile minions, to bully,

brand, and stigmatize at pleasure; and if the sufferers venture to retaliate, or even to defend themselves, the Government is ready to settle the matter, by suppressing their paper, and banishing them from the country! The office of Dictator to the Press is a new one, which was never heard of but in India; and it may be worth while to inform our readers, that the person who now holds it there is a very near relation of Judge Macnaghten, who destroyed its liberty.

Very warm discussions had taken place, in the public papers, on the merits of the Dutch treaty for the cession of Sumatra; certain anonymous writers, or one declamatory enthusiast, whose style is easily discovered under a variety of signatures, inveighing bitterly against the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, as having by his representations to the home Government led to that measure. No proof, however, is adduced of his having any share in the transaction; but it is strongly inferred, that Ministers must have been guided by his reports, while, at the same time, it is known he gave the inhabitants on those settlements now given up, every reason to believe that they would continue permanently under the British Government. It is evidently unjust, to make a man thus responsible for the acts of his superiors, on assumptions devoid of proof. Yet, according to the *John Bull* newspaper, such virulence had been displayed against him on the occasion, as even, if he had been proved "a traitor to his country, might well have been spared." This further illustrates the admirable system of regulating the press established in India, by which a sneer at a clerk of stationery, or the meanest tool of the Government, on the spot, is punishable with transportation and ruin; but a Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Hastings or Sir Stamford Raffles, are allowed, the moment their backs are turned, to be calumniated, and held up to public detestation as speculators and traitors to their country! Yet, this we are told, by high and grave authorities, is "not contrary to reason, nor repugnant to the laws of England." We are quite at a loss, whether most to admire the wisdom of the legislators, or the justice and magnanimity of those who are entrusted to carry such laws into execution.

The *Helter-Skelter Magazine*, published at Calcutta, announced on the appearance of the 12th Number, that it was about to put a period to its existence, and that an unforeseen event had well-nigh done so previous to the publication of that Number. What this event is, we have no means of learning, but it is asserted that it was neither for want of matter or circulation, the latter being above a hundred monthly, which, at the price it was furnished at, is said to have rendered its continuance well worth while. It was the only successful periodical of the kind ever issued from the Indian press, professing to be of a purely original and literary character. The mysterious veil thrown over the manner of its death leads us to suspect that it was strangled by the arm of power, on account of its liberal opinions. We have been given to understand, that it never had the license prescribed by the existing laws; and if so, we are only surprised that it was allowed to exist so long as twelve months on mere sufferance.

As we are glad to observe any symptoms of public improvement in India, we must not omit to mention the introduction of the study of Phrenology at Calcutta, where, in the early part of the present year, a course of Lectures on this subject was delivered by Dr. Paterson. Mr. Horner, late

Riding-Master to the Queen of Portugal, also proposed to establish a Riding Academy in that city.

A case of a very extraordinary nature is said to have come before the police at Calcutta, on the 27th of January last. A Native, named Go-rachond Day, was charged by a person named Clark, who having attempted to seduce his wife. The accused is stated to have gone into his house in his absence, expressing his desire of seeing an European woman; and on the lady requesting him to name the person, he began to lavish praises on her personal attractions; representing also, that the wealth he was possessed of would enable her, under his protection, greatly to ameliorate her condition. On this she burst into tears, and ordered her durwan, or porter, to take him into custody, till the husband should come home. This story was sworn to by the lady and the durwan, the only persons, it appears, who were in the house, and totally denied by the defendant, who, however, having no evidence to support his statement, was fined 100 rupees, or three months imprisonment, and made to give security in the sum of 2,000 rupees for his future good behaviour.

A letter dated Cawapore, January the 1st, states, that two squadrons of lancers and a troop of Sepoys had been despatched that day towards Calpee, for the purpose as reported of quelling three refractory Rajahs, who had united their forces in that quarter, and were subsisting them by plunder. The Sepoys, it is added, were beaten and numbers killed; the Rajah's people having also entered the cantonments and burnt them down. Orders had been likewise issued by the General to prepare a brigade of guns immediately for Bundelkhand.

On the 7th of February, some elephants were embarked at Calcutta for the army at Rangoon, which was expected to move forward soon.

The Hon. D. A. Overbeck, Governor of the small Dutch settlement of Chinsura, delivered a farewell address to the inhabitants assembled there on the 21st December, in contemplation of his departure for Europe; and his place is supplied, during his absence, by B. C. D. Bouman, Esq.

RANGOON EXPEDITION.

It is reported that in the grand attack on the British lines at Rangoon, in the early part of December, the Burmese forces, said to be so very numerous, consisted of the half-armed population, which was driven on to the assault by the *unvincibles* placed behind them, and leaving them only the alternative of facing death in rushing upon the hostile ranks, or being shot by their own countrymen when driven back. This is probably an exaggeration; although that this principle should be acted upon in some degree, as it has often been by other nations, seems not at all improbable. The late transaction at Barrackpore, affords the Burmese but too good grounds for retorting the charge upon their enemies.

Subsequent to the failure of the assault on our forces at Rangoon, it was found from documents captured in the enemy's camp, that eight Burmese Chiefs, who are named, were destined to make the grand attack by land and water, with a force of five hundred thousand men; for which purpose the whole country was to be raised *en masse*, not leaving a male above ten or under fifty years of age. The following intelligence, extracted from the papers of the Burmese Chief, will give an idea of the ~~strength~~ observed in their camp:—There is "an order by Bundoofa,

dated *Natch 5th, 1186*, (or about 25th November 1824,) directing that every man in the force, shall at all times, night and day, keep his arms immediately about him. The cavalry to keep their horses also continually saddled and bridled; any man disobeying this order to be put to death. Another order by Bundoola, of the same date, notified to the army, that being now on the point of attacking Rangoon, no woman would be allowed to accompany any man belonging to the force, and declared his intention of beheading any man who might disobey this order and bring a female farther than the present encampment." He would seem to belong to the school of the Great Frederick of Prussia.

Private accounts from Rangoon state, that the 26th regiment Madras N. I. under the command of Major Yates, had obtained no ordinary share of renown. This regiment with about seventy-five men of the Madras European regiment were stationed at Kemmedine; when repeated and furious attacks were made from the 1st to the 7th of December, to carry this important post. These attacks were repulsed with the greatest gallantry. The Sepoys refused to quit their post to take their food, but desired to be supplied with a little rice and plenty of ammunition; and the wounded would not suffer themselves to be removed.

The following is from the *Madras Gazette* of January the 18th:—

By the ship James Colvin, Captain Wemyss, which has arrived from Rangoon since our last report, having sailed the 3d of January, we learn that active preparations were making for moving a force consisting of from 1200 to 1500 European, and 3000 Native troops: the provisions and baggage, it was understood, were to be transported in boats, and the force to move up the banks of the river. It is considered, in the accounts we have seen, that the army of the enemy was wholly dispersed. Some accounts from Bengal, however, mention the determination of Bundoola to make another stand if possible. The 15th was spoken of for moving up the river, but it was not expected that the arrangements could be completed quite so soon; though the greatest exertions were making.

The following is reported, in the *Bombay Courier*, on the authority of letters from Rangoon, dated 5th and 7th of January:—

The reconnoitering parties up the river had discovered a very formidable stockade, and the spies had reported the advance of the Prince Irrawaddy with the young King, and his guardian, at the head of an army of 100,000 men. They expected to be joined by the Bundoola; but his followers, according to all accounts, were deserting by hundreds. The Christian inhabitants of Rangoon are of opinion, that the young King's guardian, who is a clever man, and who was formerly governor of Rangoon, after a faint resistance, will desert to the English.

Such suppositions are of about as much value as if the Burmese were to flatter themselves that Lord Amherst, the present Guardian of India, would desert over to them. The following is a portion of a private letter dated Rangoon, January 12th, and confirms what we long ago stated:—

The return of cannon taken in the late affair is fallacious, musketballs having been put down as cannon, while out of the 250 pieces reported to be taken, 200 were of the former description. It is a proof of the determined character of the Burmese, that, though defeated, as they certainly were, in a very gallant style, in the two last engagements; yet, after the second defeat, they stationed themselves at the Syrian Fort, within a mile and a half of this place. We were compelled to drive them out the day before yesterday, which was effected with the loss of thirty men on our side, and not one on theirs. The expedition will proceed up the river in a fortnight or three weeks, and we are prepared to expect much opposition, though we have more fears of sickness than of the enemy. It is certain that, notwithstanding the confident tone of Sir Archibald Campbell's

despatches, the Burmese will not allow us to call an inch of ground our own but that on which we stand. Their plan is, when they perceive us advancing, to fire a volley and then retire. Before, it was their custom to fight hand to hand, but experience has now taught them better.

The official account of this affair is communicated through Bombay papers, which contain despatches from Sir A. Campbell, at Rangoon, dated on the 14th and 15th of January. The first of these gives an account of the attack on the fort of Syriam. The following is the most material portion of Sir A. Campbell's despatch :—

On the morning of the 11th, I detached a small force against Syriam Fort, consisting of 200 men from his Majesty's 47th regiment, with a detachment of seamen and marines from the royal navy and the hon. Company's flotilla, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ebrington, with orders to scour that part of the country as far as Syriam Pagoda of any enemy to be met with. The Lieutenant-Colonel, in the course of a few hours, came before that fort, and the bridge over the Nullah leading to it. From the landing place having been broken down, much labour and some delay were occasioned in repairing it, during which the enemy from behind the works kept up a smart and well-directed fire on the head of the column, which caused some loss but no sooner were the troops able to cross, than they rushed on, and gallantly carried the place by storm. The Lieutenant-Colonel afterwards went on to the Syriam Pagoda, also found to be occupied by a small force of the enemy, who fled after the discharge of one volley and seeing the British troops rush on to the assault.

By the return of killed and wounded which follows this account, it appears that one officer, Ensign J. M. Geddes, was killed, and three officers wounded; Captain Forbes severely, but not dangerously; Captain Buckhouse and Ensign Macleod slightly. The loss in men was one killed, thirty-one wounded. Sir A. Campbell states in his despatch of the 15th of January, (notwithstanding the late total defeat of the Burmese,) that the enemy were collecting another army for another attack on Rangoon.

The Row Boat No. 18, having on board, besides her own crew, Lieut. Crier and six marines from the Thetis cruiser, sustained a severe attack from thirteen of the enemy's boats, two of which, in attempting to board, were captured, and their crew all put to the bayonet. On Martabah being occupied by the British troops, it was found that the gun-brig Phæton, No. 15, Mr. Price, Commander, which formed one of the flotilla ordered on the service of Rangoon, long missing and supposed to have foundered at sea, had by mistake gone there instead, five months previous. The crew were found in irons, and liberated, but no intelligence could be obtained of the fate of the commander.

The Burmese General, Maha Bundoole, has sent a letter to Sir Archibald Campbell, expressing his surprise that the two states should have been involved in war on account of the two rebels Chorajeet and Marajeet, usually called the Chiefs of Munnipore, who, forgetting their allegiance to their sovereign, fled to the English. In the article on the papers laid before Parliament respecting the Burmese war, in our May Number, it was explained in what manner, and with what views the Company's servants took these rebels under their protection. It was determined, it appears, to seize upon Cachar, at all events; and to have a quarrel with the Burmese, unless they yielded up every point with part of their territory. Their General declares, that he is still quite ignorant of what are the wishes of the aggressors. "The English," says he, "have invaded the country; I am still very anxious to learn with what views or

intentions they have come ; whether with the wish of devastating all our kingdom, or for what purpose ?" Sir Archibald Campbell calls this "a most extraordinary communication ;" and if the East India Company, on the other hand, ask Lord Amherst what good reason, or rational object, he could have for going to war at all ; he also, we suppose, will be astounded at this "most extraordinary" and unanswerable question. The latest accounts yet published, respecting the Rangoon force, are the following from the *Globe and Traveller* evening paper :—

It is now very evident that a year of war, and consequently a year of war-expenditure and war-consumption of men, has been thrown away. The war was commenced in February 1821, and the preparations for commencing an effectual attack upon the Burmese empire have scarcely been completed in February, 1825. This has arisen from no deficiency of means, but from the fact that the Government rushed into the war without obtaining proper information, and have ever since been occupied in blundering out the proper mode of proceeding.

[Extract from a private letter, dated Calcutta, Feb. 16.]

'There is no news from the seat of war ; the army is still stationary at Rangoon, and, it is generally believed, will not be able to march for the interior this month ; if so, they must either be withdrawn, or be sacrificed to the ravages of one of the most unhealthy places in the world, for at least seven months.

'The invading army on the north side has advanced a short distance, and the enemy's troops that appeared retreated as fast as they advanced, without either side firing a shot. This is a system of warfare they have been known for years past to adopt, by which they inveigle an army into their almost impenetrable country, entirely unknown to any European nation ; and, when least expected, their enemies are attacked by thousands, that appear to rise from the earth. From their numbers, they are enabled to keep up a constant bush-fighting, by which they would harass and wear out the finest army in the world. Such are the prospects of this expensive war, with but little chance, if we ever succeed, of being in the slightest manner remunerated. The Burmese have no trade that could compensate us ; and as for wealth, they have not sufficient to clothe their nakedness.

'We are all enraged to find so little said in England about this war ; it makes good the saying of Lord Hastings, that "the people of England know nothing about the East Indies or its affairs."

Another letter we have seen states, that the Government still advertised for vessels for six months, and gives an opinion that the Rangoon army cannot march this season, as the forces from Madras join them at too advanced a period of the season.

The same Paper, of a more recent date, mentions that, "A private letter, received by the late arrivals from India, states that the medical men have recommended the withdrawing of the troops from Rangoon ; during the next rainy and unhealthy season, as no military operations could be contemplated there for the next five months."

CHITTAGONG FORCE.

The forces in this quarter were at last ready to enter the enemy's territory about the end of January, and destined the first attack upon Mung-doo, a station on the Burmese frontier of Arracan, near the island of Shapuree, so famous as being, in Governor Adam's and Lord Amherst's hands, the worthless cause of the war. The force under General Morrison reached Teknaaf, the extreme point of our territory, on the 16th of February.

A letter from Chittagong, dated Jan. 25th, says, that the force under General Morrison was to move on the afternoon of the 6th. The 44th (King's) had moved to the Sankar, over which a noble bridge of boats

had been erected, and permanent bridges have been thrown across the Nullahs. The King's 54th, the 10th Madras, and the 16th, go by water to the general rendezvous, Cox's Bazaar, from whence the whole would advance. The 27th and 30th remained in garrison at Chittagong. The 2d light infantry were expected in a day or two. The troops are said to be in excellent spirits, and to have the greatest confidence in their commander.

A letter which appeared in a Bengal Paper, dated from the camp at Teak Naaf, Feb. 1, says, "We are all in readiness to cross the Naaf to-morrow at day-light, for our intended attack on Moongdoo. We are all in high spirits, and trust in God to give us a glorious victory. I am now writing from a brother officer's tent, in the middle of the jungle, where we formerly built a small stockade, the ruins of which are at hand. The country around is very fertile, and if we could only GET AT the Burmese on the other side, all will no doubt go well; for General Morrison, I have no doubt, is an able general, and no army could show more desire to meet their enemy than this does. The Naaf is a broad arm of the sea, and the country in the neighbourhood swampy and jungly; so that it is desirable on every account that we should cross the Naaf, and get into the higher country of Arracan. All we shall want from Calcutta is provisions, which must be sent down continually; for WITHOUT A PROPER SUPPLY OF FOOD THIS ARMY WILL NOT BE HEALTHY."

Later accounts state, that the Burmese evacuated the Mungdoo stockade on the night previous to the intended attack, and that they showed great prudence in doing so; for the approach of our gun-boats, and an intercepting force by the rear up to the river Magoo, left their body (about 1000 strong) no hope of escape, had they been hardy enough to wait our attack. It was supposed that Arracan would afford no field for laurels, as the Burmese had no intention to risk an engagement.

Our readers will smile at such observations as are continually interspersed with the public accounts from India, that the Burmese "appear earnestly to wish for peace;" implying that this is a *new* feeling inspired by the warlike achievements performed against them; whereas it is well known, that they earnestly desired to preserve peace at the beginning,—a rational wish in all nations which do not make a trade of war and plunder.

On the evacuation of Mungdoo by the Burmese, at the approach of our force, the Calcutta *John Bull* remarks:—"It is a *pity* the enemy have thus escaped in this quarter without *tasting* British steel." The same sentiment we find but too frequently in the Indian papers, not excepting the Gazette of Government; so degraded is the press, and lost to all sense of humanity or decency. For it is unworthy of a civilized race to feel, and shameless to avow, such a ferocious un-christian desire for blood and butchery—the blood of a people who are only guilty of defending their own country; for which this Oriental Bull would have them to be mercilessly slaughtered.

Accounts, dated Comilla, February 4th, 1825, say that the 2d Grenadier Battalion is to be left to canton Chittagong, and the rest of the troops are to follow up General Morrison's, with a prospect of penetrating into Arracan. Some letters from General Morrison's camp tell us they are proceeding rapidly; and the Burmese sirdars were said to be in the

utmost consternation at General Morrison's advance, and intend to submit to the mercy of the invaders.

The subjoined account, from an Indian paper, of the Burmese entrenchments at Ramoo, will give an idea of the difficulties our troops have to contend with, in attempting to take possession of the enemies' own territory :—

The Burmese stockade at Ramoo is described as being an astonishing work, and it is said that nothing has yet been seen at Rangoon equal to the large one. It is built in connexion with two other stockades in the rear, to retreat to in succession. It is supposed, that to complete them in the short space of time in which they were raised, (within three weeks,) fifty thousand men must have been employed. The large one is capable of affording quarters to 25,000 soldiers, with their officers, and each commands the other from the rear; so that the retreating garrison must, even in retrograding, have possessed certain advantages over a storming enemy; that is, supposing the attack to be made in the front—and it was from this point that the Burmese evidently expected to be attacked—for the front face is the strongest and most formidable part of the works; yet, with all its strength, competent judges are of opinion that it could not stand a British escalading party, of sufficient force, beyond ten minutes.

NORTH EASTERN FRONTIER.

The Bengal Government Gazettes, brought by the last arrival, give some details of the advance of Major Waters and Major Cooper, into Assam by the Rullung river, and of their troops surprising some small bodies of the enemy at Raha Chokey and Dikkerry. At the former place it is stated, that the whole of the enemy's chief guard "were either bayonnetted or shot;" and in all, it is computed about one-third their numbers were destroyed. The number of killed, we observe, is usually stated in a very emphatic manner; probably because there is conceived to be little prospect of an end to the war till the great body of men able to bear arms be exterminated. The Burmese are said to have withdrawn their force in this quarter to the centre of their empire, either to preserve order there, or with a view to opposing the reported invasion from Siam. About the beginning of December, the cholera broke out among the troops at Gowhatty, by which some were carried off.

A Calcutta Gazette of the end of January says, that the remnant of the Burmese force in the province of Assam, had re-occupied the stockades of Rungpoor, which they were repairing, and that they had pushed on a party to Jorehath, and a small body of forty Burmahs, with as many natives of the province to the town of Deorgaon, about fourteen miles east of Maura Mookh. At Jorehath, the enemy are said to have collected a body of about 2,000 men of all tribes, where they have built four stockades, laid in supplies, and talk of offering resistance. The head-quarters of Col. Richards's force reached Maura Mookh on the morning of the 6th of January. From this we should infer, that the progress of the invading force is very slow indeed, comparing the present with former accounts.

A letter dated Doodpatlee, January 26th, speaking of the proposed operations of the force destined against Munnipore, says :

The pioneers have cleared about thirty-two miles of the road towards Munnipore, and at the date of our last accounts they were hard at work in a thick forest, where they have met with obstacles of no common nature to their future progress. This forest, it is said, extends for thirty miles, where the projected road ascends the hills; considerable inconvenience has been experienced for want of good water, and sickness already prevails amongst the pioneers, and

Captain Dudgeon's Manipurians in advance. The corps, forming the 3d and 4th brigades, are still losing men, chiefly amongst those who suffered during the rains, and had not recovered sufficient strength to bear up against the prevailing complaint, dysentery. Our movements in advance entirely depend upon the progress of the pioneers, that is, if artillery are to accompany the force. There is a report that the political agent on this frontier, has received instructions to hire men to any extent for the preparation of the road, and ultimately for transporting provisions over the mountainous tract between Cachar and Munnipore, over which no description of cattle loaded can travel. The Burmese in their invasion of this country, certainly brought nothing but a few hill ponies with them, for the use of their chiefs; however, their case is somewhat different from ours—they came to a fertile populous country, then abounding with such provisions as they required; while we have to advance through a sterile hilly tract, in a direct line not less than one hundred miles, and perhaps by the route nearly twice that distance, yielding nothing; and on reaching Munnipore, we must expect to find it as bare as the range of hills that separate us from it. The system of devastation followed by the Burmese of not only destroying the resources of the country, but carrying off the inhabitants, renders it a matter of great difficulty indeed, penetrating from this frontier, where the transport of every thing must be by coolies. Equipping a light force, without any artillery, seems to be the most feasible method of occupying Munnipore.

A letter, dated at the Camp at Doodpatlee, in Cachar, February 1, mentions the arrival of Blair's Horse on the 30th January, after a long and harassing march of upwards of four months. Some of the detachments had come all the way from the Deccan, and were much jaded. Lieutenant Fisher, of the Quartermaster-General's department had been sent on by Captain Morrison to reconnoitre the country. Quantities of red cloth, rum, and tobacco, had been sent as presents to the Nagah chiefs, in hopes of gaining their assistance in making the road to Munnipore, which passes through their country. About 900 men had been sent to camp for transporting provisions over the hills, and more were collecting by the authorities at Sylhet.

"The few Nagahs who had penetrated to our camp," says the writer, "do not give us very high notions of the state of civilization among them, and many think they would prefer a good large pariah (wild dog) to all the delicacies in Cachar!"

The invaders have evidently an arduous undertaking before them, with only a very few weeks in which to execute it, ere the hot weather, and above all, the rainy season, put a period to their operations for this year. By the following paragraph in a Calcutta paper of February 10th, we observe that fears were entertained of the rains setting in sooner than usual, from some disagreeable symptoms alluded to: "It appears that the monsoon *already indicates a change*. We hope, however, that it will be protracted to the usual period. Ten boats were stranded in the Naaf from the violence of the weather." Upon the whole, we fully adopt the following opinion expressed in a late Indian paper:—

"There was but a slender prospect of the force, under Brigadier-General Shuldham, being able to penetrate to Munnipore, through the hills of Cassay—the obstacles offered to the march of any body of troops being of so formidable a nature, as to demand a much longer time to surmount them, than is likely to be devoted to them.

In order to give our readers a more full conception of the difficulties and dangers, the endless waste of resources and destruction of human life attending the sort of warfare in which we are engaged, we sub-

join an extract from Bernier's *Voyage to Surat*, given in an Indian paper:—

Thus we have seen these two great men (Emir Jemla and Aurengzebe) carrying themselves to one another; and in this condition did things remain for almost a year; till Aurengzebe, too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at rest; and that if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestic one; proposed to him (Emir Jemla) to make war upon that rich and potent Raja of Acham, whose territories are on the north of Dake, upon the gulf of Bengal. The Emir, who in all appearance he already designed this same thing for himself, and who believed, that the conquest of this country would make way for his immortal honour, and be an occasion of his carrying his arms as far as China, declared himself ready for this enterprise. He embarked at Dake with a potent army, upon a river which comes from these parts; upon which having gone about a hundred leagues north eastward, he arrived at a castle called Aza, which the Raja of Acham had usurped from the Kingdom of Bengal, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen days; thence marching overland towards Chaudara, which is the inlet into the country of the Raja, he entered into it after twenty-six days journey, still northward. There a battle was fought, in which the Raja of Acham was worsted and obliged to retreat to Guergong, the metropolis of his kingdom, four miles distant from Chaudara. The Emir pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to bury himself in Guergong; for he arrived in sight of that place in five days, which constrained the Raja, seeing the Emir's army, to fly towards the mountains of the Kingdom of Lave, and to abandon Guergong, which was pillaged, as had been Chaudara. They found there vast riches, it being a great, very fair and merchant-like town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Meantime the season of the rains came on sooner than usual; and they being excessive in those parts, and overflowing all the country, except such villages as stand on raised ground, the Emir was much embarrassed. For the Raja made his people of the mountains come down in small parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the field, whereby the Emir's army (as rich as it was) before the end of the rains, fell into great straits, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reason of the mountains being very difficult to pass, and continually pestered with great rains; nor retreat, because of the like rains at deep ways, the Raja also having caused the ways to be digged up as far as Chaudara; so that the Emir was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the rain; after which, when he found his army distasted, tired out, and half-starved, he was necessitated to give over the design he had of advancing, and to return the same way he was come. But this retreat was made with so much pains, and so great inconveniences, by reason of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the pursuit of the Raja falling on the rear, that any body that has that had not known how to remedy the disorder of such a march, nor had the patience to be sometimes five or six hours at one passage to make the soldiers get over it without confusion, would have utterly perished, himself, army and all, yet he, notwithstanding all these diffi-

¹ Bernier.—François Bernier, a Frenchman the Mogul—was born at Angers in France—left his own country in 1665—travelling in the Holy Land and Egypt—continued for some time at Cairo—then infected with the plague—embarked afterward at Suze—arrived in India—resided at the court of the great Mogul for eight years, as his physician, and died at Paris in 1688.

² Aza.—This castle but defiance to our powers of research; but if any of our readers can inform us where it is or was, we shall be grateful for the information.

³ Guergong was formerly the capital of Assam, situated on one of the innumerable streams that fall into the Brahmaputra. It is said to have been no less than ten miles long. In days of yore, the palace of the Raja is said to have been superb, one of the rooms being described as no less than 150 cubits long and forty broad, supported by columns, gilt or covered with brass. It was strongly fortified. In 1792, it was visited by an army, commanded by British officers; but since the return of Colonel Wilt's detachment in 1793, we have very little political information respecting Guergong, or the country of which it was erst the capital.—*Scotsman in the East*.

culties and obstacles, made a shift to come back with great honour and vast riches. He designed to return thither again the next year, and to pursue his undertaking, supposing that Azo, which he had fortified, and where he left a strong garrison, would be able to hold out the rest of the year against the Raja. But he was no sooner arrived there but fluxes began to rage in his army, neither had himself a body of steel more than the rest: he fell sick and died, whereby fortune ended the just apprehensions of Aurengzebe.

MADRAS.

The gagging system is so strict at this Presidency, that less is heard of its affairs than of any part of India; we believe, also, there is as little good to be told. For, notwithstanding the censorship on the press, the strains of flattery on the prosperity and happiness of the country, might be as loud and incessant as people pleased, if there was anything to praise. In such a country, therefore, "no news" is decidedly "bad news."

A work has appeared there, said to possess great merit, namely, the 'Madras Report on Spasmodic Cholera, drawn up by Mr. Scott, under the superintendence of the Medical Board.' A map is attached to it, showing the principal routes by which the disease extended itself after its introduction into the Madras territories. It endeavours to establish by a number of singular facts, that though this disorder has not prevailed for nearly half a century in the same general and malignant form as during the last seven years, it has always been occasionally occurring, though frequently overlooked.

BOMBAY.

On the 27th of November, there was a splendid entertainment given to J. H. Crawford, Esq. by a party of his friends, on the occasion of his approaching departure for England, when Francis Warden, Esq. filled the chair, and the Honourable Governor, with several other distinguished guests, were present. This afforded an opportunity for the grandes of the Bombay Presidency, of heaping praises upon one another according to wonted custom. Many speeches were delivered, in which the shuttlecock of compliment and flattery was kept up between the Bar and the Civil Service, with reciprocal emulation; and whatever others may consider the value of their mutual compliments, they would leave no room to doubt, that they are cordially satisfied with one another. The most leading character on this occasion was Mr. Warden, who, as proprietor of one newspaper, and member of Government controlling the other, had complete command of the press which had leagued with the Barristers of Bombay in opposing the Judges for their salutary reforms in the administration of justice, particularly in checking the exorbitance of lawyers' fees. Here the same spirit showed itself in the compliments lavished upon the Bar, while the Bench is invidiously thrown into the shade; the senior Judges being slurred over in the health of Sir Ralph Rice and the Court. Sir Ralph having only arrived lately from Penang, has not incurred the odium of shielding the oppressed Natives from extortion, and affording them cheap justice; or he might not have had the honour of being present at this assembly, far less of receiving this flattering mark of its approbation.

It gives us great satisfaction, however, to observe, that both the men of power and the men of law, concur in testifying to the merits of Mr. Crawford, and the commercial body of British merchants in India with which he is connected, who are admitted to be both an ornament to

society there, a source of improvement to the Natives of the country, and of great importance in consolidating our political system. Mr. Warden said:—

What would India have been without the external trade? And what would the Island of Bombay, in particular, have been but for the bold and successful efforts of British merchants? He entered into a rapid history of the rise of Bombay, and contended that its present aggrandizement, whether territorially or politically considered, had been reared in the cradle of commerce; that Bombay had, through the enterprising efforts of British merchants, been raised from a place of no consideration whatever, to be the emporium of Western India, and was now in a position to carry on a commercial intercourse with every quarter of the globe. He assumed credit for the branch of the service to which he belonged for the merit of having laid the foundation of that prosperity, and particularly of having ably assisted in the construction of that noble superstructure up to this period:—he appealed, in support of the latter fact, to the most respectable and decisive evidences before the meeting, in the person of Mr. Crawford and of the former, to the system which originally prevailed, of permitting civil servants alone to participate in the Company's Indian monopoly, which formed the basis of its present extended commerce. Mr. Warden remarked on the evils of that system, and the wisdom of the policy that led to its abolition. He proceeded to apply his arguments to the object of the meeting. He bestowed a warm eulogium on the character of the members of the mercantile community, founded on a personal knowledge of it for many years; that those who had left Bombay for their native country had acquired an ascendancy and a reputation at home, as honourable as that which they had established in India. This, observed Mr. Warden, was no ordinary merit: to obtain distinction in a metropolis like London required not so much the influence of wealth as the influence of high talent and respectability. It would be no disparagement to the characters of those high individuals to contend, that for sagacity of intellect—for general intelligence—for a full and complete knowledge of the commercial interests of British India, and of every country connected with India—for a thorough insight into the just principles of commercial policy, and for a successful and honourable application of those principles, no one who had quitted Bombay, during his lengthened experience, was more distinguished in these respects than his friend Mr. Crawford.

Mr. NORTON, the Advocate-General, felt assured that every mercantile man under that Government, who had had any extensive experience, both knew, and was ready to experience the benefits which their common interests had derived through the house of Crawford and Co. Among these, perhaps, the chiefest was, that by exact integrity in all their dealings, that house had even upheld and displayed the liberal and honourable principles which so conspicuously characterises the British merchant. Mr. Crawford not only sustained that high character to the common honour and credit of his fellow-countrymen, so extensively following in his own prosperous path; but he had transfused much of that principle of mercantile candour and uprightness throughout all classes of the superior Natives to their lasting advantage, as well as honour. A very numerous body of them had very recently come forward, irresistibly urged, as they expressed themselves, to pay a debt of gratitude to that gentleman, and attributing with heartfelt consciousness much of the extension and advancement of their commercial prosperity to his intercourse among them. It is from the prevalence of feeling and principles like those, and to the high character sustained by our merchants of every class and tribe, that we may indulge the hope which he encouraged as an assured one, that this presidency, originally the nucleus, will one day have swelled into the emporium of eastern trade.

It is certainly very fortunate for the East India Company that there are British merchants in India to give the Natives so high an estimation of British character; for they could never acquire it from the conduct of the Company's own servants in such acts as the cruel and fraudulent treatment of Cursetjee Monackjee, the destruction of the house of Palmer and Company at Hyderabad, the annihilation of the property of the Calcutta Journal, and other acts, by which the natives of Asia are taught to believe, as expressed in the documents lately laid before Parliament re-

lating to the Burmese war, that "the English are a people without faith; that they know not what it is" !.

We have often had occasion to remark the vast benefit that would accrue to the natives of India from the introduction among them of the arts and sciences of Europe, which would soon be diffused over every part of the country, if Europeans were allowed freely to settle there, and carry thither their skill and industry, enjoying the protection of person and property, instead of being excluded and treated as slaves or outlaws by the Company and its servants. As to the advantages arising from enlightened practitioners of the medical profession settling in a country where the surgical art in particular is at so low an ebb, we have a striking illustration in the Bombay Courier of the 18th of December. It gives a number of extracts from an interesting report made by Mr. Richmond, Assistant-Surgeon of his Majesty's 4th dragoons, who had been some time previously appointed Oculist of the subordinate stations under that presidency. In the course of six months 386 cases of cataract had been successfully treated, which, with some other varieties of diseased eye, made a total of 411 blind restored to sight by one man during that short period ! How much the Natives are utter strangers to receiving relief from medical treatment, is shown by their conduct under it, as if it had been a supernatural blessing, and not a cure performed, and to be perfected by care and natural means. Twenty lost their sight after it had been restored to them by the operation, on account of not being under restraint, nor willing to submit to any kind of medical control. Many who received sight in one instant, rejoiced so exceedingly that they became impatient of remaining a few days with their eyes bound up, and after they had left Mr. Richmond, in order to enjoy the pleasures of light, and the sight of their friends, uncovered their eyes, and admitted the strong beams of light on the retina, which had been for years secluded in darkness, and was consequently unable to withstand the first impressions of light without inflammation. About one in twenty thus lost for ever the precious blessing of sight by too great an eagerness to enjoy it. During the time Mr. R. had been at Poonah, the number of applicants amounted to 720, many of whom had been saved from blindness by the timely interference of medical treatment. The following short extract from the conclusion of the article, will be read with deep interest by those who will reflect on the good which enlightened England is capable of conferring on her sixty millions of Indian subjects.

A few weeks ago (says Mr. R.) I went down to the river side, where an old blind woman resided. The structure of her left eye was totally destroyed, but the right contained a perfect cataract, which was removed in an instant, and sight restored. In less than half an hour after this operation, a crowd of lame and blind surrounded me. Among them, I found that ten were blind with cataracts, and on them I continued operating, on the banks of the river, till it grew dark, when I found that I had operated but on eight, of whom seven had received good sight ; the other one not deriving any benefit, on account of the principal nerve of vision being diseased. I then returned home, leaving two for operation, who followed me next day, and received sight. On another day, in presence of two gentlemen, I restored fourteen to good sight by operation. Many of these patients came from the neighbouring village of Poonah, and some from the distance of a hundred and fifty miles.

P. S. On another day, since this abstract was written, I went a distance of forty miles, to Sassoor, and several villages adjacent to it, in company with Drs. F. and D., who very kindly assisted me to perform twenty-eight operations for cataract, out of which twenty-seven proved successful.

How much human misery would be alleviated, if Europeans were allowed to settle as merchants, landholders, medical practitioners, &c. in all parts of our territories in the East, where, at present, the Company only sends its tax-gatherer to fleece, its magistrate to punish, and its troops to enforce submission!

The Bombay Gazette of January 5th says, that Runjeet Singh not only nearly met with a watery grave, in attempting to cross the Sutleje, but that about two thousand of his men were drowned, and a great quantity of treasure and stores lost in the river. If the chieftain himself had sunk, never to rise again, it would have contributed considerably to ease the mind of the Indian Government, which cannot view without alarm this distinguished leader at the head of an army formidable both by its numbers and discipline, and rendered more so by the talents of its commander.

From the Bombay Gazette, January 26, it appears that the disputes which lately took place between several of the Arab chiefs on the pirate coast, have all been satisfactorily adjusted; and a force, which was sent by the chief of Abothubee towards the territories of the Sheik of Sharga, has been withdrawn. It was reported that the Imaum of Muscat intended to fit out a fleet to blockade the mouth of the Euphrates, to extort the accustomed tribute from the Government of Bussorah, which had been for some time withheld. The tribute is little more than nominal. He has, several times, fitted out armaments for the same purpose, which, though successful, have always proved a heavy tax on his subjects.

It is reported, likewise, that the Imaum proposes shortly to construct another vessel in the Bombay dock, instead of his ship the Liverpool, which requires to be broken up; and that he is very desirous of keeping up his marine force, which has become rather formidable; at least in the estimation of the Native tribes on the Arabian coast.

The following is a letter from Saugor, given in the *Bombay Courier* of the 19th February:

Saugor, Jan. 15—*Tribe Disturbances in Bundelkond*.—Col. Walker and his regiment (the 13d) have marched against Puttum Sing, and the place called Loojassau. He will subsequently attack any others who may be refractory.

The *Globe* asks, 'What is the cause of this refractoriness?' And wisely answers, 'If we had a free press in India, we should probably have heard before the insurrections actually occurred. The following are extracts from the latest Bombay papers:—'

Bombay, February 19.—A report was in circulation, a short time since, of some serious disturbances having taken place in the northern division of Guzerat. A late letter from that quarter, states that it had its foundation in the circumstance of four or five hundred Coolies having assembled in the Puttun district, who fled on the report of a force having been prepared to act against them. They were pursued by the Guicowar's horse, with some of our light cavalry from Deesa, and finally took refuge in the Run.

A letter from Deesa mentions that another chief of the refractory Coolies has been taken in that neighbourhood, and that in the vicinity of Barod several depredations had been committed, but not of an extensive nature.

In the island of Bombay, before the middle of January this year, great apprehensions were entertained of a scarcity of water before the setting in of the next rains; as the fort-ditch, supposed to influence the wells on the esplanade, was rapidly drying up, and but a small supply of water remained in the tanks on the island. Attempts were accordingly making

to avert the threatened evil, by digging wells at the public expense where springs were likely to be found; but although the wants of man might be thus provided for, it was expected that the cattle would suffer.

A Bombay paper says,—

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta has been engaged, since June 1824, in visiting the several European stations in the Bengal Provinces. His Lordship was expected at Agra on the 12th January, and proposed to proceed from thence by Jeypoor and Neeunutch, to the provinces under his government. It will probably be the middle of March before the Bishop will reach Guzerat. After visiting Kaira, Baroda, Broach, and Surat, and consecrating the churches at those stations, his Lordship, we understand, will proceed to Bombay, where he will have a confirmation, and hold his episcopal visitation probably in the last week of April. It is then his intention, we are informed, to visit the Deccan, and consecrate the new church at Poonah. His Lordship will leave this Presidency before the rains, and on his return to Bengal will visit Ceylon, and the principal stations under Madras; thus accomplishing a longer and more laborious journey than has often fallen to the lot of a Christian Bishop.

CEYLON.

A letter from Ceylon, dated 17th of January last, (after mentioning that the Burmese war was not going on very prosperously,) says: "The Bengal Government has applied for troops from this, and the 45th regiment is in orders for Rangoon, and ships are coming for them." This fine regiment, that so distinguished itself in the campaigns under Wellington, is now, we fear, destined to moulder away in the marshes of Rangoon, the fate of so many other brave troops.

The following is an extract of another letter dated in the end of January last:—

Our market has been well supplied lately by the George, the Timandra, and the Mediterranean; too well for the importers, as is always the case, if more than a certain supply, and that a very limited one, reaches us. There are no opulent shopkeepers here, to buy and hold up articles until they are in demand; so that, unless when now and then we are a long time without a ship, there is generally an excess of European goods in this market.

The Government goes on advancing the price of cinnamon, and will not now sell a pound under the following rates:—

	Rix	Ds.	Fs.
1st sort, per lb.	1		6
2d —————	3		9
3d —————	2		2

Coffee has not fallen so much as we had calculated on, from the depressed state of your markets for this article, in consequence of some Malabar Moormen, and some speculative Tanjore people, called Hatta Cotta Chetties, buying up the coffee this year, supposing the English were practising some trick, in refusing to take it at half the price they so freely gave last year.

The Pyramus, Brodie, is expected at Allippee, to take a cargo of pepper at a freight of 9*l*. per ton, on account of the Travancore Government. The Georgina takes 150 tons of cinnamon.

Such is the state of things at present. A strange alteration will, by and bye, take place, and it will be fortunate for those owners of ships who shall have availed themselves of the present sunshine for making their hay.

SIAM.

The Singapore Chronicle of January 6th gives accounts from Siam down to the 15th of December, from which it appears that the new King, since his accession in July last, on the death of his father, has declared the trade with his dominions free, in every article except opium

and muskets; the first of which is made contraband; and the last can only be sold to the Government. Regular duties were to be levied on every thing, (at the rate, it was before said, of eight per cent.,) but the amount of them had not been determined as to such articles as had formerly been objects of royal monopoly. It has been strongly reported for a long while, in the British Indian Papers, that the Siamese were mediating an attack upon the Burman empire; and, with this view, they were said to have actually taken the field with a large force, of from 30,000 to 50,000 men. This would, no doubt, afford great relief to the Indian Government in the present emergency; and it may be expected, that neither persuasion nor money would be spared to produce such an event. There are, however, opposite causes at work, which render it very improbable. The unprovoked aggression of the Company's servants on the Burmese territory must, no doubt, have inspired the Siamese with some alarm, lest their own should next fall a sacrifice to the grasping power which has already swallowed up so many states, and is now approaching so near to themselves. Consequently, they cannot be at all desirous that the Burman empire (the only barrier between them and this danger) should be destroyed. They are more likely to adopt the policy of the Chinese, who have already avowedly taken measures to secure their western frontier, and whose jealousy of foreigners is certainly far from unwise, considering the events they have witnessed in other parts of Asia. In fact, it is stated in the *Singapore Chronicle* of January 6th, that the Siamese have sent an "army of observation" across the country, towards the Burman provinces, for what purpose could not be ascertained; but it appears to us, that they are evidently acting upon the same policy with the Chinese, probably in concert with them; and that the object of both is, to secure their own frontier against the Company's alarming encroachments.

NETHERLANDS INDIA.

The *Singapore Chronicle* of January 6th has the following paragraph respecting affairs in this quarter:—

Palembang.—A conspiracy against the Dutch authority has been discovered at Palembang, and the country is in a state of serious insurrection. The *Susunan*, or nominal sovereign, who was implicated, has been arrested and sent to Batavia; but his son, the reigning Sultan, effected his escape, and joined Syed Hamza and the other insurgents in the interior. The imposition of an universal capitation tax, of three guilders, is reported to have given rise to the plot and insurrection.

NEW SOUTH WALES,

The following public order, respecting the coast of New Holland, has been issued by the Bombay Government:—

The Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to notify for general information, that he has received a communication from Captain Gordon Bremer, C. B. commanding his Majesty's ship *Tamar*, that, in obedience to the commands of his Majesty's Government, he had hoisted the British colours, and taken formal possession of the north coast of New Holland, or Australia, comprehended between the meridians of 129° and 135° east longitude, and had established a settlement under a Captain Commandant at Port Cockburn in Apsley's Strait, between Bathurst and Melville Islands.

The following memorandum is published for the information of the Commanders of vessels proceeding to the new settlement:—

"Port Cockburn is situated in Apsley Strait, which divides Melville and

Bathurst Islands, the Cape Van Diemen of the charts being the northern point of the first-named island.

"On approaching the Strait it is necessary to give a good birth to the shoal, which extends to the westward of the Cape, about five leagues.

"Piper's Head, a steep and remarkable red and white cliff, situated a little to the southward of Cape Van Diemen, being brought to bear due east, and kept on that point, will carry a vessel into the narrow part of the entrance, (which is about two miles wide,) when care should be taken to have a good look-out, and lead going; from thence an E. S. E. course will carry into St. Asaph Bay, which is spacious, and has good anchorage everywhere, and ships may come to, until they have communication with the settlement, which is about four leagues farther down the Strait.

"The Master of the Colonial brig *Lady Nelson*, which is stationed there has been directed to afford his assistance as a pilot (as far as he is acquainted) to any vessel requiring it.

"The tides are strong, especially in the springs. The flood setting to the southward.

"The Flag Staff of Fort Dundas, Port Cockburn, is situated in lat. $11^{\circ} 25'$; south long. $130^{\circ} 28'$ east from Greenwich."

Published by Command of the Honourable the Governor in Council,
Bombay Castle, Jan. 21, 1825.

W. NEWNHAM, Chief Secretary

The Hobart Town papers state that colony to be rapidly advancing in civilization. A plan for supplying the town with water, by iron pipes, and the establishment of a bank, distillery, and brewery, give proof of the rapid progress made in the attainment of the comforts and conveniences of Europe. Wool and flax will, in time, both be numbered among the native products of the colony. To these will also be added sugar, in the culture of which a successful experiment has been made. A subscription has also been entered into for the importation of breeds of game from England. The *Glasgow Chronicle*, however, says: "The imprudence of emigrating to such places as Van Dieman's Land we long ago pointed out. When you arrive there, you are among convicts, and have no compensating advantages. The gross fables about wool never can be credited. The soil is generally poor, and there is little or no money in circulation. Notes of one shilling are issued by any one that can pass them, and no security is felt for either person or property. Accounts to the 25th December mention, that a tribe of the Aborigines had presented a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Dieman's Land, who received them with great kindness, and presented them with some military caps and blankets, but which was attempted to be repaid by spearing one of the settlers, in which they were only prevented by force. Wheat is represented as being in great plenty; and considerable quantities had been sent to New South Wales. Mr. Wentworth and Mr. T. Raine have been elected Directors of the Bank in New South Wales. Wheat in the latter colony was 7s. 4½d. per bushel, and coals one guinea per chaldron."

PERSIA.

A letter from Isapahan, received at Bombay in the end of December, corroborated the report of the King of Persia having abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son, Abbas Mirza. It is said he purposed visiting the ruins of Shiraz, and intended having the city rebuilt, and restored to the same degree of splendour it exhibited when it could boast of being the capital.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

On the 3d of June, at 4 o'clock, P. M., the Marquis of Hastings, (after his return from Malta, as mentioned in our last Number) took the oath and his seat in the House of Lords, for the first time since his elevation to the Marquisate. He entered the House supported by the Marquis of Thomond on the one hand, and the Marquis of Aylesbury on the other, and went through the usual forms. The Duke of Northolt attended on the occasion, habited in his Peer's robes, as Earl Marshal of England; and there were many Peers, as well as strangers, below the bar to witness the ceremony. The Marquis is said to have met with the most cordial reception from the Lord Chancellor and Peers on both sides of the House; and, we are happy to add, he appeared to be in good health. There was a report of his being shortly to succeed Lord Wellesley as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But on this subject, the *Dublin Evening Post* has the following paragraph:—

There is a rumour noticed in some of the London Papers, that the Marquis of Hastings (Earl Mordaunt) was to be the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—We have reason to believe that it is not intended to make any change at present, in the members of the Irish Executive.

SUPREME COUNCIL IN BENGALEE.

Some changes it appears are to take place in the Indian administration. John Herbert Harrington, Esq. has been appointed a Member of Council in Bengal; in which capacity he before acted for a short time between the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings and the arrival of Lord Amherst. He was then laid aside, however, and has continued since in painful exclusion, although he went out to India with the sole view, it is said, and on the assurance of being in the Council. But after this pledge being given him, it is supposed that the great zeal he evinced for Missionaries and proselytism, so far outran the moderate desires of the Directors for enlightening their subjects, that they would have very willingly dispensed with his services. William Butterworth Bayley, Esq. who has been for some years past Chief Secretary, is also to be a Provisional Member in Council. In his former capacity, he is said to have enjoyed no small share of the sweets of power since the accession of Lord Amherst, who, after a short struggle at the commencement to act the great man over his subordinate functionaries, quickly finding himself unable to support the burthens he had taken upon him, relapsed into his natural size, and left the weight of the state to repose on the inferior pillars around him; so that the secretaries, who were at first apprehensive that their consequence was to be totally annihilated or eclipsed by the Rising Sun, and who talked magnanimously of resigning rather than submit to such indignity, soon found their power and importance become greater than ever. Mr. Bayley was the immediate instrument employed, in virtue of his office, in degrading and destroying the press; this, as in the case of Censor Adam, being the high way to promotion. The latter, it appears, is daily expected to arrive in England, the state of his health not permitting a longer residence in India.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT RELATIVE TO INDIA.

It will be seen from the Parliamentary Report, that Lord Hastings has introduced a bill into the Upper House, on the subject of interest of loans in India, which will set at rest the doubts raised by the crown lawyers, and the absurd doctrines maintained for a malignant party object, that a British Act of Parliament, fixing the rate of interest, was equally binding in the territories of foreign independent princes, to which English laws and the power of English courts of justice do not extend. On the subject of loans in India, from Europeans to Native Princes, Mr. Canning is also reported to have said in the other House, that "there was no circumstance which was a greater scandal or a greater disgrace to the British name." If this alluded to Paul Benfield and his associates, (as it no doubt did,) he might have added, that the scandal and disgrace belonged chiefly to the corrupt House of Commons, which sanctioned these nefarious transactions from the very worst motives. And unless it be taken for granted that the present would act in the same manner, were an opportunity afforded it, there is nothing either criminal or disgraceful in *bona fide* loans from Europeans to Native Princes. In a late instance they have been attended with eminent advantage to the public interests of India; and Mr. Canning knows well, that it is when a corrupt Minister converts such things into a means of influencing a corrupt majority, that they become the great source of "scandal and disgrace." It is greatly to the honour of the British banking-house at Hyderabad, that its actual loans for the public service are not patronized by Ministers, as Paul Benfield's fictitious claims were, to the lasting disgrace of the British Government. Now, when there is no participation of profits between the just creditors of a Native Prince and ministers, Mr. Canning proclaims loudly, (wishing his voice may reach to the utmost confines of India,) that if there be a single rupee owing by a Native Prince to an European, he wishes (that is, he authorizes) them never to pay it. Does this advice not to pay their debts, however just, arise from an affectionate regard to the welfare of Indian Princes? Let them judge, (should his voice reach them as he expressed a wish,) when they learn that on its being brought to the notice of the British Parliament, that their unfortunate brethren are left to languish in dungeons for fifteen or twenty years, for no offence but being born Princes, and being beloved by their subjects, —the Minister turns it off with a joke about two gentlemen having one hat! They may probably be inclined to doubt, after this, whether himself and his colleagues have got one heart among them all.

But passing over that unfortunate propensity to wit and pleasantry, even on most serious subjects, which the honourable Secretary's own good taste would, no doubt, condemn, if he were not exposed to the temptation of finding amusement for those gentlemen of the majority, who, if they were not detained for the purpose of giving the Minister their votes, would be much better pleased, and more "at home," listening to Mr. Matthews, where, indeed, they had better be, as they might then laugh their fill, —and not at the expense of the nation. But since they cannot be there, and vote by proxy, it is natural to desire that a little comedy should be got up occasionally in the House of Commons for their benefit. The unbounded applause with which every exhibition of this kind is received, gives the manager his cue: and it would, therefore, be unfair to charge upon him

the perverted taste of his audience. *Nugæ leves capiunt animos*,—is a maxim familiar to the classical orator.

There are, happily, among our public men, a few who have their minds fixed on greater objects, which, although they do not excite the temporary applause of the few, will secure them the lasting gratitude of millions. Of this description are the measures urged in Parliament during the past month by Mr. Hume, the unwearied advocate of every useful reform, in which he was well supported by Sir Charles Forbes, one of India's best and warmest friends. The most important of these propositions (that for placing the trial by jury on a more liberal and extended basis) was, we are glad to say, met by Ministers in a corresponding spirit.

We allude to what took place on the last reading of the East India Judges' bill, when the honourable Member for Montrose suggested several additional clauses, to secure the admission of persons born in India to serve upon juries, and also to give his Majesty's subjects within the jurisdiction of the King's Courts the benefit of trial by jury in civil cases. The powerful arguments by which Mr. Hume supported these amendments were by no means lost upon Ministers, as will be seen from our Parliamentary report. The courteous and liberal manner in which the proposal was met by the President of the Board of Control, must be truly gratifying to every friend of India; and we have no doubt the present administration would soon become convinced that the most liberal system of government which the materials existing enable us to form, would be the securest and the best, both for the interests of England and of that country. But the enlightened views with which Ministers regard other objects of policy, are unhappily darkened when they turn towards the East, by the opaque medium of monopoly, which, like a murky cloud, shuts out our millions of Asiatic subjects from the genial rays of British benevolence. While Ministers are expressing their desire to elevate them in the scale of moral and political rank, to bestow upon them the privileges and birthright of British subjects, as which they were born, declaring that they are entitled, on complying with the requisite conditions, to the proudest prerogative of English freemen—that of sitting in the legislature, and taking a part in the government of the empire—what is the Company doing? The public cannot dive into the hidden mysteries of its secret committees; but if we may judge of what is plotting there, from the spirit displayed publicly by their agents abroad and partisans at home, they are eager to plunge their unhappy subjects into a lower depth of degradation. Within a month, or little more, a thick volume has been published by their booksellers, (evidently written by one of their servants, probably now, or shortly to be, a member of their Direction,) which proposes to rob the whole of the natives of India of the protection of trial by jury, and indeed of his Majesty's courts of judicature altogether. This is proposed to be done by arming the Company's Governors, or other servants abroad, with the power of banishing, at pleasure, any one whatever, however innocent, without trial or inquiry, beyond the jurisdiction of the courts,—of these very courts which were established in India for the express purpose of affording their protection against the oppression of the Company's servants. Now, if their legitimate protection be even sought, the oppressed individual and all his witnesses, agents, &c. must be made banishable at the mere will and pleasure of his persecutors. Any one, be he witness or plaintiff, might be driven from his home, from his property and business;

to his entire ruin, in order to prevent the court from interfering and doing justice;—probably in order to protect a robber or a murderer, whom his presence might bring to punishment. Such are the admirable doctrines that issue from Leadenhall-street; doctrines too inhuman and debaseable to be uttered even, in this free country, except in such a quarter. Yet their authors and abettors defend them as necessary to render the Company's system complete! Since its friends maintain this, surely its enemies could not give a blacker picture of the nature of its Government.

It is therefore urgently necessary, to avert such frightful despotism as the Company is striving to introduce in India, that all its subjects, and especially the Indo-Britons, or so many of either class as dare to express their opinion under the present reign of terror, should lose no time in claiming the protection of the present liberal and enlightened Ministers, and making their true condition known by petitions to Parliament, which might serve as a guide to the President of the Board of Control, in that inquiry which he has instituted, in order to ascertain how far the right of trial by jury should be extended to them. If they have any wish (and we know that every intelligent man amongst them desires it ardently) to participate in the exercise of this most precious right enjoyed by Englishmen, let them not look idly on till the opportunity of securing it passes by; for another may not soon return; and they may rest assured that those who would rule over them, if they could, for ever, with a rod of iron, are straining every nerve to place the yoke more firmly on their necks. A few months more, and if the Company have its will, they may all be robbed entirely of the protection of the Courts. A few years, and they may not have even such men to appeal to as Messrs. Wynn, Robinson, Peel, and Canning, willing and able to improve their condition; or such men as Messrs. Hume, Forbes, and Smith, to advocate their cause, and to rouse in Parliament a generous feeling for the welfare of that distant country, which has in England been long regarded, for the most part, with almost the same apathy as if it were situated in a different planet. Let it however be recollected, that there is one powerful body which takes a lively interest in it—the East India Company, which has an interest in shutting out the means of improvement from its unfortunate subjects; and that so strong is this leaden influence which hangs over them, that it will take the combined efforts of the best ministers, with all the public-spirited men in the nation, to do it away.

DECCAN PRIZE-MONEY.

We have before us a quarto pamphlet, containing the correspondence between Sir Thomas Hislop, the agents for the army, and the trustees appointed by his Majesty to collect, receive, and dispose of this booty; viz. the Duke of Wellington and the Right Honourable Charles Arbuthnot;—together with the applications to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and to the King in Council; and various other documents connected with this subject, extending from March 1823 to January in the present year. These papers throw much light on the causes which have contributed to keep this matter so long in suspense; while the army, by whose exertions that booty was acquired, is suffered to waste away in disappointment. The public need no longer be left to vague conjectures as to who are to blame for this crying injustice, every day becoming more

aggravant, for already many have paid the debt of nature, defrauded of their just reward by these cruel delays.

In March 1823, now considerably more than two years ago, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot were appointed by the Crown as Commissioners to inquire into, ascertain, and adjust the claims of the army of the Deccan. Its law agent, Mr. Atcheson, who had so successfully managed and supported its interests in the question with the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-Chief, made every tender of information and assistance to the Commissioners, as to the nature and extent of these claims. At first the Commissioners showed perfect willingness, and even requested to be aided by him with such information as he could furnish, and to communicate freely with him and Sir Thomas Hislop on the subject. But in October 1823, a new light seemed to break in upon them: Sir Thomas Hislop, as well as the agents of the army, having learnt that the law-officers of the Crown had been consulted, and that in the opinion given they had raised a doubt as to the validity of some of their claims, they were naturally anxious to know what these doubts were, and requested therefore to be allowed an inspection of the opinion, with a view to being enabled to state facts and circumstances that might remove such doubts from the minds of the Commissioners. With this request the latter refused to comply, on the ground that the opinion of the Crown lawyers must be presumed to be better than that of any other lawyers, and, in fact, not to be questioned. "We have taken," say they, "what we consider the *best* legal advice to assist our judgment, and for the guidance of our conduct; and we cannot think it necessary, considering the station, reputation, and respectability of the counsel who have advised us to submit their opinion to the revival of those professional gentlemen *called* the Counsel for the Army of the Deccan." The above is part of a letter to Sir Thomas Hislop, in which they also intimated that it would be agreeable to them to receive any information on the subject, in behalf of the army, from Sir Thomas only, or, in his absence from the country, from a person appointed by him to give it. "But," say they, "while you are present in England, it would be much more convenient, more *decorous*, and less expensive, that those answers should proceed from yourself."

Umbrage is supposed to have been taken by his Grace, because, in Sir Thomas's absence, a communication addressed to him by the Commissioners, for information, was attended to and answered by Mr. Atcheson, who conceived it his duty, as the agent of the army, not to neglect any opportunity of forwarding its interests. Sir Thomas being only one of the parties concerned, declined the responsibility proposed to be placed upon him, of answering for the whole; adding, "To avoid the possibility of my continuing to give further intentional offence to your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot, whose displeasure, it would appear, I have unwittingly incurred in the course of the proceeding which has been carried on hitherto, *I must take the liberty of referring your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot, on all points affecting the army of the Deccan at large, to Major Wood, the general prize-agent in England, and the law-agent, Mr. Atcheson, the only persons legally intrusted, by the army and myself, with the general charge of the interests of the officers and troops concerned, and who alone are possessed of the documents and information, calculated to illustrate the various claims of the respective divisions and corps, as well as of the numerous individual applicants.*"

From that date (October 1823) to March 1824, no communication whatever having been made by the Commissioners to Sir Thomas, to Major Wood, or the law-agent for the army, a petition was presented by the latter to the King in Council on the subject, praying that the army might have an opportunity of being heard, and of answering the objections made to their claims; that they might be supported against any attempt of the East India Company to defeat their rights. The matter was also laid before the Lords of the Treasury; and it ended in their refusing to interfere with the discretion of the Commissioners. Consequently, the agents for the army were left completely in the dark to answer at random, or by accident, the objections, the nature of which was concealed from them, or, more probably, to miss these, and heap up facts and arguments on points, regarding which no doubt was entertained. It is evident that nothing but utter confusion, injustice, and interminable delay could be the result of such a system as this adopted by the Commissioners, of withholding from the parties interested a knowledge of their proceedings, and the grounds on which they were deciding. The opinion of seven eminent counsel, including Mr. Brougham and Dr. Lushington, being taken, they declared that this was a mode of procedure "opposed to every principle of equity and justice, and which, if persisted in, must necessarily be productive of consequences the most injurious to the interests of the army." They considered that it must have been the intention of his Majesty, that if any objections were made to their claims, their law-agent or the prize-agent "should have an opportunity of rebutting such objections, or of offering explanation, by producing the information which could alone be in their possession."

All attempts to obtain a remedy for this injustice failed; and the Company having laid before the Commissioners its statement of the prize-property captured, Sir Thomas Hislop and the agents for the army were refused a sight of it, unless on a condition which would render it of no use. In a letter, dated in December last, Sir Thomas represented to the Commissioners, in reference to the details it was necessary to lay before them on behalf of the army: "In many cases the application of the information, if given in a general statement, might, from various causes of using different names or plans, be difficult of application without particular explanations, and would therefore only impose upon your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot the trouble of examining a large, and probably, in many cases, an unnecessary mass of papers; as it would be impossible, *without seeing the accounts*, to make any selection. With a view, therefore, to saving unnecessary trouble to your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot, and to obviate delay and expense, *I respectfully solicit the use of the returns made by the East India Company for a short period.*"

The Commissioners say, in reply, "We have no objection to submit these documents to *your* examination, or that of any number of your brother officers that *you* will name to us; upon this condition only; that they are not to be submitted to the consideration of any counsel or attorney, excepting on a point or points previously to be submitted to our consideration and decision. We make this condition," they add, "because we have observed; throughout the consideration of those questions, a strong desire to go to law—a proceeding which we think quite unnecessary, and which must lead to expense and delay, and materially deteriorate the

value of the property to those to whom it is most probable that his Majesty will be most graciously pleased to grant it."

Sir Thomas, in reply, declared, that the legal advisers of the army had always strongly deprecated any resort to legal proceedings; and that, on the contrary, a strong desire existed to have all disputed points settled without any litigation. But that the restriction which accompanied the offer of leave to inspect the Company's statements, "compelled him, in justice to his own character and feelings, and to the duty which he owed to his late army, to decline availing himself of it, subject to terms which might be productive of prejudice to those claiming under his Majesty's warrant, and which would, at the same time, involve him in a responsibility to which he would very reluctantly expose himself, particularly as it could be attended with no advantage whatever."

To this letter, dated the 22d of January, no answer was received. We shall merely subjoin an extract from the opinion given on the subject by four eminent counsel, (Messrs. Heald, Adam, Brougham, and Lushington,) dated the 19th of February last, which closes the correspondence, and which will carry more weight with it than any thing we can offer. They observe:—

The property, which is the subject of this grant, (from the Crown,) was captured at various times, and under a great variety of circumstances, probably giving rise to many legal questions and difficulty, especially as to what parts of the property so taken come within the legal and accustomed meaning of the term "*booty*." In the decision of these questions, the captors are most materially interested, and are, as we apprehend, necessarily incompetent, without professional assistance, to point out those questions on which the advice of counsel may be requisite; nor do we conceive that upon matters of fact of such extent and intricacy, they can be adequate judges of the information necessary to raise the points of law, or eventually to establish their claims.

Considering, therefore, that the trustees had no personal knowledge of the transactions in which the booty was taken, and that they must, in a great measure, depend on the captors for information to enable them to perform the duties his Majesty has been pleased to consign to them; we think, that by the proposed restriction, the captors are prevented from affording to the trustees that assistance which, in our judgment, is indispensably necessary to carry into effect his Majesty's gracious intentions; and we are wholly at a loss to conjecture on what grounds the captors, for whose benefit this trust was created, can be debarred from the unrestricted use of documents, without which their interest must be seriously prejudiced.

It appears to us, that the leave proposed to be given to Sir Thomas Hislop and his brother officers, of inspecting the papers, subject to the restriction which would prevent them from taking advice on any points except such as the trustees shall previously approve, is wholly inadequate to the protection of the interests of the captors.

A pamphlet, which has appeared on this subject, dated the 30th of April last, has the following just remarks:—

It is needless to enforce at length the importance of these requests so earnestly and perseveringly made, or to dwell on the utter futility of a permission colourably granted to Sir Thomas Hislop and his brother officers to inspect the documents, when coupled with the extraordinary restriction imposed by the trustees. What is the pretence for that restriction? That some persons, not specified, have manifested a strong desire "to go to law," as the trustees elegantly phrase it; a charge which is refuted by the whole conduct of the legal advisers of the army; a charge which, if applied to the counsel for the army, is abundantly refuted by the mere mention of their names, in the judgment of all who understand their character, or that of the profession which they adorn; a charge absurd as applied to any one, because the trustees employ an attorney of their own choice, the solicitor of the treasury, and consult the law officers of the Crown, so

has the office of the legal advisers of the army, even in the event of a suit, would be confined to supplying such evidence and papers as others should require! Nothing, surely, but a painful doubt of the justice of their last restriction could induce the trustees to condescend to such an imputation, as that which they cast, in the letter which announces it, on the counsel, professionally, consulted on behalf of the army—gentlemen of as unsullied honour as the trustees themselves—one of whom has since been raised to the bench, and all of whom are gentlemen of rank and emolument in a profession, of which the humblest members would repudiate the charge with disdain. Besides a liberty to inspect the accounts would not be an authority "to go to law," nor divest the trustees of that control which they now possess, but would simply enable the agents of the army to give the trustees better information than they can otherwise obtain, relating to the objects of their trust. And yet, on this pretext, an inspection is refused, unless coupled with a restriction which renders it a mere mockery; a great mass of information collected with immense labour, and large costs is rendered useless; and the army are left in utter darkness as to the proceedings to be adopted for recovering booty which the Crown has granted expressly for their benefit, and appropriated as the reward of their gallant exertions!

The pamphlet above noticed shows very clearly, that the unpleasant feeling between the agents for the army and the commissioners, originated in the latter having resolved to appoint a son of one of themselves a prize-agent, to act in conjunction with those elected by the army, and, of course, share with them the five per cent. commission on the whole booty. This injustice, they, of course, resisted; and the Crown lawyers were consulted as to the legality of forcing an associate upon them in this manner. Of the opinion given, only an extract has been allowed to transpire, which is thus remarked on in the conclusion of the pamphlet, which is all we have room for. George Harrison, Esq., being the official channel through which the decision of the Treasury was received, by a letter under his signature, the author says:—

It will be obvious, on a close examination of this letter, that the opinion of the law-officers of the Crown does not meet the point proposed, and that, even if it contained no qualification in terms, it would, by its language, completely justify the position of Major Wood. No one ever doubted the power of the trustees to appoint agents "to act on their behalf," to assist them in the performance of their duties, and to receive from them a reasonable remuneration for their services out of the general proceeds of the booty. But Mr. George Harrison has not ventured to state, nor could he state with truth, that the trustees had power to appoint the agents for the army,—the distributing agents,—who are to be paid, not by the trustees, not in their discretion, but by a certain per centage fixed by statute. The language of that part of the opinion which is given confirms the belief entertained by the agents, that in that part which is not given, the law-officers of the Crown distinctly stated, that the trustees had no such power, and that, since the prize act, the Crown had no authority to delegate it to them. The trustees have not thought proper as yet to associate their nominees with the prize-agents, or even to announce them to the public; but they have pursued that line of conduct which it has been our painful office to develop.

Whatever may have been the feelings and the motives which have actuated the trustees in their systematic exclusion of all persons legally authorized to support the claims of the army from their councils; whether it has been affected in any way by the dispute respecting the agency or not; there can be no doubt as to the injustice which it is calculated to work. It is of minor importance whether the reward, appointed by law, for the labours of the prize-agents shall or shall not be shared by others who have not participated in the anxiety and the toil, compared with the question, How long the vexation and the misery of the army are to last? Even so long ago as November or December 1820, it is understood, that Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, wrote to the Lords of the Treasury, and to the Court of Directors, recommending and urging, in the most energetic terms, an immediate division of the booty, which would, if then promptly accomplished, be received with the heartiest gratitude,

but, if postponed to a distant period, would be taken as a right, with difficulty vindicated, instead of a free boon flowing from the spontaneous bounty of the Crown. We have not seen this letter, but we have heard it spoken of in terms of admiration, as evincing the comprehensive grasp of Mr. Canning's mind, his liberal and statesmanlike views, and his careful regard to every subject involving the interests of the service and of his country. And yet the army, more than four years after this exertion of official talent and power in their behalf, after the excitement of confident expectation by the decision of the Treasury, find themselves still very far from the realization of their hopes, and are even denied the melancholy satisfaction of seeing their claims defeated in the light of day. Of the actual position of these claims, they know nothing certain save this—that they cannot be asserted or even understood without the assistance of those to whom their complicated grievances are known, and in whom they have placed their trust. They do not make their grievances public till every other mode of obtaining redress has been tried in vain. The trustees have been individually addressed again and again by the gallant officer who commanded the army; the Lords of the Treasury have been memorialized; and a petition has been presented to his Majesty in Council. After the failure of these attempts, they can only appeal to the great tribunal of public opinion, which will impartially and dispassionately estimate their wrongs!

Nor must we overlook the effect of such a precedent on the feelings and the character of the service, more especially as it tends to establish a great and invidious distinction between the navy and the army. By an order of Council, issued at the commencement of every war, and by the acts of Parliament confirming it, the prize-money is given by anticipation to the navy, and their trustees are appointed by the officers. Hitherto the contrary practice has been little felt in the army, because the Commander-in-Chief has usually been named to protect his own rights and those of his soldiers. But now, that the trustees have, on this important occasion, chosen to act in hostility to the agents intrusted by the troops, and that the result has been vexation and misery, the army at large are rendered anxious to share in the privileges conceded to the naval service. In India, also, the tendency of this delay cannot be contemplated without concern. The Native troops, who manifested such admirable courage, and more admirable forbearance in the contest, are naturally astonished at the obstacles which now interpose between them and their reward. On their fineness, reliance may no doubt be placed, whatever disappointment shall await them; but the example will scarcely tend to ensure and perpetuate the allegiance of the Native powers to a distant Government, which should be known to them by the characteristics of gratitude and honour. The army, no doubt, are impelled and sustained in their exertions by nobler impulses than the desire of plunder; but it is short-sighted policy to trifle with the claims of generous natures; and dangerous to present before the minds of the army, the spectacle of one of its most gallant and successful portions awaiting their reward for years in patient suffering; and, perhaps, baffled at last, vexatiously and in darkness, by the exclusion of their selected agents from the means of enforcing their right to the fruits of their valour!

The *Globe and Traveller* Evening Paper has made the following remarks on this pamphlet and the claims of the army:—

A pamphlet has been sent to us, entitled, 'Observations on the Services and Claims of the Army of the Deccan,' which exhibits an instance striking but not singular, of official delays. The army of the Deccan are entitled, by a grant of the Crown, to the booty captured by them in the war in that part of India. Nearly eight years have elapsed since the termination of the war in which the property was captured, but the army have received no part of this booty, and are even yet in ignorance, not only of the time, but of the probable amount of the payments to be made to them.

The trustees appointed by the Crown for the collection and distribution of the booty, are the Duke of Wellington and the Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot. Their appointment took place only in March 1823: the whole of the blame of the delay, therefore, does not rest with them. But it is pretty obvious that the appointment of these two official persons—the one the Master of the Ordnance, the other at the time Secretary of the Treasury, and both of them occupied with

various other duties, was not the way to bring to a settlement a matter which had been previously too long protracted.

According to the pamphlet before us, there has been a considerable coldness between the agents of the army and the trustees, which appears to have arisen from the appointment by the latter of a Mr. Charles Arbuthnot, jun., the son of the Right Honourable Gentleman of the same name, as prize-agent, jointly with Majors Cadell and Wood, who had been appointed by the army, and who, as far as we can judge, were entitled, both by law and usage, to the whole benefits of this situation, the emoluments of which are secured by Act of Parliament. Mr. Arbuthnot, jun. is said, in the pamphlet before us, to have been, at the time of the appointment, under one and twenty years of age; so that whatever may have been his abilities, he can have brought little of any sort of experience to the aid of those upon whose rights he has appeared to encroach. The Duke of Wellington's character is that of a man most averse to jobbing and favouritism, but the circumstances of this appointment are such that some explanation of it is called for. The result, at any rate, has been an interruption of communication between the army and the trustees, which cannot have failed to be injurious to those for whom the latter have been appointed to act.

Some blame is imputed in the same pamphlet to the East India Company, for having thrown obstacles in the way of sums claimed as booty; but we are bound to say, that there is not evidence enough to enable us to judge whether this complaint is well founded. The East India Directors have duties to perform to other parties besides the soldiers interested in the distribution of the plunder; and while it should be, and we suppose is, their desire not to delay the distribution of what should properly be given to the army, we can conceive no dereliction of their duty more pernicious than the yielding up, as plunder to the soldiery, of property which should rightfully belong to particular natives of India, or be applied in the relief of the subjects of the Company in general. There is no country in the world where the effects of taxation are so grinding and disastrous as in some parts of India, and we need only refer to a letter which we recently published from Poonah, describing the state (in consequence of the impact) of some of the districts acquired by this very army of the Deccan. If, then, money which has been wrung from these wretched natives, and which should be applied to their good government and relief, and which would not, according to the usages of war in other parts of the world, be considered as plunder, has been claimed as such by the army of the Deccan, the conduct of the Company, in resisting the demand, is not only blameless, but praiseworthy. In this particular the Directors have no interest in doing wrong. Every one practically knows that the dividends of the Company are neither increased nor diminished by the state of their territorial receipts; and, as far as the Directors have any personal feeling, it must be in favour of the members of the army, among whom they must have friends and connexions.

We should not have raised this supposition as to any of the claims of the army, (important as it may be that this principle should always be kept in view,) if we had not seen in the pamphlet published in behalf of the army, (from which alone we know any thing of the case,) that claims were set up, to say the least of them, of a very doubtful character. For example, among the complaints against the Company, we find the following:—"After the subjugation of Poonah, a considerable treasure, deposited by the Peishwa with Naroba Outay, a native banker, which was entirely acquired by military operations, and which could only be seized as booty, fell into the hands of the servants of the Company, and, notwithstanding the protests of the agents of the army, was appropriated to the general purposes of the Government of India" p. 5.—Again, "Property belonging to the Peishwah, amounting to nine lacs (90,000*l.*), which had been carried off from Poonah by a native called Amerchum Badchand, and by other natives, was also recovered by the Indian Government, and transferred to their own coffers." *Ibid*—"Of the public property found in Poonah, and taken by the civil servants of the Company, no return has ever been made; nor were the agents of the army supplied with any means of estimating their value. Besides these, some allowance should perhaps have been made for the palaces of the Peishwah, and the public buildings in Poonah," &c.—p. 6.

Again—"The city of Nagpore, which they captured, and the great public treasure which, on that capture, vested in the Crown, were restored to the Rajah,

and shortly afterwards transferred to his successor by the Supreme Government, without any regard to the legal rights of his Majesty, or the equitable claims of the conquerors."—p. 6.

But the best of all is the following:—"By the conquest of the Peishwah, sixteen lacs and a half of rupees, arrears of tribute guaranteed to him by the East India Company, and which they must have paid had he continued to reign, became forfeited, and they were entirely released from the burthen of its payment. These arrears, which were virtually taken by the army as if the money when paid had been seized in the enemy's coffers, have never even been admitted as affording any claim on behalf of those who annihilated the debt with the power of the creditor, and rendered all future speculations needless."—p. 8.

According to these complaints, it seems that the agents conceived the army of the Deccan to be entitled to stand precisely in the situation of the Sovereign on whom the Company made war—that it was entitled to all the public money, to all the public credits, to all the sums belonging to the Sovereigns—that is to say, to the States—which had been lodged by their agents even in other countries, and subsequently recovered, to the value of the public buildings and the palaces of the conquered monarchs, and even to an equivalent for whatever political advantages were obtained for the power that employed the army, by the results of the warfare, or rather by the declaration of war. We cannot think that the agents of the army of the Deccan will do their cause any good by putting forward complaints so palpably and monstiously absurd. According to the principle involved in them, most of the public property in Europe would within the last twenty years have passed into the hands of the soldiery as prize-money, and Commissioners might at this time have been occupied in estimating the value of the Louvre and the Tuileries, the Royal forests, and we suppose, of the cathedrals of France, after having applied to the benefit of the victorious armies the amount of Mr. Baring's loan, and the whole of what the continental Powers might have paid to Napoleon Bonaparte, if they had not rather chosen to make war upon him. The army of the Deccan is no doubt a very meritorious one, but we know of no such grounds of superiority on their part over the conquerors of Leipsic or Waterloo, as to afford any colour for demanding what the latter would never have dreamed of claiming. If the only complaint against the East India Company be an opposition to such demands as these, the Directors are entitled to all the praise which the performance of so simple a duty calls for.

As to who are to blame for the great delay which has taken place in distributing this prize-money, we shall only make two other very brief quotations from the correspondence; the first from a letter of Sir Thomas Hislop to the Commissioners, dated 30th of October 1824, referring to the accounts respecting the Poonah spoils that had been demanded of the Company more than twelve months before, but only then furnished:—

I have been honoured with your letter in acknowledgment of mine of the 13th. The refusal of the East India Company in September 1823, to furnish you with the documents which they have now thought proper to place in your possession requires no comment. It is only become thereby the more evident, that bereft of the protection which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend to my brother soldiers and myself, through the powers vested by his royal warrant in your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot, our expectations of a just issue to our claims would have been hopeless indeed.

The other is a letter dated the 15th of January last, from Major Wood, the general prize-agent, in answer to Mr. Spicer, deputy-treasurer of Chelsea hospital, who had written, requesting to be enabled to answer satisfactorily the numerous inquiries made by persons at his office, as to the cause of the delay in commencing to distribute the Deccan prize money. In answer to this query, on which are suspended the hopes of thousands of meritorious individuals who have gallantly risked their lives and shed their blood, yet are denied their just reward—of thousands who look to them for support, and are now, by this injustice, pining in want and distress, Major Wood writes:—

Sir,—I had the honour, yesterday evening, to receive your letter of the 6th instant, and, in reply, I beg to state that the whole amount which was realised from the bounty captured by the army of the Deccan, during the Mahratta war of 1817 and 1818, was paid into the treasuries of the Honourable the East India Company in India, by order of the late Governor-General.

The whole of this money, as well as all the other parts of the booty, by far the most extensive and valuable which was taken during that war, has not been paid or delivered over for or on account of the army to the trustees, and to which must be attributed the delay in commencing the distribution thereof.

ENGLISH OPINIONS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

As it must always be particularly interesting to our Indian readers to learn what are the opinions generally entertained at home respecting the state of affairs in the East; and as in the present shackled state of the Indian press, they cannot obtain this information through that channel, since what is contained in the English publications, even of the greatest respectability, dare not be reprinted there, we shall lay before them a well-written article from the *Times*, which we select from a great number of others on the same subject, that have appeared in this and various other Papers. To this, a reply was attempted next day in the *New Times*, but so false in its assumptions, and so absurd in its arguments, that, to persons acquainted with Indian matters, it would be a waste of time to answer them. They were answered, however, by the *Globe and Traveller* of the same day. The article from the *Old Times* is as follows:—

It is difficult to describe the anxiety and alarm under which the more intelligent portion of our countrymen in India were labouring at the date of the last letters. The bad success (we might say the utter disgrace) which has attended our operations against the Burman Empire, would in other times have produced an immediate Parliamentary inquiry, and a strong expression of public censure wherever the blame of such disasters, accompanied by such manifest dangers, might be with justice visited. When we reflect that more than a year has now elapsed since the actual commencement of the war—more nearly, perhaps, two years since the Government at Calcutta had contemplated the speedy breaking out of hostilities—the first question that occurs to every man is, What progress has been made towards that specific point at which, in common prudence and consistency, it would be for the credit of the Government to re-establish peace? The obvious answer unfortunately is, That we have not advanced a single step towards indemnity, if there were any wrongs to be repuned; or towards that security of which, it appears to us, the war itself has been the only serious disturber.

Ten or twelve thousand men were sent to Rangoon, and might as well have been sent to Japan, for any real object of mischief or coercion to the Burmans of that force we are informed that Sir Archibald Campbell could muster, for his last engagement with the enemy, not more than 1,200 men. Such was the wisdom which selected the field of operations. The Bengal army, which had confined its efforts to the infliction of a violent death on some 400 or 500 of our own unhappy Sepoys, was only, towards the end of January, preparing to act against the Arracan, or north-west frontier of the King of Ava. The country through which this force had to move was wholly unknown to the Company's Government, except as one which it would be madness to invade without the most accurate and detailed information respecting its intricacies, and most hazardous to enter, even if so provided. It was known, indeed, to be a country almost as insalubrious as that in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. The period still in store for operations was conjectured to be not half sufficient for a march "interspersed," as an Irish soldier once expressed it, "with fighting;"—that is, if there should be any idea of pushing on to the Burmese capital. The troops would, therefore, be compelled to retrace their footsteps to the British frontier, and begin again the whole business of the war, or to take up their ground in the heart of an enemy's country, there to rot of disease, or perish of absolute hunger. If, on the other hand, no decisive

and immediate impression should be made upon the force or spirits of the enemy by this attack from Bengal, we can vouch for its being the opinion of most able and experienced authorities in India, that our whole Asiatic empire would run an imminent risk of overthrow from insurrections within.

There is not a spot of the whole Peninsula, where the old jealousies of British power can be fairly said to be extinct. There is not a village in the states which have been conquered within the last seven years, where the course of the Burmese war is not eagerly watched—where the consequences of failure, or even of prolonged hostilities and exhausted strength, are not thoroughly calculated and comprehended; and where, if the signal were once given, a revolt would not instantly burst forth, self-organized, and assisted by the mass of the population. In the capital of the Deccan, a placard was recently stuck up, inviting the Natives to rise, as the King of Ava was paying the way for their deliverance from English bondage.

Nor are the discontents prevailing through the interior of the Peninsula the worst, by many degrees, among our causes of apprehension. What has happened towards the westward? Runjeet Sing, a prince of eminent ability, of warlike habits, and insatiable ambition, has crossed the Indus from his own Sikh territory, and planted himself in great force on both sides of that important river. The army of Runjeet Sing consists of 50,000 infantry, armed and distributed on European principles, disciplined by a formidable number of French and Russian officers, with a numerous artillery, horse and foot, organized also on the most approved European system. These are supported by a powerful body of Native cavalry, who are inured to war, and flushed with conquest. Further to the west, we have the Russian army of Georgia, which has long ago sent incursions of Cossacks through the Afghan territory, and would not spare bribes or other incentives to Runjeet Sing, or lose a day in marching to reinforce him. These are all considerations familiar to the minds of reflecting men who understand the affairs of India; but, what may not be so generally apprehended is, the incompetency of our local establishments, military and civil, to cope with a crisis of more than common danger. The number of Europeans in both departments, and in all the presidencies, is *inadequate to the wants of the service*; of civil functionaries there are much too few to control the natural increase of a spirit among the Natives adverse to the British interests, or at least convertible against them. What is more vexatious still, there exists an obvious want of the necessary intellectual resources in those who do exercise the civil powers of the Company; and this is most conspicuous in the very highest offices. There is a lamentable difference between the extinction of such a powerful Monarchy as that of Tippoo in four short months, after he had been whole years preparing, with all the other great states of India, for a simultaneous attack upon the British territory, and the feeble and wretched attempts against the Burmese, exhibiting, for a whole twelvemonth, nothing but distraction in council, and inefficacy in the field. There is, we say, a woeful contrast between the Mysore and Mahratta wars, both defensive against a prepared and mighty enemy, and this Burmese war, unprovoked, aggressive, unjust, ill-combined, and unsuccessful.

With regard to our army, the European force has dwindled in a serious proportion, and a speedy augmentation must be made to it. The Native army of the Company is notoriously deficient in European officers, who used to be the soul of its military character and spirit; and it is folly to suppose that we can retain India, if either of these be lost. Of the incompleteness of our establishments, it may be taken as a sample, that the head-quarters of the artillery ought to consist of 600 men, whereas we are assured, on high authority, that at the date of the last advices, only fifteen were to be found there!

Let the Company, therefore, leave off peddling, and conduct great affairs on broad and effective principles. If they want an army, let them raise one equal to the exigency, or surrender India to the nation who will know how to govern it honestly, and to render it a source of honour, as well as of benefit, to the empire. But besides an army, something more is requisite. Let the Honourable Company of Merchants pay the soldier his prize-money, and make him feel that he has no enemies but those who are in arms before him.

Since the above appeared, a long letter on the state of India, confirming the views of the *Times*, has proceeded from a quarter where it could

have least been expected—namely, the *John Bull*. In the last numbers of *Blackwood's Magazine*, also, two powerful letters have been inserted to rouse public attention to the dangerous position of the British empire in the East. Thus the same note of alarm is heard from all points in the political compass; persons of the most opposite parties and opinions concurring in this, that the unwise policy of the Company, of Lord Amherst, and his advisers, combined together, have brought British power in India to the brink of destruction. The writer in the *John Bull* sets out with a description of the native army—does justice to the devoted fidelity of the Sepoy while he was well treated—explains the evils he has suffered latterly from the great extension of our territory, his being deprived of the means of transporting on march the necessary quantity of baggage, and consequently cut off from his family, and often unable to support them. Hence, a growing discontent with the British service, which he fears will be turned into confirmed disgust by the affair at Barrackpore, which he firmly believes would not have happened, unless the Sepoys had felt that they were bound in justice to themselves and families to demand an increase of allowances. The European troops employed to quell the mutiny are stated to have committed great excesses; to have fired upon the faithful Native troops, of which many lost their lives: and, among others, a Native officer of the highest rank, who had been at Egypt, volunteered to Seringapatam, the Isle of France, &c., covered with medals for his services, was treated “in the most inhuman manner” by the British soldiers, from whom he narrowly escaped with life. A body of 500 of the mutineers are said to have effected their escape, carrying with them the colours of the 47th, 62d, and 26th regiments, having defeated the troops sent against them (the body guard and European regiments,) about 10 or 12 miles from Barrackpore, and secured their retreat to Nepaul. The sufferings of the Rangoon force are said to be much greater than is generally known, and more than 1000 Europeans are stated to have lost their lives there before that time.

Of the interior of India, a frightful picture is given; the Mahrattas plundering on the Nerbuddah—the Rajah of Jypoor in open hostilities; the whole Zameendars about Delhi refusing to pay their revenue, and, with the Rohillas, the bravest and finest troops in India, in open revolt; to crown all, Rajeet Sing, who can any day bring into the field 100,000 cavalry, disciplined under European officers, hovering on our frontier, ready to join in any combination against us, and burst into the heart of our discontented provinces. We are unable to insert this letter, from its having appeared so late in the month.

CANDIDATES FOR THE DIRECTION.

It was hinted in a Sunday Paper that Capt. M., late of the Bombay Marines, Mr. Y., of Calcutta, and Capt. S., the author of a ‘Voice from India,’ were candidates for the Direction, under a solemn pledge of not embarking in or following any other pursuit, but giving their whole time and talents to the duties of that situation. The author of the ‘Voice,’ for whom the unknown writer of “Two Stars” seems more particularly to canvass, praising his works, his talents, love for India, &c. &c. has published a long letter in the same Paper, modestly declining the intended honour, assuring the world that although a man has, like himself, “written a

book or two, or occasionally a political essay," it does not necessarily follow that "he must be a clever fellow, or a highly-gifted or talented person." He then urges a great many arguments in support of this position, with which we shall not trouble our readers; as we believe they will readily take it for granted he has fully proved it. He next gives a long and laborious demonstration of the impossibility of his becoming a Director; on which we must bestow the praise of saying, that we consider it one of the most logical and conclusive the 'Voice' ever uttered. The requisites for attaining that dignity he enumerates as follows:—

1st. The candidate for the Direction must possess 2,000*l.* stock.

2d. He must have friends among that body anxious to assist and support him.

3d. He must have an extensive range of friends in the Court of Proprietors.

4th. He must possess influence among the commercial agency houses.

5th. He must possess talent, knowledge, habits of business, industry, &c.

6th. An uncompromising character.

Lastly. With all these, it will be very important to his success, to have a seat in the House of Commons.

Our readers have, no doubt, all heard of the twenty good reasons for not firing a salute. The first being, that there happened to be no powder, the other nineteen were readily dispensed with. So in this case, to begin with the first of the seven reasons against becoming a Director,—the requisite of 2,000*l.* stock,—Captain Seely declares "he does not possess a shilling." We may, therefore, spare our readers the other six, although the Captain, with great *naïveté*, goes on negating to the end of the chapter. After all, it is perhaps only a sly mode of paying a compliment to his honourable masters, by giving them a character for honour, ability, intelligence, industry, &c. &c. &c. much higher, as every one knows, than they by any means deserve; but on them it may probably operate as beneficially for the author, as the dedicating to the President of the Board of Control of a work against the freedom of the press in India. There is a reason for every thing; and we must not suppose, therefore, that any man raises his 'Voice' for nothing.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

At the ordination recently held by the Bishop of London, the Rev. Matthew R. de Mello, LL.B. of Jesus College, was admitted to priest's orders. We understand this gentleman is on the point of sailing for India, having made an offer of his services to the Society for propagating the Gospel, which has been accepted.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH SHOOTING-PARTY FOR DESTROYING NEGROES.

Account of a Shooting Excursion on the Mountains near Dromily Estate, in the Parish of Trelawny and Island of Jamaica, in the Month of October 1824.

A SMALL pamphlet, under the above title, has lately fallen into our hands; and we have thought it our duty to make it the subject of a notice in our pages, as the shooting-party in question were persons calling themselves Britons, and we suppose, Christians; and their *game* was no other than their fellow-men, whom God has been pleased to create of a different complexion from themselves.

About twelve years ago, a dozen negroes, with a few women, had been driven by cruel slavery to seek refuge from the scourge of their drivers, in the woods and fastnesses of the chain of lofty mountains which intersect that island from east to west. There they for some time found shelter from oppression among the cliffs adjoining to some fertile valleys which supplied them with food; but their haunts being discovered, shooting-parties went out to destroy them; by which three were cut off, and the remainder fled to the back districts of Trelawny. Having chosen a similar situation there, and knowing that their existence depended on its continuing unknown to the civilized lords of the island, they took every possible precaution to escape observation, never straying far from their obscure abode, and, like the Indian pariahs, avoiding all intercourse with the rest of the world, which thirsted for their blood. Hoping that, "while they kept themselves at home, they could not be discovered," and that "if they did not meddle with others, others would not meddle with them," they went industriously to work under the cheering notion of security, and built a little town, consisting, at last, of fourteen houses, displaying great ingenuity of construction, and gave it the simple, rude, and characteristic name of "*We no seen you no come.*"

The surrounding jungle gradually melted away under the effects of their industry, which day after day "awakened the silence of the forests," till at last they had brought nearly two hundred acres of land into cultivation, which is said to have afforded an example of good farming, and to have been "thickly planted with provisions in the finest condition." Some negroes of the nearest settlements, who probably by accident, in traversing the deep woods, became acquainted with this sequestered hamlet, brought them salt provisions or other necessaries of life in exchange for the produce of their fields, which began to afford a supply to the surrounding markets.

From this or some other cause, after they had lived here in peace, quietness, and comfort, on the fruits of their toil for about eleven years, their existence became at last publicly known. The white inhabitants immediately raised a hue and cry for their destruction, and resolved upon a hunting excursion "to take them as prisoners, or to kill or maim them; to destroy their habitations, and to root them from the face of the earth for ever." Yet their only crime was, that they had fled from that slavery in which they were chained down by force, after they or their fathers had been torn from their homes and transported by lawless villains to be sold into perpetual bondage. That they should attempt to escape from this miserable lot to which they had been doomed in defiance of eternal justice, and endeavour to enjoy the fruits of their own labours, was an inexcusable crime in the eyes of West India planters. Accordingly on the 26th of October, a party of about eleven white persons, overseers, book-keepers, &c. of the adjoining estates, with about as many black servants, set out to seize or destroy the Negro hamlet and its inhabitants. These being apprised of their impending fate, were prepared to defend themselves, and in a narrow pass leading to it, shot two of the aggressors, (named Sutherland and Gallimore,) whereupon the rest fled panic struck, throwing away their arms and ammunition.

This had been a mere private shooting-party; the sanction of a magistrate or

any other public authority being no more necessary there for killing *black men* than it may be elsewhere for shooting wolves and tigers. But two white men having now fallen, a meeting of the magistrates was held the very next day to concert measures to take ample vengeance, and a party of 270 men was sent on the 1st of November to finish the work. On their reaching the village, some shots were exchanged, when two of the Negroes fell, and the rest fled into the woods; one Negro woman, besides narrowly escaping; the marksman, though very near, having missed his aim. The provisions which covered their fields in great abundance were then destroyed, and the houses, said to be very substantially built, razed to the ground. Want of food brought the Negroes back shortly afterwards to their devastated dwellings, which they began to rebuild; but the "maroons" out in pursuit were picking them off one by one; the last accounts stating that one of the men had been killed, several of the women and children captured.

The Jamaica papers express a "hope," that they will all be shortly taken or destroyed; and the exterminating agents employed, confess in the same spirit their "regret," that more execution had not yet been done. So completely does this slave system pervert the human heart, that it can at last take delight in that which nature teaches us most to abhor. It sports in the wanton destruction of inoffensive villagers, driving them, old and young, into the woods, and takes its cold-blooded murderous aim at a helpless woman, as if she were a wild beast of the forest. Surely if the cry of Sodom reached to heaven, the monstrous and inhuman cruelties of our colonial system must at last reach the hearts of those who now compose the British Government; and we pray, that this system, which has so long protected the authors of such iniquities, may speedily be abolished and destroyed.

DR. AINSLIE ON THE CHOLERA MORBUS OF INDIA.

Observations on the Cholera Morbus of India. By WHITELAW AINSIE, M.D., M.R.A.S. 8vo pp. 90.

To investigate the causes of that dreadful disease, which, under the name of Epidemic Cholera, has, during the last eight years, successively devastated various portions of the East, is a task well worthy of the philosophic physician, and one which has accordingly called forth the observations of numerous distinguished medical characters, as well in England as in India. The latter, from their personal opportunities of observation, are, of course, the only persons competent to furnish its history and symptoms; and their intimate acquaintance with the climate to which its ravages have been hitherto chiefly confined, gives them a very decided advantage in determining on the treatment to be adopted to check its fatal progress. On this latter point, however, the application of sound medical principles may enable even the distant inquirer to throw additional light; and such has, in fact, been the effect of the publications of Dr. J. Johnstone and Dr. Good. With these latter, Dr. W. Ainslie may be ranked, as, although he practised during many years in India, he never witnessed a case of epidemic cholera. Assuming, however, that this disease differs from the sporadic only in intensity, he proposes to apply to the former the results of his experience in India with respect to the latter; and in this attempt he advances several doctrines, in which the profession in general will not be readily disposed to concur. The remote cause of the malady is presumed to be a temporary alteration, or perverted distribution, of the galvanic fluid; acidity in the stomach is regarded as the exciting cause in simple cholera, and as a primary symptom in the epidemic; and the vomiting of bile is looked upon as the curative process adopted by nature herself. To neutralize the acid, *magnesia* is recommended in large doses, to be frequently repeated if necessary; and the failure of this remedy, in several cases in which it was tried, is attributed to its having been administered combined with milk. If no bile should pass either by the intestines or by the stomach, the bile of a calf or of an ox should be given; or, in default of these, a solution of aloes with calumba and rhubarb.

may be employed as a substitute. Galvanism is, however, the specific recommended to be directed to the stomach, brain, liver, and heart: it is, however, admitted to be doubtful, whether it would produce much effect on the latter organ, which is, therefore, to be stimulated by the inhalation of oxygen.

Such are the views entertained by Dr. W. Ainslie on this most important subject. At present, with the exception of the magnesia, the whole system is completely theoretical. The plan recommended will doubtless meet with the fair trial which it deserves; but we confess ourselves by no means sanguine as to its success.

A NOVEL OF PALESTINE.

Mariamne; an Historical Novel of Palestine. In 3 Volumes. 12mo.

A HISTORY of Mariamne, the wife of Herod, the scriptural Tetrarch of Galilee, is well adapted to form the ground-work of an excellent sketch, conveying extensive and valuable information relative to the habits and prejudices of that singular people, the Jews, prior to their dispersion over the face of the earth; and digressing occasionally into descriptions of the surrounding nations. Such is not the Mariamne quoted above. Some years since it might have ranked as a respectable novel; but there are those now among us who have admitted to the public palate food fit for men as well as children. Since their appearance, it has become quite as difficult to write such a novel as shall be generally acceptable, as it is to produce a dramatic piece; and their less able rivals are, therefore, little indebted to them for exhibiting to the public models of what may be effected in the way of amusement. The story of Mariamne and of Herod, with the episode of Antony and Cleopatra to boot, cannot compete with the productions of many of the romance-writers of the present day. We are not so fastidious as to object to the very frequent imitations of Scriptural phraseology with which these volumes abound; but the writer who employs them should be careful not to attempt, with the strength of a child, to draw the bow of a giant.

PICTURE OF THE MANNERS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

Rameses; an Egyptian Tale, with Historical Notes of the Era of the Pharaohs. In 3 Volumes. Post 8vo.

UNDER the popular and attractive form of a historical novel, the author of 'Rameses' has aimed at imparting a complete body of information relative to Egypt in the zenith of her splendour. For this purpose he has evidently consulted almost every attainable source, from Herodotus and Diodorus, downwards, to the discoveries of Hamilton, Denon, Young, and Champollion. Scarcely a single publication on the subject anterior to his own, seems to have escaped his research, which is directed equally to the buildings, the manners, and the laws, that existed among the Egyptians at the period of time selected for his sketch.

The adventures of Rameses are those of a young Egyptian of noble family, who, under the reign of Amenophis, becomes the saviour of his country from the invading bands of the Palli, or Shepherd Kings, whose name is still commemorated in that of Palestine, but who are generally better known as the Philistines of Holy Writ. In his struggles against the overwhelming force of these hordes of the desert and of the north, he experiences numerous vicissitudes, which compel him repeatedly to change his scene of action, until every principal station of Egypt has been successively passed over. The reader is thus introduced to each of them respectively, the descriptions of the stupendous monuments of art which load the surface of that interesting country, being interwoven with the series of the narrative. Founded on the best authorities, which are quoted in the form of notes at the close of each volume, a portion of them are described in all the pomp which they may be imagined to have exhibited at the period when they were inhabited by the monarchs who founded and embellished them. Others, again, are referred to as advancing, in consequence of the ravages of the enemy, towards the state in which they at present exist. Not

merely the palaces, the temples, the pyramids, labyrinths, catacombs, and statues, pass in this manner in succession before the reader, his attention is also directed to the agriculture, the mechanical arts, and the processes of embalming, exercised at the remote period assigned to the hero of the tale. Accurate details are also furnished of the dresses and physiognomy of the people; and so far has the author been led by his anxiety to complete his subject, that he has even introduced, from Dr. Young's recent publication, the legal instrument for the conveyance of a piece of land, which was rendered available in so singular a manner by the fortunate discovery of a Greek counterpart, together with its very curious and characteristic descriptions of the attesting witnesses. The paintings on the walls of the temples and palaces are described in a glowing style; the opinion advanced by Mr. Hamilton being here followed,—that they were worthy of the imitation of the Greeks, and formed the probable foundation of their excellence in that art, as well as of numerous scenes depicted in the works of Homer. Every circumstance of importance falls, in fact, by turns under the cognizance of the author, whose work may, therefore, be safely recommended, as nearly resembling a royal road to the present state of our knowledge with respect to Egypt.

In this sketch of the more striking features of this Egyptian tale, we have scarcely adverted to the story which connects it together, since this is evidently a secondary consideration with the author himself. It may, however, be remarked, that it contains some situations of considerable interest; and that, even if viewed as a mere novel, its claims on general attention are by no means contemptible.

DR. HORSFIELD ON THE INSECTS OF JAVA.

Annulosa Javanica, or, an Attempt to illustrate the Natural Affinities and Analogies of the Insects collected in Java by Thomas Horsfield, M.D., &c., and deposited by him in the Museum of the Hon. East India Company. By W. S. MACLEAY, Esq., M.A., F.L.S., &c. Number 1. 8to. pp. xii. and 50. With a Plate.

AMONG the productions of animated nature, the class of insects is at once the most numerous and the most varied. Frequently distinguished by the singularity, and almost grotesqueness of their forms, or by the brilliancy and splendour of their colouring, the most careless observer cannot fail to be occasionally struck with their peculiarities. It is especially in the tropical regions of the earth that these peculiarities are most strongly developed; and hence India, and the adjacent islands, offer numerous forms of the highest interest to those who study the wonders of the creation. That these should never have been noticed, except in the general systems, is much to be regretted, as in them sufficient attention can rarely be directed to individual species. The work of Donovan, which is that of an artist rather than of an entomologist, can scarcely be quoted as an exception to this observation. It is, therefore, with pleasure that we observe that Mr. W. Macleay has undertaken the task of describing so many of them as are contained in the most extensive collection which has hitherto reached Europe. Formed by Dr. Horsfield, whose distinguished merits as a zoologist are abundantly proved by his various publications, and particularly by his 'Zoological Illustrations of Java,' it presents, from the circumstances under which it was procured, a fair sample of the entomology of that island, which could not have been confided to any naturalist equally qualified with the able author of 'Hore Entomologie,' to do justice to its contents. Under his care the work assumes a character purely scientific, and far different from those catalogues which are confined to the mere naming and describing of the objects under examination. This minor department of the science is certainly executed in a very superior manner by Mr. Macleay; but he justly regards it as infinitely inferior to those philosophical views of the system of nature which it is his principal object to develop. The mere naming of a few dried beetles may afford to their possessor some gratification; but this view of the subject is paltry, in comparison with that which regards every individual being as a link in the

scale of animation, and as tending to elucidate the system on which the whole was framed.

In the development of that portion of his subject which is comprised in this first Number, and which embraces the species of one of the five principal divisions of the coleoptera, Mr. Macleay proceeds upon those principles of arrangement which he has displayed in his previous publications. That these are more consonant with the affinities of nature than any others hitherto proposed, there can be no hesitation in declaring. The work may, therefore, be regarded as perfectly new, not merely in the majority of the objects described, but also in the mode of their arrangement and distribution, and in the general and enlightened views which are deduced from them. It is almost unnecessary to observe to the naturalist, that a very considerable proportion of the Javanese insects are also to be met with on the continent of India.

From an announcement on the cover, we learn that Mr. Robert Brown is employed in preparing for the press a description of Dr. Horsfield's botanical collections. It is gratifying to see the first zoologist and the first botanist of England, if not of the world, simultaneously engaged in the examination of the natural productions of the East. A more striking illustration of their importance cannot be adduced to encourage those resident in India, who devote their leisure to such pursuits, still to persevere in the cultivation of these delightful branches of science.

BARRON FIELD'S WORK ON NEW HOLLAND.

Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, by various hands: containing an Account of the Surveyor-General's late Expedition to two New Ports; the Discovery of Moreton Bay River, with the Adventures for seven months there of two shipwrecked Men; a Route from Bathurst to Liverpool Plains; together with other Papers on the Aborigines, the Geology, the Botany, the Timber, the Astronomy, and the Meteorology of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Edited by BARRON FIELD, Esq. F.L.S., late Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales and its Dependencies. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 504. Maps and Plates vii.

THE long list of topics enumerated in the very full title, which we have given at length, of this valuable collection of miscellaneous information relative to New South Wales and New Holland generally, sufficiently indicates the varied and interesting nature of its contents. Singular in its geographical character, every fact which tends to elucidate its peculiarities, possesses strong claims on the attention of the numerous class, who contemplate this rising colony as likely, at some distant period, to assume the command of the southern hemisphere, spreading the British name and language over all its shores, and imparting, along with the arts of the mother country, her free institutions, and the national blessings which they produce. Established at a period when but little was known of the capability of the respective portions of the coast for successful colonization, accident alone seems to have directed the choice of the spot on which the original settlement was formed. The difficulties encountered during its earlier period, and the little encouragement held out to those who might have felt desirous of making their way into the interior, long confined the knowledge of the settlers to a mere strip of the coast, the boundaries of which, until very recently, never extended beyond the Blue Mountains. Within the last few years, however, the zeal of Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, has carried him far beyond these narrow limits, and his unwearied perseverance has been rewarded by several discoveries of the highest importance, which have been laid before the public, and excited very general attention. Baffled in his endeavours to penetrate the interior to any considerable distance, by means of the Lachlan and Macquarie Rivers, which were found to terminate in swamps constituting "oceans of reeds," among which there existed "no channel whatever;" his enterprising spirit seems not to have been in the least depressed by the difficulties which were opposed to his further progress; on the contrary, he appears to be still ready and anxious again to exert himself in the wide field

that remains open to investigation. Economy is now, however, the order of the day in the colony, and his researches are therefore confined to such inquiries as may fall within the compass of his official duties. In this capacity he received instructions from the local Government to survey "Port Curtis, Moreton Bay, and Port Bowen, with a view to form convict penitentiary settlements;" and his "Report" on this occasion constitutes the first article in Mr. Field's volume.

Among the results of this survey, there is one of striking importance to the future prosperity of the colony, and which is also calculated to lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the interior of this vast island, than has hitherto been obtained. We allude to the very unexpected discovery, on the western side of Moreton Bay, of a river of considerable magnitude, to which the name of Brisbane River has been assigned. On this river Mr. Oxley and Lieutenant Stirling proceeded to a distance of about fifty miles from its mouth, when the exhaustion of their boat's crew compelled them to relinquish their intention of ascending to the termination of the tide-water. At the point which they succeeded in reaching, the tide, which was only five feet at the mouth, rose about four feet six inches, the force of the ebb-tide and current united being little greater than that of the flood-tide, a proof of its flowing through a very level country. From a neighbouring hill a view of its apparent course for thirty or forty miles was obtained by the travellers; and from the appearance of the country, the slowness of the current, and the depth of the water, Mr. Oxley was induced to conclude that the river would be found navigable for vessels of burthen to a distance of probably fifty miles from the termination of his researches. There was no appearance of its being flooded; the highest mark that could be perceived not being more than seven feet above the level, which is little more than would be caused by the flood-tide at high water forcing back any unusual accumulation of water in rainy seasons. From these circumstances, it seems tolerably evident that the sources of the river are not in a mountainous country; but, whatever may be its origin, it is unquestionably by far the largest fresh water river hitherto discovered in New South Wales, and promises to be of the utmost importance to that colony, inasmuch as it affords communication with the sea to a vast extent of country, a great portion of which appears capable of raising the richest productions of the tropics.

In the survey of the coasts, Mr. Oxley was accompanied by Mr. Uniacke, whose "Narrative," which forms the second article, relates principally to the maritime geography of the places visited, few of which had been examined with sufficient accuracy by Captain Flinders. During this investigation, they fell in with two men who had been shipwrecked seven months before; and the accounts given by them of their sufferings, and of two fights among the natives, which they witnessed, form the subjects of the three succeeding notices. With regard to the fights, one of them a public duel, as it may be termed, between two individuals of different tribes, was terminated by a mere flesh-wound received by one of the combatants; but in the other, in which the whole force of two tribes was engaged, the result was much more fatal. The treatment experienced by the two sailors from the different tribes with which they sojourned, was always of the kindest and most hospitable description. They were constantly supplied, in the most liberal manner, with fern-root and fish, (the usual food of the natives,) which were brought to the hut appropriated to their use, in great abundance. Of a third man, who was shipwrecked at the same time, but who had departed from his comrades with the intention of making his way to the English settlements, no tidings were obtained.

The "Journal of a Route from Bathurst to Liverpool Plains," by Mr. Cunningham, describes many parts of the back-country not previously visited, and will be perused with interest by those who are connected with the colony; but as it presents no striking information to the general reader, we shall pass it over, and proceed to the second class of papers, which may almost be regarded as the transactions of the "Philosophical Society of Australia," and of the

"Agricultural Society of New South Wales." Of the Papers read before the latter Society, however, only one is here printed, which consists of a Memoir 'On the Rivers of New South Wales,' from the pen of the President, the editor of the present volume. It presents no new facts, and is chiefly directed to urge the necessity of further and more accurate investigation of the larger streams in the neighbourhood of the settlement. Those of the former Society here given, are four in number: 'On the Aborigines of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land,' by Barron Field, Esq.; 'On the Geology of part of the Coast of New South Wales,' by Alexander Berry, Esq.; 'On the Astronomy of the Southern Hemisphere,' by Dr. Rumker; and 'On the Maritime Geography of Australia,' by Captain King, R.N. In the first of these Papers, the Aborigines of both the islands are regarded as having been originally derived from the Ethiopian race; the second embodies no fact of peculiar importance; Dr. Rumker confines himself, in the third, to merely indicating the various points which the Observatory in New South Wales may contribute materially to elucidate; and the fourth, which exhibits a very able general sketch of the intertropical coasts of New Holland, does not appear, at the present moment, to require any further notice, as we are daily expecting from its author the publication of the Journal of his late admirably-executed Survey.

The remaining articles which compose the present volume, consist of a 'Report of the Purveyor to the Navy Board, on the Timber of New South Wales;' a 'Sketch of the Botany of the Blue Mountains,' by Mr. Cunningham; a 'Journal of an Excursion to the Southward of Lake George,' by Capt. Currie, R.N.; and of 'Meteorological Diaries' and 'Observations,' by Mr. Goulburn and Sir Thomas Brisbane. The Appendix includes several articles on the voyage to and from New South Wales, and on different parts of the country, which have already appeared in the London Magazine; together with the first fruits of Australian poetry, under the title of 'Botany Bay Flowers,' now for the first time printed entire in this country, although copious extracts have before appeared in some of the periodicals.

AN ATHENIAN TALE.

Zoe: an Athenian Tale. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1825.

To those who love to dwell on the story of Athens, and to recall, in every shape, the glory of her institutions, and the character of her children, the present little tale will afford pleasure. The events of the story, simple and few as they are, carry us back very forcibly to the most interesting period of Grecian history; to the time when Pericles "wielded at will the fierce democracy," and Socrates taught, and Plato studied. In short, the author has imagined one of the frolics of Alcibiades; but he has chosen to connect it with the saddest possible events,—with the events of the plague of Athens. We think he has drawn pretty well one *phase* of Alcibiades' character; he has given him a little, perhaps, too much of purity of passion; but great passions are singular in their development, and naturally raise the soul towards virtue. The writer has also displayed very considerable power of awakening curiosity, and of keeping it alive to the end, which, to be sure, is not very far from the beginning, as the tale is exceedingly short. However, to those who delight in works of fiction, it will yield more pleasure than many a "novel, in three volumes." There is no tedious filling-up: the events follow each other rapidly,—too rapidly, perhaps; and the catastrophe is tender and afflicting.

The author is not formed, however, to excel in the pathetic; he is, perhaps, too young to have observed, with much nicety, how the springs of sympathy are successfully touched. At all events, the misfortunes of Alcibiades and his mistress are distressing in the extreme, harrow up the feelings, wound the fancy, but produce no tears. The truth is, they are exaggerated; and made, besides, to happen while the reader's mind is yet so steeled and wrought to endurance by the horrors of the plague, that it would appear like effeminacy to be moved

by any private suffering. If an author would have us moved by a lover's woes, (and there are none that move the heart more powerfully,) he should take great care to let pity be concentrated in individuals. National calamities stupify, amaze, and distract the mind; but no man can be a nation, and, therefore, no man ever feels for a nation as he does for an individual. Nevertheless, we have no hesitation to recommend 'Zoë' to our readers, who may not like it the less that they can read it with dry eyes. It is a really interesting tale, and cannot fail to amuse an idle hour most agreeably.

EAST INDIA GUIDE AND VADE MECUM.

The General East India Guide and Vade Mecum: for the Public Functionary, Government Officer, Private Agent, Trader, or Foreign Sojourner in British India, and the adjacent parts of Asia immediately connected with the Honourable East India Company: being a Digest of the Work of the late Captain Wilhamson, with many Improvements and Additions, embracing the most valuable parts of similar Publications on the Statistics, Literature, Official Duties, and social Economy of Life and Conduct in that interesting quarter of the World. By J. B. GILCHRIST, L.L.D. London: Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, Booksellers to the Hon. East India Company, Leadenhall-street. 1825.

THE ample title of this work will give the reader an adequate idea of its very comprehensive plan, the execution of which occupies a pretty thick octavo volume. It is a rich mine of varied information respecting the manners, customs, character, language, and observances of the natives of India, as well as habits, circumstances, and situation of British residents in the East: such as the unexperienced cannot read without profit, nor even the old Indian without much instruction and entertainment. To the latter this work will recall many agreeable recollections of Indian life; and however careful an observer he may have been, he will not fail to find in it many things worth knowing, which before escaped him. But to the young Oriental traveller especially, it ought to be literally what its title imparts, a *Vade Mecum*; and if its value be justly appreciated, those sending young men to India will consider it as necessary a companion to them, as Cromwell did a pocket-bible to his soldiers. The 'Guide' takes up the youthful adventurer (in nine cases out of ten a boy from school) at the very outset of his career; informs him what is necessary for his equipment; points out what demeanour is most proper to be observed on board ship; what studies and amusements should be followed; advises how he ought to conduct himself on his arrival in India; warns him against the snares that lie in his path; exhorts to frugality and temperance; and, in short, enforces in the most persuasive manner, by exhortation and example, practical wisdom, prudence, and virtue. The vast fund of miscellaneous intelligence the work contains, will render it highly entertaining and instructive to all who are interested or connected with India; to persons strangers to, and embarking for that country, invaluable. In a future Number, should space permit, we may be able to illustrate the character of the work by some extracts. In the mean time, we cannot but recommend it earnestly to the attention of every young man proceeding to India, as containing more practical information necessary for him to have, than he would be able to obtain in years by merely consulting persons who have resided in the East.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT CONNECTED WITH
INDIAN AFFAIRS.

House of Commons, Monday, June 6, 1825.

PETITION AGAINST THE BURNING OF
HINDOO WIDOWS.

Mr. HUMPHREY, after regretting that earlier attention had not been paid to the subject, presented a petition relative to the immolation of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands, in India, from the Burgh of Crail, in Scotland.

Mr. BUXTON rose to say, that some measures ought to be taken by the English Government to put a stop to this horrible custom. Within the period of five years, no less than 3,500 widows had been burnt. It was of no use to say that no law could be made which would be effectual in checking it, for of all the nations that had governed India, Mahomedan, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, the English were the only people who had allowed it to be continued.

Mr. TRANT thought the Government ought to be very cautious in taking any measures that might interfere with the prejudices of the Hindoos.⁽¹⁾

Mr. C. WYNN was of opinion that Parliament could adopt no general

measure without the greatest danger. The House must consider that India was a country composed of a great number of different nations, of very different manners and principles, differing as much from one another as the nations of Europe; and what could Parliament do? Without the power to enforce any general law, their enactments would be without effect. The local authorities were the only persons who could interfere in putting an end to this practice, which every man of feeling must deplore, though it was his decided opinion, that no violent measures should be adopted.⁽²⁾

Sir C. FORBES was convinced that the practice might and ought to be put a stop to. In several instances, measures resorted to for that purpose had been quite successful. He believed that not one in a thousand of the victims submitted to this death voluntarily. At Benares, Governor Duncan had taken steps for putting a stop to infanticide. These were most decidedly successful, and if the same decision and measures were used for preventing the burning of widows, he had no doubt of a similar result. He hoped a Committee would be appointed next Session, and a report made to the House

(1) The Indian authorities have interfered freely enough, when it suited their purpose, with the Native prejudices; as in flogging, hanging, and shooting Brahmins, whose persons are considered sacred; appropriating the gifts brought to their temples, tying round their necks pieces of pork, which they hold in utter abhorrence, as is stated to have been done at Rangoon; but when it is proposed to interfere beneficially for the Natives themselves, then nothing is heard but strong recommendations of caution, as if to do good in India was of all things the most dangerous. After the Company has tolerated, or rather fostered this infamous practice in its territories for hundreds of years, while it is tolerated by no other Christian power in India, has there not been abundant time for deliberation, and caution enough to satisfy Mr. Trant? Is it not high time to think of making a beginning to do something towards the abolition of such an enormity? To cry caution in this case, is as superfluous as to advise slowness to the snail, or indolence to the sloth.

(2) No violence would be necessary. It would be simply to refuse to grant a license to burn widows within the British territories; as the French, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese have done with respect to theirs, and as it has also been done lately on the Bombay side of India, without any bad consequences whatever. Infanticide, and the throwing of females into the Ganges, has also been interdicted without any danger; therefore to say that this measure would be attended with great danger, shows utter ignorance of the subject. If it were sincerely desired that the local authorities should do any thing, an injunction would be sent to that effect, without which it is highly improbable that they will trouble themselves about the matter more than they have done hitherto. Parliament may wait a long while indeed for any improvement among the Natives of India, if it depends upon the local Government.

of what might be done with safety. (*Hear.*)

Mr. H. EAST thought that the repeated discussion of the question in this House had tended to increase the practice. (3) He was against any violent measures, and thought the Missionaries had much in their power. (4) If they would instil into the people's minds proper sentiments of religion; if they would endeavour to convince the widows that "it was better to marry than to burn," (*a laugh*), he had no doubt that this means would be more successful than any other. (5)

Mr. W. SMITH thought that no violent measures ought to be adopted, but he was convinced that something ought to be done. He would not ask a specific act, but if the House would express their sentiments decidedly and unanimously against this horrible practice, he was sure, ere long, it would be destroyed.

On the petition being brought up and read,

(3) This is the most extraordinary surmise that ever was heard of, and one would have suspected, if the orator had been a person unacquainted with India, that the argument had been borrowed or stolen from the West India Slave Owners, who are constantly raising this outcry against Parliamentary discussion. But with respect to the East Indies at least, we will venture to assert, that hardly one of the Hindoos who engage in perpetrating these horrid sacrifices know of the existence of the British Parliament, and are, at least, perfectly ignorant and indifferent as to what sentiments may be uttered there. For the victims themselves, it is well known that they can neither read nor write; yet we are asked to believe that these miserable slaves of a dark and bloody superstition court martyrdom, that they may have the honour of being talked of in a House nine or ten thousand miles off, and commiserated there by certain strange people of an impure race, and outcasts from the Hindoo faith.

(4) That they have nothing in their power, is proved by the fact, that Suttees are nowhere more frequent than just in the neighbourhood of the Head Missionary Establishment at Serampore!

(5) This miserable pun upon Scripture language, introduced to convert a serious subject into a jest, only excites a laugh, without one expression of censure, in that same assembly which enacts laws to punish Carile and others, for not reverencing the Scriptures.

Mr. HUME took the opportunity of stating that half measures had done much mischief, and he thought the authorities at home were much to blame in not forwarding instructions to the Governors for the purpose of putting a stop to the practice. From 1787 to 1820, he believed not one letter had been sent out to that effect. He hoped that some decisive, but, at the same time, cautious measures would be adopted.

Sir I. COFFIN thought the readiest way to lose possession of India, was to interfere with the prejudices of the people. (6)

After some observations from Mr. Hyde East, Mr. F. Buxton, Mr. Traut, and Mr. Money, the petition was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Tuesday, June 7.

IMPRISONMENT IN INDIA.

Mr. HUME said that he moved, two years ago, for returns of persons confined by the several Governments of India, without the form of trial, for reasons of state policy, or other pretences of the like nature. As the power of arbitrary imprisonment was in all countries to be watched jealously, so there were reasons which made it particularly desirable that there should be strict limits put to its exercise in India. The peculiar character of the country, and the defenceless state of people—their distance from the Supreme Government—everything tended to create objections to the exercise of

(6) Such an argument might be used for ever in defence of the burning of witches, or any other absurd practice founded on prejudice. But if the prohibition of infanticide did not endanger India, why should the interdiction of Suttees? In the former case, the mothers, when prevented from destroying their children, took them home again, rejoiced, like Abraham, at being relieved from the performance of so trying a sacrifice, and that their children had been preserved to them with a good conscience. In the same manner the few Hindoo families that burn, (very few in comparison with the whole population,) who think it a point of honour not to leave off an ancient religious custom, however abhorrent to their feelings, would be very glad to be relieved from so dreadful a trial; and if they had so excellent an excuse as that Government forbade it, they would sit down as usual, well content with what fate had decreed.

the power of imprisonment, without first instituting legal proceedings. He did not say that Europeans had often been imprisoned arbitrarily; but there could be no doubt that many Natives of high caste must have suffered under circumstances of hopelessness and solitude, appalling to the minds of enlightened Englishmen. At all events, if expediency required the possession of such a power, or policy called it into use, the greatest precautions would be necessary for its general control. He read an extract from the regulations or laws acted upon by the Government in India, which showed that any number of their many millions of Indian subjects may be deprived of their liberty, and thrown into a dungeon without any trial, without even cause assigned, and kept in hopeless confinement during life, without any intention being entertained of ordering any judicial investigation into their conduct, or allowing them an opportunity of vindicating their character, or proving their innocence.—The regulation referred to was—

Regulation 8th, passed by the Governor in Council, October 7, 1818 :

‘Whereas the ends of justice require that, when it may be determined that any person shall be placed under personal restraint, otherwise than in pursuance of some judicial proceeding, the ground of such determination should from time to time come under revision, and the person affected thereby should at all times be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Governor in Council, all circumstances relating either to the supposed grounds of such determination, or to the manner in which it may be executed.

‘First, When the reasons stated in the preamble of this regulation may seem to the Governor in Council to require that an individual should be placed under personal restraint, without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature, a warrant of commitment, under the authority of the Governor in Council, and under the hand of the chief secretary, or of one of the secretaries to Government, shall be issued to the officer in whose custody such person is to be placed.

‘Secondly, The warrant of commitment shall be in the following terms:—Whereas the Governor in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that ——— shall be placed under personal restraint at ———, you are hereby commanded and required, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into

your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor in Council, and the provisions of Regulation 8th of 1818.

‘Thirdly, The warrant of commitment shall be sufficient authority for the detention of any state prisoner in any fortress, gaol, or other place within the territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay.’ (7)

The hon. Member then concluded by moving for returns of all persons imprisoned by the Governors in Council of the several Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, without the institution of judicial proceedings, and without a verdict obtained against them; the time, place, and circumstances of imprisonment; the age, sex, and rank of the parties, &c.

Mr. WYNN agreed that arbitrary imprisonment ought to be rarely exercised, and that it should be carefully watched. But circumstances made it impossible to do without it in India. Individuals might, in consequence of wars with the Natives, be subjected to restraint or imprisonment, without reference to guilt or innocence. The sons of Tippoo Saib were under the strict observation of Government. He could easily conceive reasons which would make it indispensably necessary to restrain their liberty, though he was not aware of an offence which could be imputed to them; nor did he think they ought to be subjected to any harsh restraints unnecessary for security. He had no objection to the motion.

Sir C. FORBES thought that it would be more advisable for his hon. Friend to move for copies of the Memorials of persons suffering under arbitrary confinement. He was afraid that it was too common a case for the Governments there to keep back Memorials from the Directors, while the parties were languishing in hopeless confinement. One case he knew of. The Rajah of Anjipore had fallen under the suspicion of the local Government for no other apparent reason, but that he was beloved by his subjects. His aunt, more subservient to the British authorities, was put in his place. He had been in close confinement fifteen years. During that period he had remitted three Memorials. He (Sir C. Forbes) had seen the copy of one of them, and mentioned it to a Director, who assured him that no such paper had reached

(7) See Bengal Regulations of 1818, No. 59, and No. 59 of 1821, p. 81.

this country. He very much regretted the little attention which was given to India affairs in Parliament. The very mention of India, it had been said by a foreigner, was enough to clear the House. He regretted the doing away of that good old custom of bringing forward in every Session an Indian budget—a practice first discontinued when Lord Mulgrave was at the head of the Board of Control. The temptations to acts of tyranny would be much fewer, and the complaints of grievances would gradually cease altogether, because Parliament would find remedies for them all. He remembered what the right hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs had said upon those appeals. No doubt, considering how many complaints there were coming from every part of the Continent against the conduct of the Indian Government, the right hon. Gentleman on going out would have found it very convenient to carry a law in his pocket, to prevent them for the future.

Mr. CANNING denied the sentiment attributed to him of wishing to stop appeals from the conduct of the local to the Supreme Government. So far was that representation of what he had said from being correct, that it was nothing like true. It was, in fair interpretation, actually the reverse. Certain European bankers having made loans to the Native powers, which were expressly against the law, attempted to persuade the Supreme Government to interfere with those Native Princes to get back the money lent. In reference to these designs, he had expressed a wish that there should be a law passed to prevent any appeals to the Supreme Government on occasions of this kind, where the original transactions had been in contravention of the law. Nay, more, he would now say deliberately, and in the face of any East India loan contractor whatever, that all the opprobrium, all the scandal, all the shame and reproach which fell upon the British Government in the minds of the Natives, might be placed to these scandalous and unlawful loan transactions. (7) He

(7) It would then be placed very erroneously. It makes little difference to the Natives whether their money goes to Loan Contractors, or is taken from them by the East India Company; but the destruction of the Rohilla nation, and the plunder of the Begums of Oude, by Warren Hastings, Clive's treachery to Omichund, and fifty other things done

expressed his sincere wish that those loans might never be paid. If his voice could reach any of the Native Princes, from whom a single rupee was owing, he would raise it to caution him against the necessity of paying it, and to assure him that he was in no danger from the power of the Supreme Government. (8) And then to make such an attack upon him during his absence! He did not know to which of the hon. Gentlemen he was indebted for the compliment. They sat on different sides of the House; but so strong was their identity of feeling, if not of person, that they themselves were a little confounded by it. One hon. Gentleman did not know whether he himself, or the other hon. Gentleman, had a paper in his pocket. They were very like two gentlemen in the *Spectator*, who were so closely united, that they were thought to have between them only one opinion, one idea, one religion, and one hat. (*Much laughter.*)

Sir C. LORDES rose to observe, that the right hon. Gent. might rest assured he would never be found saying anything in his absence which he would not say in his presence. And he would tell him now to his face, what his friends would be very slow to do, however much they might both think and say it behind his back, that his wit was often misapplied, and did much injury to the cause it was meant to serve. In the field of wit he would not enter with the right hon. Gentleman, nor did he envy him that sort of talent, however admirable; but as to facts, he must remind him, (what it might be extremely convenient now to forget,) that he had said no more that night than he had done on a former occasion, in the right hon. Gentleman's pre-

by the Company, might be mentioned, infinitely more disgraceful than even the loan transactions of Paul Benfield.

(8) Suppose the Company has annihilated every other authority in the country where the loan was contracted, and with its sanction too, is it not its duty so far to discharge the functions of Government, as to compel the payment of just debts to which itself gave occasion, while it has left no other power to which recourse may be had? Is not the refusal to interfere in that case, a connivance with fraud—an encouragement to Native Princes to defraud their private creditors, that the more may remain in their treasuries for the Company ultimately to seize upon, as has usually happened on one pretence or another?

sence, and which he would now repeat, that if the right hon. Gentleman had gone out to India, he would have found it very convenient for his ease and comfort, on arriving there, to have taken that law, which he had proposed against appeals, out of his pocket. The right hon. Gentleman might, therefore, both have spared his ill-tempered wishes, and the thundering tone and violent manner in which he had expressed them. As to the loans made to Native Princes, it was easy to take for granted that Europeans were concerned in them, and made them through the agency of Native bankers, and, therefore, deny a right of appeal for recovery of the money, although, in point of fact, the transaction was purely native. On this subject, he would take the opportunity of solemnly declaring, that he had never in his life been concerned, directly or indirectly, in any such loan to the natives of India.

Mr. CANNING explained, and begged it might be recollected, that he had not been the first aggressor in this debate.

Mr. HUME said, that the assertions of the right hon. Gentleman were as opposite to the real state of the question, as the mode of advancing them was unwarrantable. In the course of his speech he had thought proper to assume, that the sort of appeals he wished to have a law to stifle, were appeals for support and protection from Government in committing illegal acts. Would the House really believe, that the right hon. Gent. thought such a law necessary? Could it be necessary for any purpose, but to prevent redress being sought by persons engaged in what was legal as the law now stood? On a former occasion, the right hon. Gentleman had listened to the same view of his conduct being taken in that House with silent acquiescence, yet he would now call it in question as if totally unfounded. At least this was his (Mr. H.'s) impression of what had before taken place; but of course when hon. Members disavow an intention, it is not for others to press the subject.

The motion was then carried without any opposition being offered.

INDO-BRITONS.

Mr. HUME had already called the attention of Parliament to the propriety of allowing that class of natives in India, who were called half-caste, to serve as jurymen. If the House would

only allow those memorials from the half-caste Natives to which he had referred to be produced, it would find that the Court of Directors, and the Government of Calcutta, had done every thing which was calculated to outrage and distress the feelings of the Indian people. He now begged to move "for copies of any memorials or representations that had been submitted to the Government of India by the Indo-Britons; the replies to their petitions; and of all correspondence relative thereto, between the Indian Government and the Court of Directors."

Mr. WYNN begged to state, that no such complaints, as those of which the hon. Member spoke, had been received since he had been in office.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. HUME then said, that at the time Lord Hastings was in India, his Lordship, taking into consideration the sufferings of this half-caste, did make a minute in Council, authorizing their nomination to certain local appointments in different parts of India. Since that time, this, like a great many other good orders, had been rescinded by the subsequent Government. He moved, and he should be surprised if his motion were objected to, "that there be laid before this House copies of the Marquis of Hastings's minute of Council in the year 1817, respecting the appointment of Indo-Britons to certain offices in India, and of any proceedings or correspondence thereon."

Mr. WYNN could find no such minute as the hon. Gentleman referred to; though he had discovered a document by which it appeared, that the half-caste Indians had been employed by our Government in India. The hon. Gentleman must be aware, that other matters were frequently mixed up with minutes of this kind, which it might be quite improper to publish.

Mr. HUME, to obviate the objection, would have shaped his motion to apply to such parts only of the minute as related to this subject; but as from what had dropped from Mr. Wynn, it appeared that the return would be a blank, the motion was not pressed.

THE REV. DR. BRYCE.

Mr. HUME next begged to call the attention of the House to the case of Dr. Bryce, who had been appointed Clerk to the Stationery Committee of the Bengal Government; and in respect of which the Ecclesiastical Synod of the Presbytery, to which he was attached,

were now discussing whether any Presbyterian clergyman could lawfully hold a plurality of offices of any sort. Mr. Buckingham, it seemed, having published some remarks on this Gentleman's appointment in his paper, which was widely circulated all over India, was on that account, and that account alone, banished from India; and another individual, for a similar offence, had been illegally imprisoned, whom it was understood that Lord Amherst had determined for several months to keep in confinement. Now, the Rev. Mr. Bryce, or Dr. Bryce, was an acknowledged writer (as we understood) in the *John Bull* in the East, the *John Bull* of India, (a laugh)—a twin brother of the *John Bull* of London. The Presbytery, at least, did consider that it was not for the honour and interest of the Scottish church, that this individual should continue a member of their body and in this office at the same time. But they could come to no decision without documental evidence of his appointment. And it seemed of great consequence, that the House and the country should have the opportunity of considering the conduct of Mr. Adam and Lord Amherst in single acts of this kind, by which alone we can appreciate the general merits of their government. He moved, therefore, "for a copy of the minute of the Supreme Council of Bengal, by which the Rev. Dr. Bryce was appointed Clerk of the Stationary Committee; and copies of any correspondence on the subject between the Directors and the Government of India."

Mr. WYNN conceived that the hon. Gentleman had failed to lay the slightest ground for the production of these papers. (*Hear.*) Dr. Bryce's appointment was disapproved of by his Majesty's Government in England as soon as it was known; and in consequence, orders had been despatched out to India to order it to be revoked. Some delay had intervened in the execution of those orders, and the Government here had sent second orders, the result of which was not yet known. (9)

(9) This shows that the Reverend Gentleman, who could not afford time for the Secretaryship of the Bible Society, which he therefore resigned, but accepted the Clerkship of a paper, pen and pounce Committee, with a salary of between 500*l.* and 600*l.* per annum—who, notwithstanding, went to law with a newspaper that called him a worldly priest, and sought fifty times greater

Sir C. FORBES thought it very extraordinary that the right hon. Gentleman should refuse the papers now called for. (*Cries of Question.*)

Mr. DENMAN could not conceive why the Government of India should refuse to do that which the right hon. Gentleman admitted to have been proper, and which was an order prompted by the Board of Directors here. It was, therefore, necessary the orders themselves should be produced, in order that it might be seen whether or not they were peremptory, or of a nature that might be evaded at pleasure.

On a division, there appeared for the motion 26; against it 74; majority 48.

Monday, June 13.

EAST INDIA JUDGES BILL.

On the motion of Mr. WYNN, the order of the day for the further consideration of the report on the above bill was read.

Mr. HUMPHREY then rose and spoke nearly as follows:—

I wish to propose some clauses for insertion in the present bill; and I trust that the House will indulge me for a few moments, whilst I state the objects which I have in view. At the present moment, the right of serving as jurymen on criminal trials in the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay is limited to British-born subjects. At Ceylon, however, Natives of all classes have been admitted to the privilege of sitting on juries; and great inconvenience is at this moment experienced in our Indian provinces, because a similar regulation is not adopted there. It is worthy of remark, that since courts martial were first established in India, all those courts have been composed of Natives, whether Musalmans or Hindoos. The service has sustained no injury on this account; on the contrary, discipline is as well maintained in the Indian army as it is in that of this country or any part of the world.

The courts martial which were lately held at Barrackpore for the trial of the mutineers were composed entirely of Natives. When I was in India I at-

damages than a Judge would give him—still so ardently clings to the leaves and fishes, that it requires two pulls of the Court of Directors, with the Board of Control and Ministers at its back, to drag the bait out of his mouth.

The Devil, grown wiser than in days of yore, now tempts by making rich, not making poor.

tended cohorts martial where the judge and the interpreters were the only Europeans present. This privilege of sitting on courts martial had been productive of great benefit; by imparting to the Natives a sense of their own consequence, and making them feel an interest in the service, which otherwise they would not possess. It was in 1810 that the Supreme Council issued an order to the Government of Ceylon, authorizing the supreme Court of judicature there to empanel juries of Natives as well as Europeans in criminal cases. In consequence of that order, the then Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnstone, issued a rule for summoning Natives to serve on juries; and I have the authority of Sir Alexander Johnstone, as well as of the Chief Justice who succeeded him, for stating, that the measure produced the most beneficial results, and occasioned an important change in the public feeling. One of the most important results which Sir Alexander Johnstone attributed to the measure was, that he was enabled within a year and a half after it came into operation, by the influence which it gave him over the minds of the Natives, to persuade such of them as were slave-owners, to adopt an important step towards emancipation. At his suggestion, they came to a resolution, that the children born of *slaves* should thenceforth be free. This important step never would have been taken, had it not been for the regulation permitting Natives to sit on juries, which elevated them and gave to them a higher tone of feeling than they had before possessed. (*Hear*). The case of Ceylon is one in point. I ask the House, to do with respect to our extensive empire of Hindoostan, what has been done at Ceylon.

There are a variety of classes of inhabitants subject to our rule in India. There are not only Hindoos and Europeans, but an intermediate class, similar to the people of colour in the West Indies, who are called half-castes or ludo-Britons. The latter class is as numerous as Europeans in the Presidencies, and comprises men of talent and ability, and of the best possible education, and as fit to sit on juries as two-thirds of the Europeans who enjoy that privilege. From the small number of Europeans at Calcutta, it is found necessary to empanel persons (Europeans) of all descriptions; and not unfrequently common sailors, who have not been twenty-four hours on shore, may be empanelled, to try a case

where the evidence proceeds entirely from Natives, and can only be communicated through the medium of an interpreter. The Natives and Indo-Britons, feeling themselves degraded by being precluded from sitting on juries, have petitioned to be admitted to a participation in that privilege. To accede to their wishes will be no more than an act of justice, and it will render them well-affected towards the Government. One of the absurdities of the present system is, that an European could not possess a single acre of land in India, but, nevertheless, enjoyed the privilege of sitting on juries; whilst the half-castes, persons born of a European father and Native mother, were allowed to possess land to any extent; at the same time that they were not permitted to serve on juries. (*Hear*.)

In 1816 a petition was sent to this country by the Natives, praying that they might be permitted to sit on juries. The authorities here, on considering the petition, were of opinion, that the supreme courts in the Presidencies already possessed the power of directing that Natives should serve on juries. In 1817, the Natives presented a memorial to the Supreme Court at Calcutta, in order to have the question settled. The Judge, on that occasion, declared that it was not in his power to direct Natives to sit on juries under the existing law, and that Parliament alone could grant them the privilege. I expected to have seen the hon. Member, who was lately Chief Justice, in his place, he would have been able to state to the House what had occurred on the occasion to which I allude.

At the present moment, when an important change is being effected with respect to juries in this country, by calling into action twice the number of individuals who ever were entitled to serve on juries before, it does appear to me that Parliament should not refuse to extend a similar advantage to India. If the Act of Parliament be not sufficiently clear,—if it admit of the interpretation which had been put on it in the Supreme Court, I call upon the House to remedy the defect, and to set the question at rest by adopting the clause which I intend to propose, authorizing the Judges of the Supreme Courts to summon juries of half-castes as well as Europeans, as has been done by his Majesty's letters patent, with respect to Sierra Leone. Such a measure will, I am convinced, be of great public advantage, and will

import considerable satisfaction to a large class of his Majesty's subjects in India. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Wynn) has seen the representation which was sent to this country by the Natives, I have no doubt that he found it worthy of his attention. On the 8th of Jan. 1822, an application was made to the Supreme Court at Calcutta to permit Natives to sit on juries. The Chief Justice said, that the Sheriff might summon them if he pleased. The Sheriff answered, that he could not do so unless he was instructed by the Judge. The Chief Justice then declared that he had no power to give such instructions, and there the matter ended.

It will be observed, that the Chief Justice made no objection to the proposition on the ground of any inconvenience that he expected to result from it, but merely stated that he had no authority on the subject. (*Hear.*) I call upon the House, then, to confer upon the Judge this authority. I expect no remedy from the East India Company. I declare that I never expect any measure, calculated to effect any improvement in India, to proceed from that Company. That Company are possessed of an immense monopoly, and hold the destinies of between seventy and eighty millions of people in their hands; but they use their power for no good purpose; and if the Board of Control continues to remain quiescent, it becomes the bounden duty of Parliament to interfere on the subject. When the charter shall expire, which I hope will never be renewed under any thing like a continuance of the present system, (*hear.*) what will be the objection to the adoption of a more liberal policy towards the natives of India?—That they are not prepared for such a change. Who, then, would be to blame for that, but Parliament, in refusing them the means of raising their character? I trust, therefore, that the House will agree to my proposition, which will have an extensive moral influence on the Native character. I think that the example of Ceylon is one that we should follow with respect to India, and that it is wise and expedient to give to natives of India the right of being summoned to sit on juries.

I have likewise another clause to propose, which relates to a very important subject. At present there is no trial by jury in our Indian Presidencies, in civil actions: all cases are

decided by a Judge. It often happens that the Company are a party in actions, either as plaintiffs or defendants, and that property to a great amount is at issue. In what an unfavourable situation are individuals placed who are opposed to the Company in these cases! They are dependent on a Judge who is dependent on the Company. I do not mean to say that the Judges in India are capable of acting improperly; I allude to no individuals in particular; it is the system of which I complain—a system which prevails in India, and not in England. I therefore propose, by a clause, to extend the trial by jury to civil actions, instead of leaving the power of decision in the hands of a Judge, who it is impossible, looking at the composition of society in India, should not be biased. (*Hear.*)

Of all countries in the world, India is that which has perhaps the best claim to the trial by jury; for, to a certain extent, it formed part of the old system of Native jurisprudence, under the name of punchayet, on the principle of arbitration. The number of individuals who compose the punchayet is not so large as that of our juries; but that, in my opinion, is of little importance. The trial by punchayet is, in fact, a trial by jury; and it is a benefit which should be extended throughout the Presidencies where the King's courts are established. If any thing is more important than another in trials respecting property, it is, that the parties with whom the decision rests should be acquainted with the language of the Natives; for there is not a trial takes place in which Natives are not examined as witnesses. At present, however, the Judge who is to decide a cause receives the evidence through the interpretation of another. I contend, therefore, that great inconvenience and the risk of injustice being done, would be avoided if Natives were admitted to sit on juries. The advantage which results from the presence of Natives has been fully exemplified by the system pursued with respect to courts martial; and indeed it must be evident that Natives, from their knowledge of the national language, manners, and customs, would be better able to sift and examine evidence than a Judge who is ignorant of those particulars. I could, if it were necessary, prove that Judges in India have frequently experienced the greatest difficulty in arriving at a proper knowledge of the evidence upon which they were to decide a case. I have the opinions

of several Judges who have been in India, that it is impossible for any persons but Natives to understand the evidence which is given in the courts.

I may be told that I should make the proposed change in the law the subject of a separate bill; but I answer, that it is to provide against the inconveniences which may arise between the end of the present and the beginning of next session that I propose the clauses. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite would pledge himself that he will, next session, bring in a bill, or even move for the appointment of a committee on the subject, I would not force the question on; but seeing no disposition on his part to make any concession, I feel it my bounden duty to propose the clauses which I have described. (*Hear.*) The first clause does not specify any time at which the change shall take place, but merely declares that the Judges shall have authority to direct Natives to be impanelled on juries under such regulations as may be thought advisable for the due administration of justice. I will conclude by moving, that the first clause be brought up.

Mr. WYNN.—If I object to the clause proposed by the hon. Member, it is not because I dislike it in itself, but because I disapprove of the manner in which it has been brought forward. It is not, in my opinion, proper that a clause so important in its nature should be brought up to be inserted in a bill with which it has no sort of connexion. Bills are passed through this House by different stages, in order to afford an opportunity for their being well investigated and understood; but that object would be defeated, if clauses, intended to effect the most important changes, were allowed to be introduced into a bill with which they had no possible connexion. With respect to the hon. Gentleman's first proposition, namely, that of enabling the half-castes and Natives to serve on juries, I am certainly inclined to believe that it would prove very advantageous. (*Hear, hear.*) The reason why I have not brought forward any measure for this purpose is, in the first place, that I have great doubt whether any measure is necessary on the subject. The hon. Member has alluded to a representation which has been made to the hon. authorities by the Natives. I have no knowledge on that subject. I understand, however, that such a representation was made; and that an answer

was returned, stating that Government had no doubt that Natives, lawfully born in wedlock, were entitled to be considered as British subjects, and had a right to enjoy all the privileges possessed by British subjects. For my own part, I am quite ready to say that I consider all persons born in Calcutta to be British subjects, and entitled to all the privileges which appertain to that character. They certainly would be so if they came over to this country; they might here serve on juries, sit in this House, and do any act which could be done by an Englishman. (*Hear.*) I can see no reason whatever why, if these persons can serve on juries in England, they should not do the same thing in India, subject to regulations which should provide for their being of sufficient intelligence. (*Hear.*) I have entertained some doubts, in consequence of the representations of persons well acquainted with the character and habits of the natives of India, as to whether those persons could be advantageously mixed with Europeans on juries. I was anxious to obtain information on this point, which I have been prevented from receiving by the unfortunate deaths of the two late Chief Justices, Blosset and Puller. I have no doubt, however, that I shall soon obtain the information which I desire; and then I may be able to meet the hon. Member's wishes on this point, if he will be content to wait.

With respect to the other proposal of the hon. Member, that of introducing trial by jury in civil cases, I am by no means prepared to accede to that. I doubt whether such a measure would be conducive to the due administration of justice, or is desired by those to whom it would apply. I have heard that in consequence of the limited nature of society in the Presidencies, it would be extremely difficult to procure a fair trial by jury in civil cases. There is hardly any person familiar with the practice of local jurisdiction of towns in this country, who does not know how strong prejudices ran, and that it was often found necessary to remove a trial to an adjoining county in consequence. Unfortunately there is no adjoining county to Calcutta, from which an impartial jury may be selected. I know it is the opinion of many Gentlemen who have been eminent in their profession, that the trial by jury in civil cases would be of benefit in India. It was the decided opinion of Sir Thomas Moore that the Native juries or the panchayet system should

he encouraged. That would be more agreeable to the natives of India than the English jury system. The Natives are extremely litigious, but their fondness for litigation is surpassed by their dread of the delay which was attendant on the English judicial system. (*Hear.*) I am desirous, whenever a fair opportunity occurs, to secure the jurisdiction of the panchayet to the whole of our Indian empire. The number of persons composing a jury is not in my opinion very material: a jury of five or seven will come to as proper a decision as a jury of twelve. Englishmen are very naturally proud of their own institutions, and are apt to believe, that that which was best for England must be best for any other country in the world; but I would rather obtain the object of the institution of trial by jury under the name of the pauchayet, a system which was known to the forefathers of the Natives, than under a form and name which would be new to them. (*Hear.*) For the reasons which I have stated, I feel it necessary to oppose the insertion of the clauses proposed by the hon. Member; but I have no objection to have it understood, that I will next session introduce a measure to effect the object of the first resolution.

Sir C. FORBES next addressed the House, but in so low a tone of voice as rendered the greater part of his speech inaudible in the gallery. He spoke for some time, but we were only able to catch the following detached sentences in his speech. He thought that the clauses proposed by the honourable Member for Montrose were well deserving the attention of the House. As it had long been the practice to try the offences of our Native sepoys by courts-martial formed out of their own Native officers, he did not think that any harm would arise from giving to the Natives, under certain regulations, the power of determining law-suits regarding property by means of juries formed out of their own countrymen. The hon. Member informed the House that he himself had sat on juries with natives of India. It was at that time the ordinary practice, in the Mayor's Court at Bombay, for Natives, as well as Europeans, to be impanelled, and it answered extremely well; but this practice, he regretted to say, had since been discontinued,—he did not know why or for what reason; and he sincerely hoped it would be revived. He had never supposed that a question could

arise as to the right of the natives of India, born of European parents, either under the British flag, or in provinces ceded to it, to participate in all the privileges of British-born subjects; but as a doubt seemed to have arisen as to the validity of that right, he was glad to have seen it dissipated for ever by the candid declaration of the right hon. the President of the Board of Control. He was sorry, however, to say, that the right of the Native sailors to participate in the privileges of British sailors had been taken away from them in a most unjustifiable manner by an act of the last session, which had been carried by a majority of forty-two over nine Members. He trusted that the right hon. the President of the Board of Control would, before the commencement of the next session of Parliament, take the whole of these regulations into his most serious consideration; they well deserved such consideration; and nothing but good could spring out of any attention he might bestow upon them. In conclusion, he made some observations on the salary granted to the Bishop of Calcutta. It was nominally 5000*l.* a year; but it was paid in a species of coin, which very considerably diminished its real amount. Now 5200*l.* a year did not appear to him a larger income than the Bishop of Calcutta ought to enjoy; he, therefore, suggested the propriety of entering into some arrangement which would make the Bishop's real income amount to its full nominal value, to which he could assure the House it did not amount at the present moment.

Mr. W. SMITH.—It is not my intention to detain the House long upon this question, because, to say the plain truth, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of India to be qualified to interfere with it. The same reasons, however, which led me to say a few words the other night with regard to the abominable sacrifice of suttee, now lead me to say a few words upon the matter which is at present under the consideration of the House. I said on a former occasion, that it was my opinion, that any decisive declaration of the sentiments of this House in reprobation of the continuance of the practice of suttee, would put a more effectual stop to it than any positive enactment of the legislature; and I now say, that a declaration of the Members with regard to the right of native Hindians, especially of the half-castes, as they are called, to sit upon juries, will be almost as effectual in giving

them, that right as any legislative provision for that purpose. My right hon. friend opposite, the President of the Board of Control, has given what he conceives to be a strong reason, why this clause should not be adopted at present. He says that we ought not to agree to it now, because there can only be one other occasion in the present bill on which we could debate it. Now this argument appears to me to be undeserving the weight which my right hon. friend attaches to it. I consider the matter, which my hon. friend the Member for Montrose has this evening laid before us, to be of great, nay, of the very first importance, for it appears, that we have now a half-caste, forming an intermediate link between the Europeans of India and the millions of Native subjects over whom they exercise all the rights of supreme dominion. The more we encourage that caste, the more we multiply those links which connect the conquered with the conquerors, the better will it be for all parties, and the more safe for the interests of England in India. (*Hear, from Mr. C. Wynn.*) I think that my right hon. friend opposite is of the same opinion as I am upon this part of the subject, and I shall be glad to hear from him any thing which I can construe into a hint of his intention to take it up fully in the next session of Parliament. If the law be, as we have heard it stated, that all persons born in India are competent to sit upon juries, all that is wanted is a declaratory law to that effect. The promulgation of such being the opinion of the right hon. the President of the Board of Control will, I have little doubt, produce the effect we all desire; but I am anxious that there should be no doubt at all left upon the point; I am anxious that if we produce the effect at all, we should produce it most fully and unequivocally. I therefore trust, that my right hon. friend will, at a very early period in the next session, look into this business, and that he will favour the House and the country with some measure, which shall clearly define and determine the rights of all classes of his Majesty's subjects born under the protection of his flag in India. As to the other alterations which my hon. friend the Member for Montrose has this evening proposed, I shall not venture to give any decided opinion; they would on the very face of them, demand much investigation both at home and in India; and with the scanty knowledge I possess upon the *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 6.

subject, it would ill become me to say to what conclusion that investigation must lead. With regard, however, to the right of the half-castes to serve upon juries, I must say, that it appears to me to be of the highest consequence that it should be clearly admitted; and it was on that account I heard with so much pleasure the candid admission which fell from the lips of my right hon. Friend opposite. (*Hear.*)

Mr. TRANT.—I have but a few words, Mr. Speaker, to say upon this question. I heard with extreme pleasure what fell from the right hon. Gentleman who so worthily fills the office of President of the Board of Control, in answer to the observations of the hon. member for Montrose. As it was my fortune to be resident for a long series of years at Calcutta, I feel myself competent to speak to the respectability of the half-castes of that place. I think they are fully qualified to discharge all the duties of jurymen, not only with credit to themselves, but also with benefit to the community. I should not have trespassed further upon your attention at present, had not the right hon. the President of the Board of Control, and also the hon. member for Montrose, both said something about the panchayet, and also about the system which Sir Thomas Munro introduced, whilst he was Governor of the Presidency at Madras. As that system has been mentioned, I beg leave to read to the House a few passages from a work which has been published by Mr. Tucker, in which he quotes the opinion of Mr. Fullerton upon it, who was member of the Council at Madras, when Sir T. Munro was Governor, and who is now himself Governor of the settlement which we have in Prince of Wales's Island. That gentleman uses the following language:—

To convey to the mind of an English reader even a slight impression of the nature, operation, and result of the ryotwar system of revenue, connected with the judicial arrangements of 1816, must be a matter of some difficulty. Let him, in the first place, imagine the whole lauded interest, that is, all the landlords of Great Britain, and even their capital farmers, at once swept away from off the face of the earth;—let him imagine a cess or rent fixed on every field in the kingdom, seldom under, generally above, its means of payment;—let him imagine the land, so assessed, lotted out to the villagers, according to the number of their cattle and ploughs, to the extent of fifty or fifty acres each;—let him imagine the revenue rated as above, divisible through-

the agency of a hundred thousand revenue officers, collected or remitted at their discretion, according to their idea of the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land or his separate property. And, in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually free himself from extra demand,—let him imagine all the cultivators of a village liable, at all times, to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of their parish;—let him imagine collectors to every county, acting under the orders of a Board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labour, by a general equalization of assessment, seizing and sending back runaways to each other;—and, lastly, let him imagine the collector, the sole magistrate or justice of peace of the county, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone any criminal complaint of personal grievance, suffered by the subject, can reach the superior courts;—let him imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer employed in the collection of the land-revenue to be a police officer, vested with power to fine, confine, put in the stocks, and flog any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence on the case. If the reader can bring his mind to contemplate such a course, he may then form some judgment of the civil administration in progress of re-introduction into the territories under the Presidency of Madras, containing 125,000 square miles, and a population of twelve millions.

To this passage, Mr. Fullerton has attached a note, stating, that Mr. Hodgson his colleague in the Council, had formed a similar opinion on the subject, and would have signed the minute, had he not been absent from home when Mr. Fullerton called upon him. I have read this passage, in order that both the right hon. President of the Board of Control, and the hon. Member of Montrose may know, that such an opinion does exist as to the efficacy of the system of Sir T. Munro; and I trust that it will not escape the observation of the right hon. Gentleman near me, when he is considering the measure which he has this night hinted he may hereafter introduce to the notice of Parliament. Before I sit down, I would wish to ask a question of the hon. Member for Montrose. In the year 1819, the hon. Member moved for the production of a variety of returns relative to the administration of justice in India; the returns were ordered, and they have produced a collection of

papers, which I consider extremely valuable. The hon. Member stated at the time, that when those papers were laid upon the table, he should move that they be referred to the consideration of a Committee, to determine, whether any and what improvements could be made in our judicial system in India. I hope that he has not given up the intention which he then entertained; I hope that he will not shrink from the task which he then undertook; I recommend it to his notice as a subject which well deserves it. If, however, he has abandoned it, I beg leave to say, that, if I am a Member of Parliament next year, and the right hon. Gentleman near me (Mr. C. Wynn) has not before that time laid before us some measure which will render it unnecessary, I will myself bring forward some motion on the subject.

MR. HUME.—Permit me, Sir, to say a word or two in reply to certain observations which have been made in the course of the debate. I think that I cannot be justly accused of a wish to hurry these clauses unfairly through the House, when it is recollected that the effect of them, and my intention to move them, has been known to hon. Members for the last three weeks; nor can I be justly accused of a wish to impede the progress of this bill, when it is recollected that I allowed it to be committed, at a very late hour, without any opposition. (*Hear, from Mr. C. Wynn.*) With regard to the question which has just been put to me by the hon. Member opposite, I beg to answer, that I have no intention to abandon the object which I professed myself to have in view, when I moved for the papers to which he has alluded. With regard to the proposition now before the House, I beg to say, that as the right hon. Gentleman opposite seems seriously to wish for some improvement in the present system, I shall not press it to a division, if I can get it accomplished in any other way. I will, therefore, take time to consider, whether it may not be better for me to bring in a short bill now, explanatory of my objects, and then leave the matter to stand over till the ensuing session.

The clause was then, by leave of the House, withdrawn. The report was received. The bill, with the amendments made by the Committee, was ordered to be engrossed, and to be read a third time on Wednesday se'nnight; when it was so read accordingly, and passed.

The following are the clauses proposed by Mr. Hume:—

1. Whereas, it is deemed expedient and beneficial, that trial by jury in civil cases should be introduced into the practice of his Majesty's Supreme Courts in India on the plea side, subject to such modifications as the state of the British settlements in India may require, Be it therefore further enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Supreme Courts at the several presidencies of India, and they are hereby required, in all pleas and issues and civil cases (wherein either of the parties to a suit or action, or to an issue sent down from the equity side of the Court, shall desire that the same may be tried by a jury,) to direct the High Sheriff to summon a jury according to the rules, regulations, and in the same manner, as in cases of trials by indictments or informations, on the crown side of the said Supreme Courts; provided also, that such jury, when so summoned, shall be guided and governed in all its proceedings in the same manner, and with the same privileges and functions, as are exercised or enjoyed by all juries in civil cases and pleas in any of his Majesty's Courts of record at Westminster, or in such form and manner as may be deemed by the Supreme Court at each such presidency or settlement applicable to the local circumstances of the country, and consistent with the religious feelings of the people: And each Supreme Court is hereby required to make such rules and orders as may appear to them proper and suitable, subject to confirmation by his Majesty in England; but all such rules and orders to be made, shall remain in force, unless repealed by orders from England.

2. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the said Courts, upon application made to them for that purpose, by motion or otherwise, as they may direct, to grant special juries in any cases civil or criminal, which may be brought before them, such jurors to be taken by lot, to the number of twenty-four, from the grand jury roll, and each party allowed to challenge such list of twenty-four persons when so nominated alternately, until such list shall be reduced to twelve names. The priority of right to challenge being decided for the agent for each party drawing lots for the same, which remaining twelve persons shall be summoned according to the directions herein before contained, and in all cases of non-attendance, every such person so neglecting or refusing to appear, unless such neglect or refusal be accounted for to the satisfaction of the Court, shall be fined to any sum the Court may direct; and in every such case it shall and may

be lawful for either of the said parties to pray a tale.

3. Whereas, doubts have arisen respecting the competency of other than European born subjects of the King to serve on Juries in India, and whereas it is expedient gradually to elevate and improve the condition, and add to the respectability of his Majesty's loyal and faithful Native Indian subjects of all classes, Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for the several High Sheriffs of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Singapore, and Prince of Wales' Island, or their under Sheriffs, to enrol and summon to serve on grand and petit and special juries, according to their several qualifications, all subjects of our Lord the King born under the British flag, or the subjects of states conquered by the British arms, or ceded thereto—such last having taken the oath of allegiance to the King; also such other Indian subjects of his Majesty, whether born under his flag or in a conquered or ceded country, (having taken the oath of allegiance before a magistrate or the sheriff) as shall desire to serve the office of grand or petit or special juries, being duly qualified to execute the said several offices, and shall be willing to take the oaths of jurors, according to the forms of their respective religions, and according to the regulations enacted, or to be enacted, by the several supreme Courts for the formation of juries, as required by this Act to be made.

4. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in all cases wherein the said Sheriff shall have refused to enter any person herein before described, being an Indian born subject, upon the books or rolls of grand or petit jurors, it shall and may be lawful for every such person thinking himself aggrieved thereat, to move the Court, or a judge in chambers. That such sheriff may be called upon to show cause why he refused or neglected to enter such person on the books or roll of such grand or petit jurors, and after hearing the same, which such Court or judge are hereby authorized and required to do, such Court or judge, as the case may be, shall, if they shall see fit, make a summary order for the enrollment of any such person so complaining, or such books or lists as aforesaid.

5. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That in all cases, civil or criminal, it shall be competent to the sheriff, or, failing him, to the Court, (upon motion made,) to direct juries to be summoned, for trials civil or criminal, composed in such proportions and of such castes or descriptions, European or Native, wholly or partially, as may seem best suited to the ends of justice in each

case. Provided, nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the sheriff or the Court from ordering and summoning foreign Europeans and Americans to serve on juries conjointly with

subjects of the King, in matters where foreigners are parties, and would be entitled in England to juries in similar cases; such foreigners not to be required to take any oath of allegiance.

House of Lords, Friday, June 17, 1825.

LOANS IN INDIA.

The MARQUIS OF HASTINGS rose, in pursuance of the notice he gave yesterday, to introduce a bill to explain the clause of the Act of the 13th Geo. III., which had been supposed to limit the rate of interest on loans made in India to 12 per cent. The noble Marquis spoke in so low a tone of voice that it was very difficult to collect even a small part of what he said. We understood him to object, in the first place, to the opinion given by the law officers of the Crown on the construction of the clause of this Act. He paid the greatest deference to the opinion of those officers, but he must be allowed to dissent from it when he found it in contradiction with the system which had been acted on for half a century in India. It surely could never be maintained that the simple opinion of counsel, however respectable, should supersede so long a practice. This, it was true, was not likely to happen now; but there had been bad times, and bad times might return; but their Lordships should be careful not to establish such a precedent. The opinion given purported that the clause in question extended to the whole of India—even to powers totally independent of the East India Company, than which nothing could be more unjust, when it was considered what the practice had been. The preamble of the Act showed what the meaning of the clause was. It was made penal to take a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent., because, under the plea of interest, presents had sometimes been corruptly taken; but the framers of the bill never dreamed that they were competent to restrain British subjects from taking any rate of interest in the dominions of a sovereign independent prince, over whose states they had no authority. If this could be supposed, the greatest confusion and inconsistency would appear in the subsequent practice of the Government of India. How could acts done in foreign independent states be made prosecutable and recoverable in his Majesty's courts in India? This would be to suppose that a penalty was enacted which these courts had not the means of inflicting.

The noble Marquis then proceeded to show that the construction put upon the Act of Parliament by the law-officers of the Crown was inconsistent with regulations which had been subsequently made by the Supreme Government of India. These regulations had the force of law. They were not issued until after they had been registered in the Supreme Court of Justice, and they were annually laid before Parliament. These regulations had sanctioned the lending of money at a much higher rate of interest than 12 per cent. A regulation was promulgated in 1793, authorizing the recovery of interest at 24 and 37 per cent. Another regulation, made in 1803, extended the rate of interest to 30 per cent. These regulations, and the practice which had been constantly followed, clearly showed that the Court of Directors and the Government of India had never understood the Act to put any limit to the rate of interest, with respect to contracts made by British subjects domiciled in the territory of a foreign prince. On these grounds he submitted to their Lordships' consideration a bill to amend and explain the Act of the 13th of George III. After the first reading, he should move that the opinion of the Judges be taken to ascertain whether the bill he now introduced clearly and effectually explained what ought to be the meaning of the clauses of the Act relating to the rate of interest.

The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed; after which the noble Marquis gave notice that he would move the second reading on Monday, if the printed copies were then on the table.

Wednesday, June 22.

THE INDIAN INTEREST BILL.

The MARQUIS OF HASTINGS now moved the Order of the Day for the second reading of the Bill for removing the doubts entertained with respect to the 30th clause in the 13th of Geo. III.—He stated, that when he last addressed their Lordships, it might be recollected that he expressed his wish to benefit by the opinion of the learned Judges, as to the provision of

the bill he submitted to the House. Seeing those learned persons now present in the House (the Judges had entered at five minutes before five) he should recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the statements he had urged. The object of the present bill was to define the rate of interest to be taken on money lent in India, so as to prevent all future misunderstanding, if possible, on this subject. No further back than the year 1802, the then Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, gave an opinion which questioned the practice till that time pursued by the Government in India, with regard to the limitations on the interest to be derived on the lending of money there. It was necessary that it should, therefore, be declared; and the present Bill so declared that the 30th clause of the Act of the late King, respecting the rate of interest, did not, and could not, extend in its application to persons who were domiciliated in the territory of any Native or independent Prince in India. Both those great law officers to whom he had referred, must have taken a very narrow view of the limitation clause; but they were under the necessity of extracting something from it, and this consideration might account for the complexion they happened to give it. Had they looked to former Acts of Parliament with reference to India, it must have been perceived, he thought, that the term "East India," though in itself most comprehensive, was confined, in the contemplation of the British Parliament, to the possessions or territory of the East India Company in India; and he held it to be impossible that the Legislature, in all its provisions for India, could have contemplated it in any other view. Here, also, the penalties were confined to the very place or places where the offence had been committed; and was it rational to inflict the punishment where the transgression could not even be tried? How was the penalty to be levied as it affected the domiciles of independent states? The difficulty in one respect might easily be solved. The first Governments which had been formed in India paid regard to their own interests, so that money was lent at rather an exorbitant rate, no matter to what party, and therefore the 30th section of Geo. III. was intended to restrict such a misapplication of money when convertible to our *Natives* uses. This might explain the

meaning of the section in question; and if it did explain that section, it also did away with the legal opinions which had questioned the construction put upon the Act by the Government of India. Thus again, by an Act of the 37th of the late King, sustaining the spirit of the 13th, all dealings were prohibited with the Native Princes, not sanctioned by the Government of India, or to the benefit of states not in alliance with us. If the legal construction put upon the 13th of Geo. III. were valid, then the 37th of the same King was merely a dead letter; and further, it prevented that interest on the lending of money which was calculated on the life interest of the borrower, whose debts were never paid after death. It was upon these grounds that he had conceived it necessary to bring forward the present Bill; but if it were possible to induce their Lordships to pass it upon his authority, he would not consent to it. It would, in such an event, be unsatisfactory to himself; for where such conflicting opinions had prevailed, his first wish was for information. It was happy for their Lordships—it was happy for our interests in India, that information could be obtained from indubitable sources, and at hand.

The motion was here put, that the Bill be now read a second time, and it was accordingly so read.

The noble Mover then proposed this question for the consideration of the learned Judges—Whether the provisions of the Bill did truly set forth the intent and meaning of section 30th of the Act of the 13th of the late King?

The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN thought that the propounding of his noble Friend's question should have preceded the second reading of the Bill. By that measure, their Lordships now stood pledged to the principle of the Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR could not but coincide in opinion with the noble Lord. But the Bill had actually been read a second time, and the step was irrevocable; and the only way that remained for their Lordships was, to enter a notice of caution on their Journals, that the present case should not hereafter be drawn into a precedent for altering the practice of the House.

The question was then handed to the learned Judges, who, after a short colloquy with the Lord Chancellor, took time to consider it.

PETITION OF JOHN GARNALL, OF THE CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE.

Presented to the House of Commons on the 27th May, 1825.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of John Garnall, of Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, mariner, sheweth,

That your petitioner having many years commanded ships in the merchant service, had retired to the Cape, where he purchased an estate about eight miles from Cape Town, and was residing on such estate, when, as a witness for the defendant in a criminal prosecution for libel, (his Majesty's Fiscal against Lammecot Cook, Esq.), he became acquainted with Mr. William Edwards, the notary who conducted the defence, and was induced, from the celebrity he thereby acquired, to place the conduct of some legal business in his hands, which your petitioner avers was the origin and sole motive of his acquaintance with the said William Edwards.

That on occasion of the said William Edwards proceeding, on the morning of the 17th of September last, from Cape Town, to embark on board a convict ship in Simon's Bay, bound to Port Jackson, under sentence of seven years' transportation for having addressed a letter to his Excellency the Governor, the said William Edwards, accompanied by a police-officer, called in his way at your petitioner's house, and requested, under the plea of sickness, to be allowed to rest himself. That your petitioner complied with his request, and at his solicitation for refreshment, invited him to breakfast.

That the said William Edwards, still complaining of increased indisposition, retired with a very ordinary excuse from the parlour, closely followed by the police-officer; and that the latter returned, after the lapse of fifteen or twenty minutes, and announced to your petitioner that the prisoner had escaped.

That your petitioner most solemnly declares his utter ignorance of any meditated intention or plan on the part of the said William Edwards to effect his escape; that he neither received token or communication from him, or held any conversation with him while at your petitioner's house, but in presence of, and audible to, the officer; and that the circumstance of the said William Edwards having rescued the same officer from drowning at the risk of his life, when the boat which conveyed him from Robbin Island to Cape Town was swamped

at midnight upon the rocks, thus affording ample opportunity for escape, was in itself sufficient evidence that he entertained no premeditated intention of the kind.

That your petitioner, on the news of this escape reaching Cape Town, was forthwith seized by his Majesty's Fiscal, and dragged from his house without the production of any warrant, and conveyed under a strong escort to the gaol at Cape Town, where he was confined in a solitary cell of about ten feet by twelve within, from the 17th of September to the 24th of December, with no other bedstead or bedding allowed him for the first two nights but the stretcher and mattress on which the dead are laid out in the prison, both swarming with vermin.

That though afflicted with fits at the time, he had neither medicines or other aid for some days, nor the means of common cleanliness furnished him; that for the first ten days he was not allowed to be even shaved; and that nearly a fortnight had elapsed before his cell-door was permitted to be left open during the day for the admission of fresh air.

That throughout the greater part of your petitioner's imprisonment, he was kept in solitary confinement, and debarred from any intercourse with his wife or friends, deprived of every comfort, refused the refreshment of wine or spirits, incessantly annoyed by petty vexations quite unnecessary to his security, frequently deprived of water, and disturbed, with scarcely an exception, every morning of this long period, by the rattling of chains, and the dreadful yells of slaves suffering under the lash.

That your petitioner was at length brought to trial before two Commissioners of the Court of Justice, on a charge of having aided in the escape of William Edwards, and upon the single testimony of a Hottentot girl in your petitioner's service, named Lyuge, who has since confessed that her evidence was all previously dictated to her by one of the Fiscal's men, and her obedience exacted under the threat of a severe flogging, he was sentenced to a fine of fifty six dollars, and one year's banishment from the colony.

That his Majesty's Fiscal, not satisfied with the severity of this sentence, appealed from it to the full Court, when your petitioner was again brought to trial and sentenced to five years' transportation to New South Wales, his Ma-

jesty's Fiscal having declared to your petitioner on his first preparatory examination, that he would now pay him off an "old grudge" he had long owed him, and Mr. Cloete, the advocate, having directly stated to him that the Court was no more justified in passing such a sentence upon him, than upon himself, (Mr. Cloete,) and that it was manifestly done with the sole view of pleasing Lord Charles Somerset.

That on his Excellency the Governor being pleased to commute the sentence from transportation to banishment, your petitioner's application for enlargement, to prepare for his voyage to England, was only consented to on the condition of his depositing two thousand rix dollars, and finding two personal securities that he should appear and report himself every morning by eight o'clock at the Town Hall, under penalty of forfeiture and prise de corps, which money, contrary to every dictate of reason and good faith, was most arbitrarily withheld after the period of his embarkation.

That during your petitioner's captivity, the said William Edwards took shelter upon his premises, where he was ultimately retaken and secured, but wholly without the privity or cognizance of your petitioner; and that the police-officers and soldiers, while in the possession of his house, broke down the railings, took up the posts, with a quantity of other wood, and burnt it for the purpose of cooking for about forty or fifty soldiers, constables and police-officers, &c., and got into his stores and cellars, and consumed all his wines, spirits, and candles, &c.

That if it were admitted that your petitioner's sentence had been founded on unquestionable evidence of his having aided in, and abetted the escape of the said Wm. Edwards, which was not the case, it would, nevertheless, be altogether unwarrantable, inasmuch as the conviction of the said Wm. Edwards was notoriously illegal, while your petitioner was absolutely brought to trial, in contravention of the thirty-third article of the second section of Crown trials, the code by which criminal proceedings at the Cape are regulated.

That by such arbitrary proceedings your petitioner was compelled to direct

the sale of his property, to liquidate the charges on his trial and other contingent expenses, and for his passage to Europe. And your petitioner further states, that the proceeds of that sale were seized by order of the Government, and to this moment your petitioner is ignorant whether they have been given up; and that he finds himself in consequence bereft of means of support, and reduced to poverty and indigence, from affluence acquired by many years' industry.

That the power assumed by his Majesty's Fiscal, at the Cape of Good Hope, is of a magnitude terrible to civil liberty and the possession of property, and such as must blast every honest and independent man's prospects, if he is so unfortunate as to incur the displeasure of the Governor, or any of his dependents.

That charges of favouritism, partiality, and corruption, in the whole judicial body at the Cape, are general and notorious as the sun at noon-day; and that it is the current opinion of the colonists, that his Excellency the Governor, through the instrumentality of the Fiscal, can impose what fine, penalty, or punishment he pleases to inflict upon, or, in fact, ruin the health and property of any of the colonists who should unfortunately become obnoxious to him. Your petitioner humbly submits that such a condition of Government loudly demands the interposition of your hon. House.

That as the Court refused to give your petitioner, although frequently requested by him and by his Law agent, any certificate of the proceedings of the Court, he can only refer to the diary of your petitioner as follows, and which will more fully illustrate the nature of the grievance set forth; and particularly explains his sufferings in that cell, and the prison discipline of slaves and Hottentots at the Cape. And your petitioner, therefore, humbly but confidently submits his case to the consideration of your hon. House.

Your petitioner, therefore, prays, that your hon. House will institute an inquiry into the merits of his allegations, and afford your petitioner such redress as your hon. House in its wisdom may deem proper.

And your petitioner, &c.

**PETITION OF MR. BISHOP BURNETT, OF THE CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE.**

Presented to the House of Commons on the 16th of June, 1825.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled:

The Petition of Bishop Burnett, of the Cape of Good Hope, Gent.

Most respectfully sheweth—That your petitioner in the year 1820 was induced to embark considerable capital in an agricultural undertaking in the district of Albany, Cape of Good Hope, the progress of which undertaking was greatly impeded by the colonial authorities refusing him that assistance so liberally extended to the emigrants then locating in the district, contrary to the express assurances of the Under Colonial Secretary, that your petitioner should receive the utmost assistance in the event of his not burdening the Government with the expense of transporting a party of settlers in aid of his undertaking.

That after an expenditure of more than 20,000 rix dollars, during your petitioner's first year's enterprise, upon a farm hired of one Robert Hart, for the cultivation of green forage, expressly at the suggestion of Lieut.-Col. Somerset, from whence his first year's returns had been estimated from 7,000 to 10,000 dollars, his enterprise was utterly frustrated by partiality in the Commissariat by preference to the military growers of forage, and by trespasses of the Cape Colonial Cavalry.

That your petitioner had then recently been the accidental medium of vindicating the character of Captain Stackenström, Landdrost, of Graaff Reinet, from aspersion, and rescuing him from a conspiracy, the aim of which was to degrade him in his regiment, and displace him from the magistracy, as a reference to the proceedings of a Court of Inquiry held at that period upon the conduct of Captain Stackenström will clearly establish; and that your petitioner, in consequence of this occurrence, became forthwith obnoxious to the Colonial Government.

That before the expiration of the above stated period, the said Robert Hart commenced proceedings at law against your petitioner for the recovery of 900 rix dollars, a balance of account, (although your petitioner had expended so much money upon his premises,) and proceeded, through forms of law with which your petitioner was totally unacquainted, to judgment. Notwithstanding your petitioner had rendered a *bond fide* claim upon the Commissariat for forage sup-

plied the Cape Cavalry, and thus recognised by its commander Captain Somerset, in liquidation of this judgment, it was immediately followed up by a publication of his insolvency, and the whole of his property was forthwith advertised for sale.

That the sale was nevertheless as arbitrarily suspended by the Colonial Government, as it had been illegally threatened, and that in spite of every remonstrance on the subject on the part of your petitioner, the proceedings in this instance were left in complete abeyance for a period of two years, notwithstanding the public judicial declaration of a Commission of Circuit about the middle of that period, that these proceedings were in error, and that your petitioner was not insolvent.

That with a view to compel something like decision on the part of the Colonial Government, your petitioner, on the arrival of the ensuing Commission of Circuit, instituted proceedings both against Robert Hart and the Public Sequestrator for their illegal and oppressive conduct in this particular, justifying his process more especially from the public declaration of the preceding commission, that these proceedings were altogether illegal and vexatious.

That your petitioner was universally considered an aggrieved and persecuted man, whom the Colonial Government had determined to crush; but that the flagrancy of its injustice had attained such a degree of notoriety, that the arrival of the last Commission of Circuit was hailed by the whole independent population of the district as the certain period of his triumph—from its fears of a rigid scrutiny by the Commissioners of Inquiry, if not from its judicial integrity. That the proceedings of this Commission were nevertheless a departure from the dictates of common sense as well as justice, and so palpably partial and corrupt, as to occasion general astonishment and disgust throughout the district, and a current opinion that the decisions of this Commission were dictated by the Colonial Government prior to the investigation of their relative cases.

That such intolerable oppression, involving no less an issue than the utter demolition of your petitioner's prospects in the colony, induced him, from imperative duty to himself and the public, to represent his case in a memorial to his Excellency the Governor, with a *bond fide* view of obtaining inquiry and

redress—a proceeding warranted by the laws of all civilized States, and especially justified by those of his native country.

That his Excellency, altogether slighting the prayer of your petitioner's memorial, or instituting any inquiry into the merits of the charges he had adduced against the Commissioners, placed it forthwith in the hands of his Majesty's Fiscal, with orders to commence criminal proceedings thereon; and a prosecution for libel was begun accordingly. That as no *lex loci* was applicable to your petitioner's case, no English statute or Dutch decree, nor even summary enactment of a Cape proclamation, his Majesty's Fiscal obtained his conviction upon his own unwarranted assumption of Roman practice, both contrary to the laws of the ten tables, of the Pandects of Justinian, the acknowledged bases of that code by which the Batavian republic and its provinces had hitherto been governed, and your petitioner was sentenced to five years' banishment from the colony.

That during the course of this prosecution, which was vexatiously protracted by the illegal retention of papers necessary to your petitioner's defence, his house was invaded by his Majesty's Fiscal, and attendants, under the sanction of his Excellency's warrant, and his papers seized for the avowed purpose of implicating him in the promulgation of a charge against his Excellency, of having committed an unspeakable atrocity with his reputed son, the physician to his household,—a proceeding as unjustifiable as the grounds of it were visionary, no doubt now existing in the minds of the Cape Town colonists that it was prepared, advised, and withdrawn, in a desperate exigence of his Excellency's unpopularity, by a person named Jones, but better known by the appellation of Oliver the spy.

That, contrary to your petitioner's sentence, he was left at large subsequent to his conviction, and that while engaged in preparations for his return to England, necessarily unaccompanied by his family, and still appellant in nine cases before the court of justice, his house was again beset, and his papers seized by the Fiscal, without the exhibition of any charge, or upon any other authority than his Excellency's caprice; and though entirely innocent of any offence against the Colonial Government collectively, or any member comprising it, he was compelled, from the alarming suggestions of his friends, to seek concealment, and withdraw himself from the further persecution of his Excellency. Through the instrumentality of the Chief Justice and the Fiscal he ultimately embarked, and on the 22d of last December quitted the colony.

It will be apparent, that in presenting such a statement of grievances to your

hon. House, through the vehicle of a petition, your petitioner must necessarily be restricted to a very imperfect development of four years' unceasing injustice and persecution; but he is fully prepared to substantiate every allegation he has advanced, as well as charges of a more serious description, against his Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, should such evidence be required of him.

In illustrating the character of judicial procedure at the Cape, your petitioner most respectfully craves the attention of your hon. House to the extraordinary contrast of his case with that of Mr. Lancelot Cooke's, a most respectable merchant of Cape Town, who was tried for precisely the same offence—that of impugning the conduct of a public functionary in his application for a redress of grievance, but with the imputed superaddition of having given his memorial publicity—the greatest possible aggravation, or rather, the chief essential in the construction of libel—an offence not even charged against your petitioner: Mr. Cooke, who stood neutral with the Colonial Government, was, nevertheless, acquitted; your petitioner, unfortunately not in this predicament, was condemned. Not your petitioner most humbly submits, can a pure and unbiassed judgment be looked for in causes of appeal to his Excellency, where a "*malus animus*" may be said materially to exist, as in the case of the Dutchman Dure, who succeeded in causes wherein he was appellant to his Excellency, shortly after the purchase of one of his Excellency's houses for 10,000 dollars, which died after payment, and before delivery from the stables.

That your petitioner, in common with his brother colonists, has been much aggrieved by the extraordinary fluctuation of the colonial rate of exchange, which has singularly proved at higher discount when his Excellency has had occasion to draw, than when he has found it expedient to remit—an evil that would have less injurious operation, if his Excellency's salary was paid in colonial currency.

That should your hon. House suppose the Commissariat Department, at the Cape of Good Hope, to be governed by the ordinary regulations, your petitioner most respectfully begs leave to disabuse your hon. House of such opinion; the supplies in the district of Albany having been, up to the arrival of the Commissioners of Inquiry, derived from private tender only. Hence the enormous price of twenty-three stivers and a fraction paid to the bailiff of the Somerset establishment per ration for the troops on the frontier, which your petitioner would gladly have contributed at ten stivers per ration—a circumstance that, waving even the suspicion of peculation in the

enormous balances of profit, must necessarily enrich the Colonial at the expense of the Home Treasury, and which, by excluding competition, paralyzes the efforts of the settler in the only profitable vent for his industry.

That in the abandonment of Bathurst, and the determined opposition of his Excellency to the wise and paternal measures of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, the interests of the settlers were directly compromised without any regard to consequences, from which they have scarcely yet recovered; while in the cultivation of green forage by the military, and the substitution of the Hottentot Regiment for troops of the line, as a protecting force on the frontier, your petitioner and his brother colonists have experienced evils of grievous magnitude and pressure.

That in the constitution of the judicial body at the Cape, none of those safeguards are perceptible which ensure to the subject the flow of unpolluted justice, its present organization consisting for the most part of displaced Landdrosts, and one retired English commissary, all

removable at the pleasure of his Excellency, and, consequently, susceptible of imputations which will be apparent to your hon. House.

That your petitioner, so far from desiring to agitate any question which might glance at the eligibility of Lord Charles Somerset to his government, has spared no effort to obtain a moderate redress from Earl Bathurst's department; but that that department throughout its whole correspondence has projected so many obstacles and delays, and manifested so little sympathy for the unwarrantable aggressions your petitioner has sustained, that he is compelled to throw himself upon the justice of your hon. House.

Your petitioner therefore prays, that your hon. House will cause an inquiry to be instituted into the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset and the colonial authorities at the Cape, and extend to your petitioner such protection and redress as to your hon. House may seem meet.

And your petitioner, &c.

THE ROYAL AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

[The report of this Meeting was prepared for our last Number, but postponed for want of room.]

The nineteenth anniversary meeting of this Society was held on Friday, the 13th of May at Freemasons' Hall, and was very fully attended.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester having taken the chair, the annual report was read. It stated the measures agreed to by the various Powers of Europe and America for the suppression of this detestable traffic, and adverted in strong terms on the disgraceful and hypocritical conduct of France in particular, in affecting to concur in the measures adopted by other countries for the extinction of the slave-trade, whilst she privately extended towards it all the support and protection in her power. It then went into a detailed account, taken from the papers lately published by order of the House of Commons, of the horrid situation in which the wretched negroes were found on board the several slave vessels recently captured by British officers, with various revolting particulars.

The Earl of Clarendon came forward to move that the report be referred back to the committee for publication. The reason why he moved that it be referred back to the committee was, because he conceived, although he perfectly concurred in the

substance of the report, that there were some few expressions applied to the French Government—such as the epithet “disgraceful”—which might be exchanged for more measured language. He exhorted every friend of the cause to keep up his own zeal, and do what he could to enlist others in it, until they effected the glorious consummation for which they struggled, by wiping away the tears from millions of their fellow-creatures, and others yet unborn. He believed the measures adopted by Parliament to be perfectly sincere; the cause was gaining ground; and, altogether, there was reason to hope that their exertions would be ultimately crowned with success.—(*Applause*.)

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON, in seconding the resolution, defended the expressions in the report objected to by the noble Earl. His Lordship thought the term “disgraceful” too harsh, as applied to the conduct of France; but he (Mr. Buxton) felt that if there was any thing wrong in the expression, it was its being too soft, too restrained, too moderate, to mark the really atrocious conduct of France in respect to the slave-trade. The hon. Gentleman read an extract from the correspondence between Sir Charles Stuart, our Amba-

ambassador to the Court of France, and M. de Villele, the French minister, in which the former asserted that this detestable traffic was covered and protected by the flag of France; and there was scarcely a spot along the coast of Africa which was not the scene of its horrors, and in which the approach of the white man was not the signal for war amongst the natives. After commenting upon this passage, Mr. Buxton next read a letter from an American to his employers in America, in which he described the conduct of an African chief, who, to redeem his promise of furnishing a certain number of young negroes, attacked with his soldiers a quiet, peaceful, agricultural tribe, in the dead of the night, fired all the huts, murdered every adult man and woman, and all the very young children, and delivered over the boys and girls to slavery. He read another account of the destruction of six African villages in one week, of the inhabitants of which, "those who escaped the sword, were sold to the European villains who commanded the vessel." It was not on the agents, or the mariners, or the slave-dealers, that he visited his deepest execration, but on the heads of those "European villains,"—those most Christian princes! and their immaculate ministers—those props of the Gospel! at Madrid and Paris—who were the real authors of this villainy. (*Loud cheers*.) It appeared from the report of the British Ambassador at Paris, that in one year no less than three hundred and sixty-two cargoes of slaves were turned off from two small rivers alone in Africa, comprising, upon a moderate calculation, 105,600 individuals. What mind was capable of grasping such a fact—of embracing all the countless murders and atrocities which it combined? It beggared the imagination. How degrading to a gallant civilized nation like the French, to prostitute its flag to the protection of every villain in the world! With what different feelings did the slave-trader behold the approach of the British and French flag! The moment he espied the former, he viewed it with despair, but he hailed the French flag with perfect security. He then referred to the usual agreement between the slave merchant and the captain of the vessel, in which there was a contract for perjury and a contract for murder, the latter promising to cut the throat of every English officer and seaman who came into his power. The hon. Gentleman read various particu-

lars from the Parliamentary papers, all referring to transactions which had taken place within the last six months. The owners of the ships considered themselves fortunate if they succeeded in conveying one-third of the slaves which they took on board to their destination alive. Here was wholesale murder! What would they (the meeting) not do to put an end to this? For 18 long years had they been appealing to the honour, the feelings, the humanity of the potentates of Europe; as well might they appeal to the honour, the feelings, and the humanity of that piece of wood on which his hand rested. But he felt humbled in the recollection that slavery existed in the British colonies. The extinction of slavery there would effect the extinction of the slave trade.—(*Hear, hear.*) But the House of Commons was so saturated with West Indians, that some supposed that every effort to attain that object must be crushed. He (Mr. Buxton) thought not; the enemies of slavery ought not to be disheartened. Although they stood as his friend, Mr. McAuley had long stood the mark of every hired libeller, and few here knew what they owed that man.—(*cheers*.) They must reconcile their minds to sacrifices, but no matter, a blow had been struck, and slavery was destined to perish. It was impossible for Christian Britain to permit three-quarters of a million of her subjects to continue slaves. (*Hear.*) If they were foiled in Parliament, they could turn their attention to free labour.—(*Hear.*) Mr. Hume described a slave as an animal that ate as much, and did as little, as he could; it was impossible, then, that slave labour could compete with free labour. He had waited to see if Government would redeem its pledge, and not allow itself to be bullied by the Assemblies of Barbadoes and Jamaica; but if they would proceed no further, it would be the duty of the people here to abstain from the use of slave-grown sugar, and that course would soon effect the extinction of negro slavery.—(*Hear.*) He concluded by seconding the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

Lord NELSON addressed the meeting in an eloquent speech, in which he commented on the conduct of the planters; and after depicting the miserable state of the negro slaves, implored the meeting to assist in eradicating, gradually but surely, the very name of a system which the heart was incapable of conceiving. So long as it continued to exist, it was a rank false-

hood to say that the British flag was an emblem of liberty. His Lordship concluded, by moving a resolution expressive of the feelings of the meeting, at the frightful extent to which the traffic in slaves is carried, censuring the profligate connivance of other authorities, and intreating his Majesty's Government to take further steps for its suppression.

LORD CALTHORPE seconded the resolution. He did not like to use the language of reproach towards foreign powers; but wishing France to fill that place amongst nations which she ought to hold, he wished it would appear that she possessed sufficient power to repress the criminal conduct of her own subjects. Any nation which harboured in its bosom a pestiferous evil like this, cherished something which would be destructive of its own liberty. He should despair of seeing the approaching coronation of the King of France, the bond of union between him and his people, and a new security of the French monarchy, unless that same oil which was poured on his head, acted as a balm to the woes of Africa. (*Cheers.*)

MR. SYMES moved a resolution expressive of regret that the state of Mr. Wilberforce's health rendered his retirement from public life necessary, and of gratitude for his long and powerful services in the cause of the African slave.

MR. SCENER PERCEVAL seconded the resolution. He protested against the application of strong language towards the continental powers, but admitted, that no terms could be too

harsh by which the innumerable traffic of slave-dealers was designated.

The Resolution having been passed unanimously.

One of Mr. Wilberforce's sons returned thanks on behalf of his father.

A Resolution of thanks, moved by hon. Mr. Shore, and seconded by the Earl of Euston, was then passed to the Duke of Gloucester, who, in returning thanks, expressed his regret that, in eighteen years, their cause had not made greater progress, although he by no means despaired of ultimate success. He deplored the absence of that assistance towards putting down the slave-trade, which had been promised by the other European powers at the Congress of Vienna; but this country must recollect, that those nations did not possess a free constitution or a free press. (*Hear.*) Public opinion, which carries every thing before it, was not heard on the continent. But slavery still existed in the British dominions, and slavery and the British Constitution should never go together. (*Hear.*) It was only by public opinion pressing on the Government and Parliament, that this detestable traffic in human blood would be abolished. The emancipation of the slave should not take place at once, but be gradual. As a member of that family which had been called to this country as the guardians of liberty, he felt himself bound to support these principles, and no exertion of his should be wanting to aid the great cause in which they had embarked. (*Applause.*)

The meeting then separated, and a collection took place at the door.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, June 22d, a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, in Leadenhall-street.

At 12 o'clock the CHAIRMAN, CAMBRIDGE MARJORIBANKS, Esq.) took his seat.

DIVIDEND.

The CHAIRMAN moved that the Court approve of a resolution of the Court of Directors, recommending a dividend of five and a quarter per cent. upon the Company's capital stock for the half year, commencing the 5th of January last, and ending on July 5th next.

MR. S. DIXON took that opportunity of asking the Chairman, whether it was not customary for a communica-

tion to be made from the Court of Directors to the Court of Proprietors, announcing the fact of a war existing in India? The Court of Directors had not made any communication to the Court of Proprietors respecting the Burmese war, the existence of which he knew only through the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN said, he understood that no such practice as that which had been alluded to by the hon. Proprietor had ever prevailed.

BY-LAWS.

The report of the Committee of By-Laws, declaring that those laws had been duly observed during the last year, was then read and agreed to; and on the motion of the Chairman, the Committee was re-appointed.

EAST INDIA JUDGES' BILL.

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court that it was made special, for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors certain alterations which had been made in the bill for regulating the salary of the Judges in India and the Bishop of Calcutta, on its re-commitment in the House of Commons, the nature of which would be fully explained to the Proprietors by the correspondence between the President of the Board of Control and their Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

The correspondence was then read; and consisted of a letter from Mr. Wynn, dated the 17th May, stating, that certain amendments had been suggested in the House of Commons, the first of which was to increase the salaries of Chief Justices from 58,000 to 60,000 rupees, and of puisne Judges from 42,000 to 50,000 rupees per ann. The second amendment was, to extend the allowance of one year's salary proposed to be made to the widows, &c. of Judges dying within one year after their arrival in India, and to the families of such Judges as should die in the course of their voyage thither. The third suggestion was, to give one half the retired pension, to which Judges became entitled after ten years' service, to such legal functionaries as should be compelled by ill health to retire at the expiration of five years, and two-thirds of the same allowance to those retiring from the same cause after a period of seven years. By a letter of the Deputy-Chairman, dated the 19th May, in answer to the foregoing, it appeared that the Directors concurred in the first and second amendments, under some modifications, but declined sanctioning the arrangement relative to the retired allowances. Mr. Wynn's reply of the 24th ult. was then read; and the Chairman's letter of the 26th May in answer thereto.

Mr. GANAGHAN protested against the anomalous title of the bill, in which the payment of the salary of the Bishop of Calcutta was connected with the transportation of felons. He thought the Bishop had a right to feel indignant at being treated in such a manner. It was a proof of the apathy which prevailed in Parliament with respect to Indian affairs, when such a bill could pass through the House of Commons, without calling forth any observation on the point to which he had alluded.

Mr. LOWMOSE agreed with the hon.

Proprietor, in thinking that the Bishop of Calcutta had a right to complain of being placed in such bad company. The Bishop walked first, and then came the felons, clanking their chains immediately after him. He was afraid that in this free-thinking age, such a proceeding might have the effect of undermining the Bishops. After praising the Judges, whom he called the police-officers of India, and making allusion to his having recently been at his country-seat, the hon. Member sat down.

Mr. HUME stated, that he had complained of the anomalous nature of the bill in the House of Commons; but finding that he could not get it altered, he endeavoured to introduce into it another anomaly, by moving a clause empowering half-castes to sit on juries. He saw no reason why such a measure as that should not be connected with the Judges' salaries as well as the transportation of offenders. It was true that he had failed in carrying the clause; but he was happy to find that the President of the Board of Control was inclined to favour the object of it.

Mr. TRANT expressed himself decidedly in favour of the proposition of admitting half-castes and Natives to serve on juries. The half-castes were generally men of education and intelligence, whilst the Europeans who were called upon to serve on juries were frequently taken from the lowest and most ignorant classes. (1)

Mr. LOWMOSE again addressed the Court, and, in spite of all opposition, entered on a tirade against the liberty of the press! He was convinced that if a free press existed in the West In-

(1) Mr. Trant has the misfortune of being unable to open his lips in public without committing some gross blunder on subjects which he ought especially to understand. The half-caste, or Indo-British community in Bengal are not generally "men of education," in the usual acceptation of the term; nor are the European jurors generally "low" or "ignorant," in the degree here implied. There are but a few "well-educated" men of either race, though there are many of good capacity. But each of them would furnish a great number of honest and upright jurors quite as competent to understand and pass judgment on the cases brought before them, as petty jurors generally in England. Each race, therefore, ought to be equally entitled to sit on juries.

dies, not a slave would be to be found there in a year.

Mr. HUME here observed, that a free press did exist in the West India colonies.

Sir C. FORBES expressed his satisfaction at the augmentation of the Judges' salaries, and declared his intention of proposing, in Parliament, that the salary of the Bishop of Calcutta should be increased, to make up for the loss which he experienced from the difference of exchange.

After a few observations from Mr. DARBY, the conversation terminated.

INDIAN RESIDENTS.

General THORNTON rose, pursuant to the notice which he had given at the last General Court, to bring forward his motion, calling on the Court of Directors to send out regulations to India, peremptorily directing the residents at the different Native courts to forward to the Supreme Government any representation or complaint which might be placed in their hands by the Native Princes. As he had made his resolution so very comprehensive, referring, throughout, to the Hyderabad Papers as the foundation on which it proceeded, he did not deem it necessary to trouble the Court at any length on this occasion. It appeared to him that the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe, in this affair, demanded the most serious attention on the part of the Court of Directors. He had refused to transmit the complaints of Chundoo Loll, the Minister of the Nizam, to the Supreme Court; and certainly it appeared to him, that the safety of their Indian empire depended upon administering immediate justice to the Native Powers. If the representations of the Natives were treated in this contemptuous manner, it was perfectly evident that hatred, not love, would be engendered in their minds. After some further observations on the necessity of conciliating the minds of the Native population, the gallant General moved the following resolution:—"It appearing by the printed Hyderabad Papers that Rajah Chundoo Loll sent a letter to Lieutenant Barnett, the assistant to Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart, the Resident, who was noting for him during his absence from Hyderabad on a tour, containing representations and complaints, which the Rajah desired might be communicated to the Supreme Government; and in page 239, that Lieutenant Barnett mentioned to Sir C. T. Metcalfe, when he met him on his return, that he had received such a note, and de-

scribed its contents; and likewise, by Sir C. T. Metcalfe's own statement, in page 241, that he did peruse the original note thoroughly and carefully; after having previously contented himself with Lieutenant Barnett's report of its substance, and with looking at particular parts; notwithstanding which, neither Sir C. T. Metcalfe nor Lieutenant Barnett did communicate the contents to the Governor-General in Council, but the Supreme Government was kept in ignorance of any such appeal, until communicated by the Rajah through another channel, when several acts of oppression complained of in the conduct of Sir C. T. Metcalfe were ordered by the Governor-General in Council to be redressed, in instructions inserted in page 234, and the following pages:—That it be therefore recommended to the Court of Directors to be pleased to make regulations to prevent in future so improper and dangerous a proceeding, as the suppression or interruption of appeals or complaints, whether just or unjust, from the Native Governments to the Supreme Government; that if just, the grievances complained of may be redressed as soon as possible; and if unjust, explanations may be entered into without loss of time, and a good understanding promoted."

Mr. LOWNDLES was of opinion, that the charges alluded to by the gallant General were not sufficiently explicit. The Court ought to have something of a more tangible nature before it to warrant their coming to any resolution. (2)

Sir J. DAYLE rose to support the motion. He referred to page 177 of the Hyderabad Papers, from which it appeared that Chundoo Loll, the Minister of the Nizam at Hyderabad, wrote to the Assistant of the Company's Resident (Sir C. Metcalfe) complaining of the conduct of Mr. Hislop, (one of those heedless Pro-Consuls we sent out to govern India,) in regard to setting aside the leases of the Nizam's master. This letter of Chundoo Loll, the Nizam's Minister, was intended to find its way to the Supreme Govern-

(2) The nature of Mr. Lowndes' objection is itself certainly not very tangible. The charge is, that a representation of grievances was intercepted, instead of being forwarded to Government, as all parties confess it ought to have been. To call this something of an intangible nature, is, to say the least of it, mere unintelligible jargon.

ment, but it never did. In page 152 was to be found a letter of Sir C. Metcalfe himself, in which he censures the conduct of the European Resident of the district, in acting contrary to his instructions, and taking the government out of the hands of the Native Prince. And immediately after this expression of his sentiments, he does the very same thing himself; and the letter complaining of his conduct is never permitted to reach its destination. Chundoo Loll, smarting under the imputation on his character, went, not as had been stated, to the house of Palmer, but to a member of the house, Mr. William Palmer. He told him that he had tried the regular mode of transmitting his complaint; he had applied to the Deputy-Resident, but the latter had not conveyed his statement to the Supreme Government. Consequently Mr. William Palmer undertook to convey a letter to the Governor-General, who manifested every disposition to inquire into the subject; but said, "transmit your complaint in any way you can, if the Resident refuse; but let it be a public and open complaint."

The gallant General then proceeded to allude to the present state of India, not for the purpose of contrasting the present Government with that which had preceded it, or to pronounce any opinion on it, but merely to call the attention of the Court to this fact, that amongst the multitude of letters which had lately come to this country from all parts of India, there was not one which did not represent Indian affairs to be in a desperate state. (*Hear.*) He feared, it matters continued to go on as at present, that the treasures which had been put into the Company's coffers by the last Governor-General would soon be dissipated. He then again adverted to the subject of the motion, which he thought ought to meet the support of the court. Supposing a Resident to possess the power of keeping back any information from the Governor-General in any one instance, he possessed it in all; and they might even imagine a case of high treason known to the Resident or Deputy, and on the disclosure of which the safety of our Indian empire might depend. If in such a case information were to be held back, what might not be the consequence of the concealment? It was the Governor-General, and not the Company's Resident or Assistant, that was the responsible person; but how could they blame him if information

were not communicated? And he would say, looking to the peculiar situation of India, that no man could adequately manage the government there, or direct the army in its operations, if he did not only procure all available information, but seize on every information he could possibly get hold of. With what practical view or purpose the gallant General had proposed his motion he did not know, but he felt much inclined to support it. And he wished the Directors would issue such orders as would restrain and prevent the possibility of concealing any information from the Governor-General.

Mr. WEEDING was of opinion that the inferences which were drawn from the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe, were not correct, because it appeared from the papers that Chundoo Loll was at a subsequent period satisfied with the explanation given by Sir C. Metcalfe. (3)

Mr. HOME considered the facility with which the Native Princes were allowed to make their complaints through the Company's servants, as a matter of essential importance to the well-being of the Indian Government. Looking to Sir C. Metcalfe's own documents, his conduct appeared to be the most extraordinary that ever was adopted by a public man. The course he had pursued, impugned, in a very great degree, the rectitude of his motives. In his opinion, he was not worthy of holding the situation which he now filled. He would not, however, wish to do any thing precipitately, and if the Court of Directors had sent out orders to remove the evil described in the resolution, it might be withdrawn; if not, he hoped his gallant friend would persist in it.

The CHAIRMAN said, the orders of the Court of Directors always had been, that communications made by the Native Powers to the Company's agents should immediately be transmitted to the proper quarter, and, in no instance, had a disposition prevailed not to enforce those orders. (*Hear.*) If this motion were pressed, it would be exceedingly inconvenient, since it would appear as if the Court of Directors had

(3) This second defence is equally absurd and untenable. Chundoo Loll, like others who have the misfortune to be subject to despotic power, was compelled, by terror, to beg pardon of the person by whom he was injured;—to fawn and kiss the hand that was working his ruin. This, in India-House phraseology, is called being *satisfied*.

neglected to send out to India proper regulations on this subject. He hoped, therefore, that the gallant General would withdraw his motion. (*Hear.*)

General THORNTON acquiesced in this suggestion, and the motion was accordingly withdrawn. (4)

BURMESE WAR.

On the question of adjournment being put,

Mr. HUME rose, and said, that at the last general Court he had given notice of his intention to move for the recall of Lord Amherst, on account of his complete incapacity to govern India; but previously to his taking such a step, he had to ask whether any documents or information had been received by the Court of Directors, or the Secret Committee of that Court, explanatory of the course and progress of the war with the Burmese? And also, whether the report of the Committee of Inquiry into that dreadful transaction, the massacre at Barrackpore, had arrived in this country? It was now eighteen months since that war began, and the public were in perfect ignorance respecting it. (*Hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN said, the papers relative to the Burmese war had been laid before Parliament, and were, in consequence, before that Court. With respect to the Court of Inquiry into the event which had occurred at Barrackpore, no account of its proceedings had reached this country. (5)

(4) We are really surprised that Mr. Hume and Gen. Thornton should be so easily satisfied. Of the value of the Court's orders, they had lately a fine illustration in the case of Dr. Bryce. The Court had sent out orders to remove him from his post, as Clerk of Stationery, and the Board of Control backed the Court's orders by their avowed approbation of the reverend Doctor's dismissal. But what was the result? Lord Amherst and his satellites laugh these "orders" to scorn, and keep the holy divine as firmly in his post, amid pounce, pens, and paper, as if no "orders" had ever been sent out for his removal. The orders respecting Native complaints through Residents, will, no doubt, be treated with the same contemptuous disobedience.

(5) This inquiry took place in the early part of November, and accounts have been received from India, months ago, that the Court had made its report. The delay of the Bengal Government, for so long a time, to send home the proceedings on a matter of such importance, is certainly not a little extraordinary, unless there be strong reasons for concealment.

Mr. HUME then proceeded to explain, in strong terms, the course of policy pursued by Lord Amherst, in his opinion a great degree of culpability rested on the Government of Bengal, which had, in defiance of an express Act of Parliament, (which forbade Governors-General from entering into wars, unless when they had the authority of the Court of Directors for that purpose, or where the territories of the Company were attacked,) plunged into this contest with the Burmese. The measures adopted by Lord Amherst placed the British army in a situation it never before was seen in. The British troops at Rangoon were actually in a state of siege, employed in making sallies on the force which surrounded them. And what was the war commenced for? For the island of Shapuree, which the President of the Board of Control admitted, a few evenings since, not to be worth a single fathoming. Under these circumstances, he should propose a direct vote of censure—not a resolution of recall (for at the present moment that would be unjust)—on Lord Amherst.

Whilst the hon. Proprietor was drawing up his motion,

The CHAIRMAN begged leave to draw the attention of the Proprietors to the beginning of all their Indian wars. They had, in the outset, been generally unsuccessful; but they had terminated gloriously. He would therefore put it to the hon. Proprietor whether it would not be more fair and candid to wait till the Court had received farther despatches, and had time to consider the subject maturely, before he made his motion. It would be premature to pass such a resolution while the present plans were going on. The Court would recollect that, in the course of the late war, blame had been hastily cast upon Lord W. Bentinck, a most meritorious officer, who, it was ultimately discovered, had not deserved it. With such a circumstance in their recollection, surely they would not precipitately pass a vote of censure on Lord Amherst. (6)

(6) This defence, if founded on truth, could have no application, unless wisdom and propriety of entering upon this, or any war, were to be judged of only by the result. But such a mode of judging would be childish in the extreme; and the Chairman was not called upon to reply to the charge of waging an unsuccessful war, against which he has delivered

Mr. Hume connected to forget his intention.

Sir C. Forbes said, he was disappointed and surprised at the course adopted by his hon. friend. What every body said, must be true; and he believed there was not a man in that Court or out of it, that ever considered Lord Amherst as a man fit to govern India. The hon. Baronet then, at some length, arraigned the policy of Lord Amherst. He dwelt particularly on the ill success which had attended the war against the Burmese. Eighteen months had elapsed since the war broke out, and we were now worse than when we set out. The European troops had been sent to perish in the marshes of Rangoon, the most unhealthy spot east of the Cape of Good

Hope. There, it was well known, two European regiments had been reduced to one hundred men each. The hon. Baronet next adverted to the unfortunate event at Barrackpore, and concluded by declaring it to be his opinion, that nothing could be so beneficial to India as the immediate recall of Lord Amherst, and the appointment of the Marquis of Hastings in his room.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said, he never heard such a string of invectives from the mouth of any man as had been directed by the hon. Baronet against Lord Amherst. This was exceedingly unjust, and he knew not how gentlemen could expect that India should be well governed, when broad accusations of this nature were, by the medium of the public press, disseminated over that country, producing distrust and suspicion in the minds of those who ought to be taught a lesson of confidence. (7)

The Court then adjourned.

this speech,—probably one that was pre-meditated, and, therefore, to be delivered whether it applied or not. The charges against Lord Amherst are of a description not so easily answered, viz. 1st. That the Burmese war is unjust, being unprovoked and aggressive. 2. That it is impolitic, as leading to vast expense and extension of territory, (supposing the most favourable result,) and injurious to our character. 3. That it was commenced at an improper season, and before we were prepared. 4. That the troops sent into the enemy's country, at an improper season, were left to perish there, during the whole of the rains, of sickness and disease, without being supplied with provisions. These capital errors, attended with consequences so disastrous, have been already proved beyond possibility of doubt, and would not be a whit less true, although the war were to terminate in the most glorious manner, contrary to all expectation. Therefore the plea of waiting for evidence can only be urged in the hope that some lucky event will turn up in Lord Amherst's favour, which would serve to gloss over his past conduct in the eyes of those who are incapable of distinguishing merit from good fortune.

(7) What the Deputy-Chairman is pleased to call "a string of invectives," are, correctly speaking, a string of facts. This is about as good as the defence set up for Lord Charles Somerset, who having, by his general oppression of the Cape colonists, filled England with complaints against him, his friends give out that he is assailed by a general conspiracy. So Lord Amherst, having committed so many blunders, and caused so many evils, that it would take a long speech to enumerate one half of them, the person who undertakes to describe his conduct is accused of uttering a string of invectives. That the dissemination of these facts, through the press, should prevent India from being well-governed, is a most extraordinary assumption. It may prevent it from being ill-governed, unless it be resolved that it shall continue in the hands of persons who justly deserve such accusations; for their publicity must tend to make the authors of such mistakes give place to wiser and better men.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Mr. David Dale to be Magistrate of Zillah, Jessore; Mr. J. C. Brown to be Register of the Zillah Court of Sarun; Mr. H. Fraser to be Second Register at the Sudder Station of Jnaupore.

MADRAS.

Mr. J. C. Morris to be Assistant to the Collector of Sea Customs at the Presidency; Mr. D. Elliott to be Senior Dep. Secretary to the Board of Revenue; Mr. A. Robertson to be Junior Dep. Secretary to the Board of Revenue; Mr. A. Maclean to be Head Assist. to the principal Collector and Magistrate of Malabar;

Mr. Josiah Nisleech to be principal Collector and Magistrate of the North Division of Arcot; Mr. B. Cunliffe to be Collector and Magistrate in the Zillah of Chingleput; Mr. H. Channier to be Sub-Collector and Assist. Magistrate of the Southern Division of Arcot; Mr. W. Mason, Sub-Collector and Assist. Magistrate of Malabar.

BOMBAY.

Jan. 21.—Capt. M. E. Bagnold, 23d N.I. to be political Agent at Mocha.—27. Mr. David Greenhill to officiate as Secretary to Gov. in the Gen. Judicial and Marine Depart. during the illness of Mr. Farish, dated Jan. 27, 1825.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Jan. 21.—Major Weatheral, 2d batt. Royal Reg. to be Military Sec. to Lieut.-Gen. Bowser, Com. the army serving under the Presidency of Fort St. George.—21. Lieut. Blacklin, 2d batt. of Royal Reg. to proceed to England, in charge of invalids, in H.C.'s ship Prince Regent.—28. Maj. A. Trotter, 26th N.I. transferred to the Invalid Establishment.—31. Lieut.-Col. Armstrong, H.M.'s Royal Reg. to be Brigadier of the force serving in Ava, from date of arrival at Rangoon.—Feb. 1. Lieuts. Hill and Sargent to do duty with the invalids about to proceed to Europe, in H.C.'s ships Prince Regent and General Hewitt.—2. Capt. T. D. L. Davies, having returned from furlough, to proceed to join his corps at Prince of Wales' Island.—3. Ensign Draught to do duty with the 6th N.I. at Lucknow, to which he stands posted.—4. Lieut. Finnis to act as Interp. and Quarterm., temp. appointment.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, Feb. 1.—26th N.I.—Capt. John Elliott to be Major, vice Trotter, dated Jan. 28, 1825; Lieut. P. B. Fitton to be Capt. of a company; Ensign W. E. Robertson to be Lieut.—30th N.I. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. W. H. Winfield to be Capt. of a comp. vice Wallis, dated Jan. 25, 1825; Ensign Alfred Jackson to be Lieut. dated ditto.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort William, Feb. 4, 1825.
The Gov.-Gen. in Council has much pleasure in notifying to H.M.'s regts.,

serving under their Presidency, that, under instructions from the Hon. Court of Directors, the children of non-commissioned officers and soldiers of his Majesty's service, dying in India, will be allowed the same provision that is made for the children of non-commissioned officers and soldiers dying in the H.C.'s service in India, and will consequently be received into the Orphan School.

COURTS MARTIAL.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Jan. 21.
A general European Court Martial was held on the 13th Dec. 1824, on Lieuts. J. G. Macgregor, 49th N.I., and J. T. Lowe, 65th N.I., for conduct highly unbecoming the characters of officers and gentlemen, on the night of the 28th of August last; not only towards each other, but towards Lieut. Sandby and others. The sentence of the Court was, that they be discharged the Hon. Company's service. The Commander-in-Chief, in consideration of some favourable circumstances in each case, was pleased to withhold his confirmation of the sentence of the Court, and to restore both Officers again to the service.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Jan. 28.
Commanding Officers of his Majesty's regiments in India, are hereby directed to cause the dates on which officers and staff of his Majesty's service, proceed on leave of absence, and rejoin their regiments, either from Europe or elsewhere, to be invariably noted opposite their names in the Monthly Muster Rolls.

FURLONGHS.

To Europe.—Lieut.-Col. Comdant. W. Logie, 3d N.I. for health; Major R.

W. Baldock on private affairs; James Hare, M.D. for health; Capt. Squire, 13th L.C. to the Cape, for ditto.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 3, 1825.—Lieut. A. Wilson to act as Major of Brigade in the Presidency Division of the army, until further orders; Lieut. J. Sinclair to be Adj. and Quarterm. in the Poona Division of the army, vice Barton, dated Dec. 1, 1824; Capt. W. Nixon, 19th N.I. to the command of the Gnykwar Contingent of Horse at Deesa.—7th. Lieut. H. Spencer to be Adj. vice Hewitt, who resigns, dated Jan. 1, 1825; Lieut. R. Farquhar to be Interp. in Hindustanee and Quarterm. vice Spencer, dated ditto.—10. Capt. C. F. Hart, Inspect of Hill Forts to the charge of Commissariat duties in the South. Concan, in the absence of Capt. Gibbon, who takes the Commissariat Depart. in the Southern Mahratta country; Capt. A. B. Campbell, Sub-Assist. Commis.-Gen. to the South Concan station.—13. Lieut. W. Allen, 21st N.I. to superintend temporarily the erection of Public Works in ditto, Lieut. John S. Grant, Engineers, to be Assist. to the Superintending Engineer at the Presidency.—The following Officers of the Commissariat Depart. to the stations affixed to their names: Capt. Reynolds, Surat; Long, Caudesh; Falconer, Presidency.—14. Lieut. Hale, 22d N.I. to act as Staff Officer to the detachment ordered on field-service under Capt. Adamson, Lieut. Stalker, 19th N.I. to the Commissariat and Bazaar Establishment; Lieut. G. Yeaddell, Artillery, to be Assist. Commissariat of Stores in the North District of Guzerat, vice Lyons, dec.—21. Lieut. Watkins, 23d N.I. to act as Adj. to the field detach. under his command.—31. Lieut. W. Lardner relieved from his duty at Torblander, and placed at the disposal of the Com.-in-Chief; Capt. G. Taylor to succeed him.—Feb. 1. Lieut. J. B. Phillips, 2d Bombay Europ. Reg. to be Quarterm.; Lieut. J. B. Phillips to be Quarterm. vice Cummins, removed, dated Jan. 29; Lieut. C. Delamont, 2d Regt. L.C. to act as Interp. and Quarterm. until further orders, vice Poul, prom. dated Dec. 24, 1824.—3. Lieut.-Col. J. Dyson, 19th N.I. to the command of the troops in Cutch, vice Macknochie, on furlough to Europe; Lieut. Carr, 21st N.I. to act as Adj. until his arrival at Head-Quarters at Boof; Ensign Wood, 5th N.I. to act as 2d Mahratta Interp. until further orders, dated Jan. 29, 1825; Lieut. S. C. Spence, 14th N.I. to be Mahratta Interp. dated Jan. 14, 1825; Lieut. F. J. Bordwine to be Drattsman to Engineer corps.—4. Assist. Adj. Harrison, H.M.'s 4th Light Dragoons, to act as Major of Brigade, vice Byrne, dated Jan.

19.—8. Lieut. H. Macan, Quarterm. and Interp. to be ditto in Mahratta, also dated Jan. 9; Ensign Giberne, 25d Reg. N.I. to the charge of Local Batt. in Candesh, in the absence of Lieut. Majorbanks, on sick certit.—The following Cadets having reported their arrival, are appointed as follows: Mr. Farrant to be Cornet; Mr. Bordwine to the Engineers; Mr. C. S. Thomas to be Ensign.—17. Lieut. A. D. Greame, 3d Reg. L.C. to act as Assist. Quarterm.-Gen. until further orders, vice Black, resigned; date of appointment Jan. 21, 1825.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 7.—6th N.I.—Lieut. H. Spencer to be Adj. vice Hewitt, who resigns, dated Jan. 1.

8th N.I.—Ensign R. Fullerton to be Lieut. vice Pavin, dec., dated Dec. 30.

19th N.I.—Ensign D. E. Mills to be Lieut. vice Morley, dec., dated Nov. 1824; Capt. B. Gereans to be Major; Lieut. J. H. Irwin to be Captain, vice Hatchinson, dec., dated Oct. 4, 1824.

21st N.I.—Feb. 4.—Capt. R. W. Gilham to be Brigade Maj. of the Forces, vice Bagnold, dated Jan. 21, 1825.—8. Mr. C. S. Thomas, Cadet, to be Ensign.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 21.—Lieut. E. H. Hawk to take rank, vice Irwin, prom. ditto ditto ditto.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 20.—The following Assist. Surgeons, having reported their arrival, are admitted accordingly: C. D. Shackle, M.D.; Edcombe Edwards; C. Doyle Stracey; Assist. Surg. Wingat, 25th N.I. to be Deputy Storekeeper at Whow; Assist. Surg. Huntly, employed on board the Vestal cruiser, is remanded back to the Artillery as Gunner, for improper conduct towards his superior Officer; Assist. Surg. Montgomery to be placed at the disposal of the Resident at Nagpore.

Feb. 12, 1825.—Memorandum.—Acting Assist. Surg. Boyd, having taken his passage in the Olyntha, and not in the Georgiana, as announced in General Order No. 60, of 1824, the same is notified accordingly.

MARINE PROMOTIONS.

Second Lieut. E. Pratt to be first Lieut. vice Hatch, dec., dated Aug. 18, 1824; Senior Midshipman E. B. Squire to be second Lieut. vice Pratt, prom. do. do.

FURLONGS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 7, 1825.—Major John Morin, 2d Grenadier N.I. to Europe, for health; Capt. Gordon, 11th N.I. ditto, on private affairs.—14. Lieut.-Col. Com. G. Macknochie, 5th N.I. ditto, on private affairs; Capt. W. Black, on ditto.—24. Capt. G. P. Mesurier, 13th N.I. to the Cape of Good Hope, for health.—29. Lieut.-Col. Com. G. R. Remp, 13th N.I. ditto, on private affairs.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

ENGAL.

[From the Indian Gazettees.]

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Jan. 3, 1825.—Capt. J. M'Laine, of the Royals, to be Aide-de-Camp to Brig.-Gen. M. Kellar, C.B. dated Oct. 14, 1824. Feb. 17, Lieut. A. D. Greene, 3d L.C. to act as Quarterm. General, vice Black, resigned; Ensign Hennings, 57th Foot, to do duty with invalids at Fort William.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, Jan. 17, 1825.—1st Foot. To be Ensigns without purchase: Augustus H. Ormsby, Gent. vice Glover, prom. 15, 2d N.I. Reg. dated June 29, 1824; Tyrrell Bryne, Gent. dated 30th ditto ditto; Ensign James Williamson to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Mr. Comble, prom. in the R. Afric. Colonial Corps, dated July 22, 1824; John Campbell, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Williamson, dated ditto; Lieut. W. Mackenzie to be Capt. by Brevet, dated Jan. 5, 1825.

13th Foot.—Ensign W. Flood to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Darby, killed in action, dated Dec. 16, 1824; Ensign H. Wilson to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Petry, killed in action, dated Dec. 16, 1824; Ensign A. Wilkinson to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Jones, killed in action, dated ditto; Arthur A. Brown, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Flood, promoted, dated ditto; Feb. 3, Lieut. M. Fenton to be Capt. of a comp. without purchase, vice Clarke, dec., dated Jan. 1, 1825; Ensign the Hon. G. F. Howard to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Fenton, dated ditto; Volunteer Moorhouse to be Ensign without purchase, vice Howard, dated ditto. Mem. To do duty with H.M.'s 44th till further orders.

47th Foot.—William D. Hewson, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Smith, dec., dated June 25, 1824.

48th Foot.—Lieut. J. Marshall to be Capt. vice Cuthbertson, dec., dated July 23, 1824; Second Lieut. A. M. Hay, from 54th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Marshall, dated ditto.

54th Foot.—Charles Warren, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Hay, promoted.

59th Foot.—Lieut. R. White to be Capt. of a comp. without purchase, vice Butler, dec., dated Dec. 23, 1824; Ensign J. McGregor to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Whittle, prom. dated ditto; W. S. Manley, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice McGregor, prom. dated ditto.

67th Foot.—Brevet Lieut. Col. R. Gubbins, from 13th Foot, to be Lieut. Col.

by purchase, vice Mackay, who retires, dated July 8, 1824.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Jan. 17, 1825.—41th Foot.—Capt. H. H. Jacob, from 65th Foot, to be Capt. vice Madden, who exchanges, dated July 8, 1824; Ensign W. H. Dodgin, from 66th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Ashe, who exchanges, dated June 3, 1824.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Assist. Surg. Letch, H.M.'s 73th Reg. to the medical charge of that corps, dated Dec. 10, 1824.

FURLONGHS.

Fort William, Jan. 4, 1825.—13th Drag. Cornet Cockburn to Europe, on private affairs.

20th Foot.—Capt. Frankland to Europe, for the purpose of retiring on half pay.

46th Foot.—Paymast. Anderson to Europe, for health.

49th Foot.—Brevet Maj. Bennett to ditto, for ditto.

54th Foot.—Surg. Hamilton to ditto, for ditto.

87th Foot.—Lieut. Masterson to ditto, for ditto.

89th Foot.—Surg. Daum to ditto, for ditto.

The leave of absence granted to Capt. Mylne, H.M.'s 11th Dragoons, to Europe, is cancelled, and that Officer proceeds thither on duty to the Regimental Depot.—Jan. 21. Capt. Campbell to Europe, for health.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 29, 1825.—Maj. Byrne, 4th Drag. to the Command of the Northern Districts of Guzerat; and Lieut. Gibson to act as Brig. Maj. to the same corps.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 3, 1825.—3d Reg. L.C.—Lieut. G. J. C. Paul to be Capt. vice Cornet G. W. Money to be Lieut. vice Marshall, dec., dated Dec. 24, 1824; Cadet Geo. E. Thorold, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Bagot, appointed to 62d Foot, dated June 24, 1824.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

H. M. 98th Regt. from England, to relieve H. M. 64th Regt. which embarks for Bombay.

FORCES IN AVA.

HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS.—From Bengal: 13th Regt. of Light Infantry, and 38th Regt. From Madras: 41st Regt. and 89th Regt. From Bombay: 47th Regt.

BENGAL DIVISION STAFF.—Brig.-Gen. Sir A. Campbell; Aid-de-Camp, Lieut. Snodgrass; ditto, Ens. Campbell; Brig.-Gen. W. Cotton; Aid-de-Camp, Capt. Sadler; Dep. Adj.-Gen., Lieut.-Col. Tidy; Dep. Asst.-Adj.-Gen., Lieut. Marlock; Brigade Maj., Lieut. Malim; Dep. Quart.-Mast.-Gen., Capt. J. Jackson; Dep. Asst.-Quartermaster-Gen., Capt. Waterman; Dep. Commis.-Gen., Capt. Fildes; Asst.-Commis.-Gen., Capt. Burton; Sub-Assist.-Commis.-General, Capt. Gairdner; ditto, Lieut. Rawlinson; Dep. Judge Advocate, Gen. C. Grimes; Dep. Paymaster, Maj. H. Nicholson; Dep. Post-Master, Lieut. Snodgrass; Field Engineer, Capt. Chape; Assistant Surveyor, Lieut. Tiant; Fort Adjutant Rangoon, Lieut. Wear; Superintending Surgeon, ———; and Medical Store Keeper, W. Jackson, Esq.

BENGAL TROOPS.—Two Companies (7th and 8th) 8d Batt. Artillery; Detachment of the Governor-General's Body Guard.

BOMBAY TROOPS.—Detachment of Artillery under Capt. L. Russell.

MADRAS DIVISION STAFF.—Commanding 4th Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Mallet; 1st Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Smelt; 2d Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Brodie; 3d Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Smith; 5th Brigade, Lieut.-Col. M'Dowall. Majors of Brigade, Capt. A. Wilson, Capt. Ryd, Lieut. Bryson, Lieut. Young, and Lieut. Johnstone. Commanding Artillery, Lieut.-Col. Hopkisson; Major of Brigade, Capt. Montmerie; Dep. Adj.-Gen., Lieut.-Col. F. Snow; Quar.-Mast.-Gen., Capt. Steer; Dep. Asst.-Quartermaster-Gen., Capt. Spicer; Dep. Asst.-Commis.-General, Lieut. Manners; Dep. Judge-Advocate-General, Capt. Williamson; Commissary of Stores, Capt. Lewis; Paymaster, Capt. Stock; Dep. Paymaster, Capt. Todd; Superintending Surgeon, J. Howard, Esq.; Medical Storekeeper, R. Davidson, Esq.

MADRAS TROOPS.—Two Companies European Artillery, one ditto Native ditto; 1st Madras European Regt., 3d Regt. Native Light Infantry (Marrabun), 7th Regt. Native Infantry (Tavy, &c.), 9th Regt. ditto, 12th Regt. ditto, 16th Regt. ditto, 26th Regt. ditto, 28th Regt. ditto, 30th Regt. ditto, 34th Regt. ditto, Light Infantry, 43d Regt. N. I., 1st Batt. Native Pioneers.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—Jan. 2, 1825. Mrs. W. A. Hobbouse, of a son.—3d. The lady of N. Alexander, Esq., of a daughter.—4th. Mrs. Spence, of a daughter.—7th. The lady of J. Smith, Esq., of a son; Mrs. C. Latour, of a daughter.—9th. Mrs. E. Collis, of a son.—11th. Mrs. J. Brae, jun., of a son.—24th. Mrs. W. G. Griet, of a daughter.—26th. Mrs. A. J. Mendes, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 4th, 1825. Lieut. Candy, Adj. of the 64th, N.I., to Miss Butler.—7th. At St. George's church, G. J. Waters, Esq., C.S., to Eliza, daughter of W. Cooke, Esq., C.S.; At the Cathedral, Lieut. and Adj. Bowes, Prince's own Irish reg., to Mrs. M. Clifford.—10th. Lieut. R. H. H. Fawcett, 18th Bombay N.I., to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Col. W. Elliott, C.B., 4th Bengal L.C.—12th. At Calcutta, J. Brown, Esq., of Berampore, to Mrs. S. Christie.—13th. At Dum Dum, Lieut. H. Hantle, R. N., to Elizabeth, 5th daughter of T. Mathee, Esq.—21st. At the principal Roman Catholic church, Anthony Durrett, Esq., to Isabella, and D. Cordoza, Esq., to Amelia, daughters of Mark Lackersteen, Esq.—22d. Lieut. Henry Donibaldrie, H. M., 44th reg., to Jesse, daughter of Arch.

Duff, Esq.—25th. At the cathedral, H. Vans Hathorn, Esq., C. S., to Maria, daughter of Dr. J. Hare, M.D.; Mr. W. Cooper, to the 2d daughter of Mr. E. W. Lowrie.—26th. Mr. P. S. D. Rosario, to Miss J. Leal.

MADRAS.

Birth.—Jan. 31, 1825. On board the *Florentia*, off Tellicherry, the lady of Major Mcall, 12th Reg., of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 15th, 1825. Alex. Johnson, Esq., Garrison Surgeon, to Barbara, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. D. Macleod, M. Army.—Capt. D. Montgomery, Dep. Surv.-Gen., to the third daughter of the late Major-Gen. J. Durand.—Jan. 31. Mr. M. Johnson, to Mrs. A. B. Conthing.—Feb. 7. Mr. John Chamier, to Miss Amelia Stanhope.

Death.—Jan. 21, 1825. At his residence, Mount Road, Andrew Scott, Esq., H. C. Civil Service, aged 72, and in the 52d of his services.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Jan. 2, 1825. The lady of J. Harrison, Esq., Garrison Surgeon, of a daughter.—3. The lady of ———, Esq., the Resident of Nagpore, of a daughter.—4. The lady of Col. Sealy, of

a son.—7. The lady of Major J. Leslie, H. M. 69th Reg., of a son.—17. The lady of Lieut. Morpher, H. M. 48th Reg., of a daughter.—19. The lady of J. B. Warden, Esq., of a son.—Feb. 1. Mrs. G. Trotter, of a daughter.

Marriage.—Feb. 11. Mr. B. Rozer, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Capt. J. Nimmo.

Death.—Jan. 7, 1825. Mary, wife of G. Snyton, Esq., Surgeon, aged 17.

INTERIOR OF INDIA.

Births.—Jan. 2, 1825. At Berham-pore, the lady of the Rev. H. R. Shepherd, A. B. of a daughter.—9th. at Pauwell, the lady of Major Roome, of a daughter.—14th. At Chinsurah, the lady of H. Cecil, Esq., of a son; at Bareilly, the lady of Lieut. C. L. H. Simpson, of a daughter; at Iyepore, the lady of Lieut. Col. Raper, of a daughter; at Cuddalore, the lady of the Rev. H. Allen, of a son.—15th. At Chinai, the lady of Capt. T. G. Weston, of a son.—16th. At Cola-bah, the lady of Rev. J. Laurie, of a son; at Etawah, the lady of Dr. George Paxton, 41st N. I., of a daughter, still born; at Cuddaphi, the lady of Francis Lascelles, of a son.—18th. The lady of Capt. Geo. Ogilvie, 17th N. I., of a son.—19th. on the river Moncheva, the lady of John Brown, Esq., of Dowlutpore Turhoot, of a son.—29th. At Poonah, the lady of Lieutenant Durwe, H. M. 67th reg., of a son, still born; at Poonah, the lady of Capt. W. Sykes, of a daughter.—30th. At Baroda, the lady of Lieut. C. Waddington, of a son.—Feb. 3. At Palaver-m, the lady of Capt. J. F. Palmer, 32d N. I., of a son; at Soli-upore, Benares, the lady of Major Kennedy, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 1, 1825. At Serampore, W. S. Baldwin, Esq., to Matilda, second daughter of the late N. Raben-holm, Esq.—3d. At St. George's Church of Choultry Plains, Mr. Geo. Britton, to Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut. Col. J. Nixon; at Cawnpore, Lieut. and Adjutant Steer, 32d N. I., to the widow of the late Lieut. Cosmo Macdonald.—6th. At Colombo, Capt. Brown, R. Eng., to Miss Angela Eliza, daughter of the Hon. John Rodney; At ditto, Mr. John Ball, to Miss Johanna Elbert.—12th. At Com-merscolly, Lt. J. S. Winfield, 69th N. I., to Eliza, daughter of R. Richardson, Esq., Com. Res.—15th. At Serampore, Mr. John Albrecht to Miss Helen Ross.—18th. At Arcot, the Rev. J. W. Massie, to Isabella, daughter of John Grant, Esq.—19th. At Moorshedabad, Lieut. G. Mainwaring, H. M. 67th reg., to the eldest daughter of Brevet Lieut. Col. Mac-kenzie, H. M. 64th reg.—25th. At Trichi-nopoly, Ensign T. Wakeman, 20th N. I., to Elizabeth Jane, Sister to A. B. Pep-pin, Esq., Garrison Surgeon of that sta-

tion.—23d. At Madra, the Rev. V. Taylor, to Miss Sophia H. Wheatley.

Deaths.—Oct. 4, 1824. At Cabar, ne the city of Tais, Major G. Hutchinson, British Resident, aged 41.—Jan. 2, 1825. At Basim, John, only child of Captain Hunter, aged 10 months.—3d. At Seram-pore, Captain Dunsmore, of the Pensio Estab.—7th. At Chandernagore, Lieu R. H. Erskine, 35d. N. I.—9th. At Hy derabad, Francis, only son of Mr. Edw Louis, aged 5 years.—13th. At Spur thank, the lady of T. Jarrett, Esq., age 39.—At Ghazee-pore, suddenly, Mr. R. Gomes, sen., of Chuprah, aged 48.—10th. At Berhanipore, John Mundie Esq.—13th. At Pondicherry, Madame Deforme, aged 75.—At Mangalore, Ensign H. W. Neale, 50th Madras, N. I.—15th. At Kampter, Ensign Buttley, H. M. 30th. Regt.—At Decca, Mr. J. R. Ken-nedy, aged 25.—17th. At Juggernaut, Mr. Sam. Charles, aged 44.—22d. Louisa Ann, daughter of W. Paton, Esq., aged 12 months.—At Burish, in Zillah Backer-gunge, Jane, daughter of the late J. S. Gill, Esq.—23d. At Cannanore, Mr. W. Keys, Senior Ass. Surveyor at Malabar, aged 36.—At Negapatam, Capt. Henry Fullerton, of the Engineers.—27th. At Bangalore, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Brodie, Esq., late of M. C. S.—28th. Katherine, 2d daughter of Edward Smolby, Esq., aged 5 years; at Cuddo-lare, Rev. Mr. Holzbeig; At Chinsurah, the lady of P. T. G. Overbeck, Esq., aged 12; At Chittagong, Capt. Wallis, 30th. N. I.; At Rangoon, Capt. W. Hodder, Ship Windsor Castle.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Birth.—On the 14th of June, the lady of Alfred Chapman, Esq., of a daughter.

Marriages.—May 24th, 1825. At St. George's, Bloomsbury, Capt. Richard Clifford, H. E. I. C. Ship Lady Melville, to Catherine; and, at the same time, Robt. Clifford, Esq., H. E. I. C. Sea Ser-vice, to Mary Jane, daughters of the late Rev. T. Williams, Rector of Weybread.—June 2d. At St. George's, Hanover-square, David Scott, Esq., of the Bengal C. S., to Mary Ann, daughter of W. Craw-ford, Esq., of Upper Wimpole-street.—21. At Cheam, G. Hankin, Esq., to Char-lotte F., youngest daughter of the late C. F. Crommew, Esq., Hon. Comp. Civil Serv.

Deaths.—In Russel Place, Lieut. Gen. T. Trent, H. C. Service, after a long ill-ness, aged 81.—At Prospect Place, Wal- worth, the Rev. B. Gerrans, translator of the Persian Manuscript, 'The Toof Nameh,' and the 'Travels of Rabi Ben-jamin,' from the Hebrew.—May 27th. Suddenly in Montague Place, Col. W. Cowper, of the H. C. Service.—June 7th. At Richmond, Ann Sophia wife of Capt. E. M. Wood, 14th Bombay N. I.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

CALCUTTA PRICES OF BULLION, Feb. 11, 1825.

	S. Rs.		S. Rs.
Spanish Dollars, sicca rupees	per 100	211 8 a	212 0
Silver Five Francs	,,	190 4 a	190 8
Doubloons	each	30 8 a	31 8
Joos or Pezas	,,	17 8 a	18 0
Dutch Ducats	,,	4 4 a	4 12
Louis D'ors	,,	8 4 a	8 8
Star Pagodas	,,	3 6½ a	3 7
Sovereigns	,,	10 8 a	11 0
Bank of England Notes.....	,,	10 8 a	11 0

Bengal Government Securities.

Rates of Premium, Calcutta, 11th February, 1825.

Buy.		Sell.
8½ 0	Remittable Loan.....	32 0
8 8	From No. 1. to 320 of 5 per cent. Loan.....	7 8
4 8	From No. 321 to 1010 of ditto	4 0
2 8	From No. 1011 to the last No. issued of ditto.....	2 0

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, CALCUTTA.

Buy.		Sell.
1s. 10½d	to 1s. 11½d. On London, 6 Months' sight, in Sic. Rs.	1s. 11½d. to 2s. 0½d.
	On Bombay, 30 Days' sight, per 100 Bombay rupees	92
	On Madras, ditto, 24 to 9½ sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.	
	Promissary Notes of the Java Government, bearing interest at 7 per cent., 2 per cent. Premium.	
	Bank Shares, Premium.....	5550 to 5600 per Cent.

Bank of Bengal Rates.

Per Cent.

Discount on Government and Salary Bills	3 0
Ditto Approved Private Bills and Notes	4 8
Loans on Deposit of Company's Paper for 3 months certain	4 0

MADRAS GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, &c.

February 7th, 1825.

6 per cent. paper-33 per cent. premium.	
5 " " " par to 6 per cent. premium, according to registry.	
4 " " " 0	
Exchange at 106½ Mad. Rs. per 100 Sa. R. the rate now adopted by the Merchants and Agents at Madras, in all Purchases and Sales of Government Securities.	
Exchange on England 1 | 8½ at 3½	
" " " 1 | 9 at 6½	
Ditto on Bengal 104 at 107 Mad. Rupees. per 100 Sicca Rupees.	
Ditto on Bombay par.	

IMPORTATION OF COTTON INTO ENGLAND.

It is a remarkable fact, stated in the public prints, that the importation of Cotton into England this year, is nearly one hundred thousand bags greater than it was up to the same period last year.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.	Date.
1825.					
May 31	Dover	Orwell	Farrer	China	Jan. 21
May 31	Weymouth	Claudine	Nicholls	Bengal	Dec. 24
June 6	Downs	Thames	Hariside	China	Jan. 31
June 6	Downs	Dunira	Hamilton	China	Dec. 22
June 6	Downs	Cornwall	Brooks	Bengal	Jan. 25
June 6	Dover	Lady Raffles	Coxwell	Bengal	Jan. 15
June 6	Downs	Sarah	Bowen	Bombay	Feb. 8
June 6	Downs	George	Cuzens	Madras	Jan. 10
June 6	Downs	Salmon River	Gransmere	Batavia	Jan. 8
June 7	Southampton	Prince Regent	Hosmer	Bengal	Feb. 19
June 7	Portsmouth	Cape Packet	Kelle	Cape	Mar. 21
June 7	Downs	Joseph	Christopherson	Penang	Jan. 25
June 8	Portsmouth	Duke of Bedford	Cunyngname	Bombay	Jan. 26
June 8	Portsmouth	Castle Forbes	Ord	Mauritius	Feb. 19
June 9	Portsmouth	Orynthia	Holton	Bombay	Feb. 22
June 9	Downs	Ninus	Fowler	St. Helena	Apr. 18
June 10	Downs	Eliza	Faith	Bombay	Jan. 27
June 17	Plymouth	Hope	Harris	South Seas	Jan. 12
June 18	Plymouth	Astell	Levy	Bengal	Jan. 10
June 18	Off Schilly	Mangles	Cogill	Sydney	Feb. 12

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1825.				
Jan. 21	Ceylon	Theodosia	Kidson	Bombay
Jan. 21	Batavia	Good Success	Poynton	Bombay
Jan. 21	Batavia	Lord Castlereagh	Durant	Bombay
Jan. 3	Batavia	Java	Bruckmyer	Amsterdam
Jan. 9	Bengal	Vittoria	Southam	Rangoon
Jan. 18	Bengal	Albion	Swainson	Liverpool
Jan. 18	Bengal	Resource	Pritchard	Rangoon
Jan. 23	Batavia	Sophia	Bell	Bencoolen
Jan. 24	Bombay	Theodosia	Kidson	Ceylon & London
Jan. 25	Bombay	John Adam	Robertson	China
Jan. 26	Bengal	Bordelais	—	—
Jan. 27	Mauritius	Henry	Savignac	Bordeaux
Jan. 28	Bengal	Belle Alliance	Rolfe	Bengal & Madras
Jan. 30	Bengal	Isle de France	Griffe	Rangoon
Feb. 1	Bombay	Orynthia	Holton	Nantz
Feb. 1	Madras	Astell	Levy	London
Feb. 2	Bengal	Golconda	Neish	London
Feb. 3	Bengal	City of Edinburgh	Wiseman	Rangoon
Feb. 5	Madras	Boyne	Stephens	Rangoon
Feb. 9	Bengal	Vittoria	Southam	Bengal
Feb. 9	Bengal	Felicitas	Campbell	Rangoon
Feb. 10	Bombay	Charlotte	Hecton	London
Feb. 11	Bengal	Providence	Pearson	Portsmouth
Feb. 12	Bengal	Wm. Money	Jackson	China
Feb. 12	Bombay	Alfred	Lamb	Rangoon
Feb. 12	Bombay	Florentia	Wmable	London
Feb. 15	Bengal	Euphrates	Meade	London
Mar. 31	Cape	Mary	David	London
Mar. 31	Cape	Duke of Bedford	Cunyngname	Malilla
April 7	Cape	Elizabeth	White	Bombay
				London

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS—Continued.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1825.				
April 14	Cape	Exmouth	Owen	Bengal
April 14	St. Helena	Prince Regent	Wales	Mauritius
April 16	St. Helena	Sir Charles Price	Ford	South Seas
April 16	St. Helena	Lady Raffles	Coxwell	Madras
April 17	St. Helena	Termaratus	Dutra	Macao
April 18	St. Helena	Ellis	Faith	Bombay
April 23	St. Helena	Perseverance	Shaw	Bombay
April 23	St. Helena	Astol	Levy	Bengal
April 26	St. Helena	Farquharson	Cruickshank	London
April 26	St. Helena	Padang	Rogers	London
April 27	St. Helena	Duke of Bedford	Cuninghame	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
May 30	Liverpool	Dorothy	Garnock	Bombay
May 31	Liverpool	Columbia	Chapman	Bengal
May 31	Deal	Mulgrave Castle	Ralph	Madras
June 1	Deal	Broxburnbury	Edwards	Bombay
June 1	Torbay	Childe Harold	West	Madras and Bengal
June 1	Dungeness	Berwick	Bilbock	Bombay
June 1	Dungeness	Albion	Weller	Bombay
June 1	Portsmouth	Kingston	Bowen	Madras and Bengal
June 1	Portsmouth	Thalia	Biden	Bombay
June 1	Deal	Thomas Grenville	Manning	Bombay
June 1	Deal	Duke of York	Marjoribanks	China
June 1	Start	Maitland	Studd	Bombay
June 1	Portsmouth	Neptune	Cumbridge	Madras and Bengal
June 1	Portsmouth	Lady Kennaway	Surfen	Bombay
June 1	Portsmouth	Cambridge	Barber	Bombay
June 1	Off the Wight	Mar. of Wellington	Blanchard	Bombay
June 1	Deal	Orient	White	Bombay
June 1	Portsmouth	John Biggar	Blair	Bombay
June 1	Portsmouth	James Sibbald	Forbes	Bombay
June 1	Liverpool	John Taylor	Atkinson	Bombay
June 1	Deal	Ellen	Camp	Cape and Mauritius
June 1	Portsmouth	Mary Ann	O'Brien	Madras and Bengal
June 1	Deal	Cesar	Watts	Cape, Madr. & Bengal
June 1	Deal	Lord Hungerford	Talbot	Bombay
June 1	Cowes	Brothers	Moffet	New South Wales
June 1	Cowes	York	Mouclier	New South Wales
June 1	Deal	Bussorah Mercht.	Stewart	Bombay
June 1	Deal	Countess Harcourt	Delafors	China and Hindostan
June 1	Deal	Alacrity	Finlay	Cape and Bombay
June 1	Deal	Wm. Parker	Brown	Bombay
June 1	Deal	Mellish	Cole	Bombay
June 1	Cowes	Emily	Copeland	Bombay

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	P. of Depart.	Destination.
1825.					
Feb. 4	21.1 N. 21.1 W.	Palmira	Lamb	London	Mad. & Beng.
Feb. 12	10 S. 30 W.	Elizabeth	Collins	London	N. S. Wales
Feb. 24	4 N. 82 E.	Sophia	Barclay	London	Mad. & Beng.
April 3	29 S. 81 W.	Royal George	Ellerby	London	Bombay
May 11	53 N. 23.8 E.	John	Popplewell	London	Mad. & Beng.
May 11	38 S. 20 E.	Vansittart	Deerpole	London	China
May 12	44 N. 21.40 W.	Mary	Watts	Cape	Mad. & Beng.
June 1	148 9.6	Ceres	Watts	London	Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Orwell*.—From China: Mr. John Mason from St. Helena.

By the *Claudine*.—(Arrived) from Bengal: Mrs. Col. Shawe, Major Bennett, Dr. Playfair, Mr. A. Harris; Lieuts. Woodfall and Hadfield.

By the *Cornwall*.—From Bengal: Lieut. Col. Ahmuty; Capt. Myle, H. M. 11th Dragoons; Capt. Mackenzie, 14th N. I.; Lieut. Stewart, H. M. 11th Dragoons; — Woodward, Esq.; Henry Cooper, Esq., Assistant Surgeon; George Burt, Esq.; Mrs. Ahmuty, Mynne, Mackenzie, Thompson, Griffin, Turner, Mothcall; Miss Ochterlony; two Masters Thompson; two Masters Williamson; four Masters Stalkart; Master W. Taylor; G. Griffin; two Masters Mynne; two Masters Mackenzie; two Miss Williamsons; two Miss Grants.

By the *Dunira*.—From China: Sir William Fraser, Bart.; Dr. Strachan, H. M. Service; Master C. White.

By the *Thames*.—From China: Mrs. Macalister; Thomas Macquoid, Esq.; Mrs. and Miss Macquoid; Count Van Horne, from Anjer; R. D. Huddleston, Esq.; Daniel Magneas, Esq. from St. Helena.

By the *George*.—From Madras and Ceylon: Mrs. Cooke; Mesd. Lutre, Coates, Hume; Miss Marley; Col. Gremuire; Majors Thornton and De Lutre; W. Cooke, Esq.; J. Dean, Esq.; D. Slak, Esq.; Capt. Skinner; Lieuts. Thompson, Pope, Gibson, & Mylins; two Miss De Lutres; Misses Cooke, Waters, & Walboof; two Miss Bonstads; two Miss Coates; Masters Cooke & White; two Masters Gray & Coates.

By the *Lady Raffles*.—From Bengal and Madras: Mesd. Heath, Waters, & Angelo; Misses M'Namara, Hawkins, De Fries; Mrs. Assereau; Cols. Greensbrut, and Shapland, H. C. Service; Lieut. Hall; J. M. Heath, Esq.; Rev. M. Thompson, M. Hamilton, Esq.; Capt. Raine; Messrs. Angelo, Bainfield, Hilder, & Rankin; Major Durie, H. M. 11th Dragoons died at sea, 21st February 1825;

two Miss Shepherds; E. Maxwell; A. M'Cloud; two Miss Comyns; Misses Russel, Fraser, Heath, & Assereau; Master J. E. Matthew; P. J. Comyn; C. Russell; two Masters Denman and Clemenston; C. Shepherd.

By the *Prince Regent*.—From Bengal: Lieut.-Col. Sir James Moreat, Bart.; Lieut.-Col. Christopher Baldock; Lieut.-Col. Wm. Logie; Majors B. C. Swindell, and R. W. Baldock; Capt. Alex. Campbell, Royal Scots, and James Serjeant, 87th reg.; Lieut. W. G. Lennox, and J. R. Birrell; Ensign Johnson, 59th reg. Foot; James Hare, Esq., M.D.; Anthony Mactier, Esq.; Mrs. Col. Baldock, Mrs. Lennox, Mrs. Mactier, Mrs. Browne; four Masters Mactier, Masters Baldock, & Logie, two Masters Doveton, Masters Swinton, Hunter, Lennox, and Collier; Misses Baldock, Hunter, Logie, Cave, Leslies, and Browne.

By the *Sarah*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Hale, Miss H. Hale, Master E. Hale; Lieut.-Col. Kemp, Command. 13th Bombay N. I.; Mrs. Kemp, Miss Danford; Lieut.-Col. Pedmore, Madras N. I.; George Pilley, Esq. free merchant; Lieut. Thomas Clenden, Hon. Company's Marine; two Misses E. Stubbs.

By the *Cape Packet*.—From the Cape: Capt. Altholinson, Dr. Clark, Mr. Chealot, Mr. Tanne, Mr. Crookshank.

By the *Eliza*.—From Bombay: Col. Pittman; Capt. Gordon; Mr. Morrice, and two children.

By the *Astell*.—From Madras: Lady A. Campbell, Miss Campbell; Lieut.-Col. Miles, H. M. 89th Regt.; Miss Miles; Major Burton, 4th Native Artillery; Major Davis, 4th Native Bat.; Capt. Campbell, H. M. 49th Regt.; Capt. Swann, Retired Service; Lieut. Dowdall; A. T. Campbell, Esq.; Master William Cadall; Major Ravenshaw (died in Madras Roads); Lieut. Dys, 22d N. I.; Capt. Cockburn, H. M. 13th Light Infantry; Ens. Snow, N. I.; Mr. James Benson, Mrs. Benson; Mr. J. Heywood; Mr. Lyton.

ERRATUM.

IN the General Orders by the Government of Prince of Wales' Island, published in our last Number, p. 750, for Lieut.-Colonel *Combs*, read Lieut.-Colonel *J. M. Coombs*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS

The indisposition of the Editor, and the accumulated labours of his legal and extra-editorial engagements, must be his apology for not replying to numerous Communications, accompanied by private letters, which still remain unanswered; as well as for the postponement of several articles on Indian subjects, the materials of which have long been collected, and wait only that condensation and arrangement necessary to fit them for publication. The habitual Contributors to the ORIENTAL HERALD are, however, now so numerous, as well as powerful, that the duty of selection from the multitude of papers submitted for its pages, becomes every month more and more difficult. It may give some idea of the increased and increasing interest taken by the British Public in Indian topics, since the efforts of this Journal were first directed to awaken their attention to Oriental affairs, to state, that not less than fifty Communications from different pens are now waiting the earliest opportunity of insertion. It is not desired, by this disclosure, to discourage the preparation of others. On the contrary, the Editor will always be ready to receive them: and will be guided in his selection and preference of such as can be included within the limits of this publication, by as impartial an estimate of their respective claims, as an honest intention to exercise a right judgment will admit.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 20.—AUGUST 1825.—Vol. 6.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, PHRASES, AND OPINIONS
OF THE ANCIENTS, FROM ORIENTAL SOURCES.

کرچه سیم و زر ز سنک آید هدی
در همه سنکي نباشد زر و سیم

SAADI

No. I.

It is undeniable, that the Asiatic authors are capable of affording most important illustrations, as well to the biblical as to the classical page; and that manners and customs, which at one time were conceived to have been confined to a small portion of the globe, are detected in others, as our knowledge of the literature of nations increases, and that many particulars, which in the reliquiae of the one appear inexplicable or obscure, derive their elucidation from the archives of other people remotely situated, and even different from those whose monuments they illustrate, in the structure of their language, in philosophy, and in polity. Many extraordinary details and expressions, which the sober and indefatigable editor of the classical page may be tempted to reject, or must leave in the obscurity in which he has found them, still remain to be authenticated by Eastern MSS., and explained by Eastern lexica and scholia. It is, therefore, proposed in this and the following papers, without reference to any particular arrangement, to examine these points of resemblance, and record ancient and popular traditions, as well as to illustrate the remains of biblical and classical writers from these rich and exhaustless sources.

One of the earliest superstitions, which we notice, was that of divination, in all its varied forms; and we doubt whether a nation ever existed that did not apply signs and omens to the development of futurity. It was one of the earliest efforts of the human mind to penetrate the destinies of communities and individuals, and scrutinize the designs of celestial agents: originating in the fear of things unknown, and in consequent superstition, in process of time it readily became the vehicle of a lucrative priestcraft, and the portentous engine of the civil power. Even after the fall of the Roman empire, when Paganism had ceased to govern human opinions, divination survived the general wreck, and under the modified character of sortilege, still continued to exert its influence on the weak and fanatical.

We shall only cursorily adduce the ideas of the classics on this subject, as they have frequently been discussed. Among the Indians and Arabs divination was in considerable repute from time immemorial, and was inextricably interwoven with the religious and secular transactions of both. The divining rods of the latter have already been provided with sufficient parallels; but we may argue from the charge which the Korish, accord-

ing to Abu'lfeida, brought against Mohammed—(سِفْةِ احْلَامِنَا) that they were, likewise, Oneirocritics, in the fullest sense of the term. The works of their physicians, and the traditions in their lexicographical writers, amply assure us of the extent of these superstitious practices among them; and Mohammedanism itself owes many of its absurdities to these remains of antiquity. The mystical Arabs of the present day mention, indeed, the رَاقٍ or enchanter, but apply the phrase to him

who is perfected in the علم اسم الله; yet their tales abound with allusions to the former propensities of the people; and many of their modern fanaticisms are referrible to the system of divination; for instance, the amulets of camel's hair, called التَّيَامُمُ, which they suspend to the necks of infants until adolescence arrives, are those which the rabbinical authors denominate יְרֵמִיָּה, and which Persius and Macrobius mention to have been used by the Romans for the same purpose. Hariri notices them in his second Consensus. The scholiast identifies them with the معاذة, to which averruncal qualities are attributed; from whence those

hung on the necks of horses were named معوذة: and when the boy is released from these protectors, he puts on the cidaris, or turban, the girdle and sword-belt. In like manner, among the Romans, the toga virilis was assumed. Cedrenus (v. i. p. 41.) attributes geometry to the Egyptians, astrology and calculation of nativities to the Chaldeans, augury to the Arabs and Phrygians, sacrifices to the Chaldeans or Cyprians descended from the Persians, astronomy to the Babylonian Zoroaster, magianism and magic to the Medes and Persians. But on this little dependence must be placed; for the most that we may concede to him, is, that these particular people may have excelled in these separate departments: it being demonstrable from most authentic sources, that the theology of all was vitally the same, and their superstitions, consequently, all of the same class. The Hebrews had various amulets and talismans like the Arabs: they had their מוטפות, which some conceive to have been marked with cabalistical characters; their לוחשים, which were golden images of serpents, worn by women; and others, too numerous to be recited: they had their haruspices, their קסמים—their מנשפים—their מנחשים, &c.; and they had their necromancers and ventriloquists,—the בעלי-אוב. Of the latter description was the Impostor of Endor, who is expressly asserted to have practised, on the occasion, her arts of divination (קסומי); and any one who bears in mind the skill of the Orientals in these phantasmagoric and other illusions, aided by ventriloquism, and remembers that not only Saul's words, but the posture of affairs, naturally suggested her answer, can have no doubt

concerning the deceptions that were practised upon him. This document is in perfect unison with the juggling and necromantic customs of the ancient inhabitants of the East, which have experienced a very trifling variation in more modern times.

We omit the Indians, because their ideas and customs are generally known. But we have reason, independent of the instances cited by Hyde, to include the Gabrs, in a very uncommon degree, among the followers of these superstitions. Numberless proofs occur in the Berhani Kattéa, and other books. Abu'l-feda records, that the Múbidán expounded dreams, and pretended to a knowledge of futurity; and that, when Khosrav was alarmed in a dream at the portents accompanying Mohammed's birth, he had recourse to them.

فلما أصبح كسرب افزع ذلك و اجتمع بالموبدان فقص
عليه ما راي فقال كسرب اي شي يكون هذا فقال الموبدان
و كان عالماً بما يكون حدث من جهة العرب امر*

"When Khosrav awoke, this dream alarmed him, and he convened the Múbidán,¹ and declared to him what he had seen. And Khosrav said, 'What can it mean?' To whom the Múbidán, who was skilled in futurity, replied, 'Some event has recently occurred in the direction of Arabia.'"

We exempt the *legitimate* Gabr from the charge of polytheism, but not from a love of the marvellous, and a fear of omens and the unpropitious conjunction of the heavenly bodies. The service of fire, however pure it may have originally been, and emblematical of a superior cause, was, nevertheless, calculated to induce the study of astrology, which has ever been found to include fanaticism. The Devs, the Peris, the Simorgh, and other imaginary beings, the magical operations and traditions with which the earlier books of the Persians are replenished, are sufficient vouchers that the ante-Mohammedan inhabitants of the country had legends and practices not dissimilar to those of the conterminal nations. Every thing for which no ready reason can be assigned, is still accounted the work of a Dev, however slight be its uncommon appearance.² Swallows settling on a house are still esteemed auspicious, and the owl still bears an evil omen, wherever she may be heard, as we infer from the verses of Saadi:

بلبلا مژده بهار بيار
خبر بد بيوم باز بگذار*

They are yet as superstitious as they ever were, or as the Romans are represented to have been, about the auspicious hour of cock-crowing, and will delay a journey, however great be the inconvenience, until a favour-

¹ Múbidán is plural in Persian; Abu'l-feda makes it a singular in Arabic; this person was the Archimagus—the Múbidí Múbidán of the Persians.

² هر چیزیکه اندک غرایبی دارد میگویند کار دیو است

MIRZA SAADIN'S JOURNAL, apud Sir W. Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 37.

able conjunction of planets. This latter propensity was of very high antiquity, as we collect from 2 Kings iv. 28. They abound in puerilities, all connected with the subject of divination, respecting the consecration of gems and the power of herbs, among which the maiden-weed

(أذير بويه or بجرور مریم) is considered a panacea in puerility, as

other herbs and plants are in different cases. We might produce many analogous examples from the writings of the Greeks and Romans.

In fact, to whatever quarter of the globe we direct our attention, we shall discern the same ideas. If we revert to the Chaldeans, we shall find ample illustrations, and should be furnished with many more, were every book extant that had been written on their antiquities. We know that salt was frequently used by ancient exorcists; and Berckhardt records the existence of the custom at Darnou, at the period of lading the camels, when women appear with earthen vessels containing burning coals, which they set before each load, and throw salt on them, as a repellent from evil spirits, and the omen of a lucrative journey. Livy and Plutarch mention the mantles with which the augurs were accustomed to cover their heads, which we also notice in the necromancy at Endor; on these, mystical characters were ordinarily inscribed, which, in Job's allusion, c. xxxi. 36; and if we consult Hyde's work on the ancient Persians, and the writings of others on Asiatic subjects, we shall see apposite examples. The worship of stones may have had some connexion with augury or divination: the Sala-grama of the Indians, and Xin of the Chinese, bear extraordinary analogies to it. Michael Glycas, p. 183, mentions a tradition, that Solomon, about whom the Arabs detail many wonders, wrote a book on the nature, colour, and uses of precious stones, and one concerning genii (πνεύματα), with their appropriate magical invocations, in which his famous ring (δακτύλιον, the خاتم of the Arabs)

is not omitted. The same writer avers, that Manasseh practised judicial astrology, consulted the flight of birds, was addicted to other species of divination, and by the aid of evil spirits penetrated the future. (p. 193.) Syncellus (p. 98) asserts, that Abraham taught the Egyptians astronomy, and that Joseph's cup was of the sort which was named *κόρυς*. This description of cup is mentioned in Athenæus, and said by Nicomachus to have been of Persian origin. We find a vessel made of clay, and used

for keeping grain, still called *كندو*, and as the care of the granaries was Joseph's department, the legend may have had some foundation. All these traditions, although we may not attach historical credit to them, conspire to show the universality of these occult arts, from the earliest memory of man.

The scholiast on the Hecuba of Euripides observes, that the augurs used to apply their ears to the mouths of sacred serpents, and pretend to hear from them the counsels of the gods. The Eastern tales abound with fables concerning the omniscience of animals, particularly of birds, and introduce individuals acquainted with their languages. Demir narrates, that those Indians who eat the flesh of serpents understood their language.

As can be seen, the bird of serpent's head

و قیل ان الہدیٰ علیکم الذین امنتم بالکتاب

تتکلم به الذوات

not, despite claims by

not, while some but

ogy.

ce from our shores.⁶¹

these disclosures to birds; and, it is not a little singular, that they vene-

rated the nightingale as much as the Persians their *سکینه*, and dreamed the eagle, as much as the *عقاب* of Eastern romance was dreaded. The

Brazilians thought that a certain species of nightingale was a nocturnal messenger from their departed friends.

But, as Circe of old had the power of transforming men to different shapes, so had her successors of every nation. The northern witches had the faculty of raising storms by sea and land, of exciting hail, thunder, and lightning, and selling the wind. Those of Lapland and Finland perform the latter miracle by means of a cord containing three magic knots, the first of which being untied, produces a favourable gale, the second a brisk one, the third a furious tempest. Pomponius Mela gives the same privilege to priestesses in the isle of Sena, on the coast of Gaul, and Higden's Polychronicon records the knotted cord of witches in the Isle of Man. Thus, Calypso affected authority over the wind, and Æolus enclosed it in bags. The Chinese sorcerers likewise profess to sell it. But the savages of Hudson's Bay imagine storms to be raised by the spirit of the moon lodging itself at the bottom of the sea, and seek to pacify it by throwing into it the most valuable articles in their canoes, which they accompany with songs and averruncal ceremonies. Every early invocation to the spirits of floods, rivers, &c. consisted in these offerings, as far as we have been able to trace them; on which principle Jonah was thrown into the deep.

But one curious particular in ancient magic, was the destruction of enemies by means of representative figures, to which Ovid alludes. Her. Ep. vi. 91.—

Devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea fingit,
Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus.

These waxen or other figures of the person to be consumed, are noticed in the Jewish Targumin, Virgil, and Theocritus in his second Idyl. In later ages, they consisted of a waxen image, baptized by the devil, in some living person's name, who was wasted by sickness as the image was melted by the witches; which strange conceit is well satirized in Hudibras. The jugglers among the Illinois pretend to kill an enemy at a vast distance, by thrusting an arrow into the heart of a figure representative of him. In the East, this seems to have been the property of the "liver-eaters," and the possessors of the evil eye. These fascinators often were said to have exerted their deadly influence on cattle; which tradition is recorded in Theocritus, Virgil, Heliodorus, and many northern writers, who, of course, attribute the spell to witches. The counter-charm varied in different places; in some it was the horse-shoe, in others a wolf's head. But the cat, with which these magicians were fabled to have been accompanied, is curiously illustrated by Hecate taking that form during the insurrection of Typhon, and by Galanthis in Antonius (Met. Arg.) being reported to have been changed into one by the Fates, or by witches, according to Pausanias in Bœotia. The idea of magic certainly originated in chemical discoveries, which designing men sardoniously applied to their own purposes, taking advantage of the ignorance of the age; this was the case with the inhabitants of Cochin China, who thus affected to be exempt from death, to have the power of

transporting themselves where they pleased, and to possess preternatural powers. Hence, also, the frauds of the Rosicrucians, who pretended to omniscience, invisibility, and the power of rescuing their friends from the grave.

It now remains to notice, *en masse*, other effects of divination; such as the magic drums of the Laplanders, their magical javelin, and phar-maceutrics, by which they could expedite the speed of ships, or stop them in full sail; the loadstone used by witches, not dissimilar to the *Ætites* of Pliny; and the powerful fumigations of sorcerers of every country. Among the omens, sneezing was most important. Eustathius considered sneezing to the right, auspicious, but to the left, inauspicious, which the Jews maintain to have been a deadly omen from the days of Adam to Jacob, as whose intercession it was reversed, whence the subsequent salutation of *לנבון חיים*.⁴ Socrates had very superstitious ideas on this point, and the Greeks exclaimed after it, *Ζῆν σῶσον*. Hence the phrase originated, *τὸν παραρὸν Θεὸν ἡγάμεθα*. Before a battle, sneezing to the right was esteemed an omen of victory, as many authors declare; and similar ideas are found prevalent in Africa and the East, particularly among the Siamese. The northern nations believed that sounds in the right ear indicated approaching marriage, but in the left approaching sadness, which will explain Sappho's words, *Βαμβεύσιν δ' ἀκρίαι μευ*. Pliny interpreted the omen by some one speaking evil of the person, who experienced the sensation. In like manner, the itching or the rubbing of the eye was accounted ominous: that of the right was fortunate, that of the left unfortunate: thus, Theocritus, *Εἰδ γ' v. 37*:

ἀλλεῖαι ὑφ' ὀφθαλμοῦ μευ ὁ δέξιός· ἄρα γ' ἰδέσσω
αὐτάν;

There were auspicious times for cutting the hair and paring the nails, which we also detect in the history of the Persian festivals. The howling of dogs was everywhere of portentous import. These nations are likewise said to have had their divining rods, like the Arabs; and it appears from Hosea iv. 12, that the Jews practised the same divination: they had astrological figures, which may have corresponded to the Tera-phim, and they were much addicted to chiromancy or palmistry. They divined, moreover, by sieves, of which mention is made in Theocritus, *Εἰδ γ' v. 31*:—

(Εἶπε καὶ Ἀγροῖά τετραδεία, κοσινόμενται; &c.)

as well as by flowers, such as the *τρίφυλλον*, cited in the 29th verse of the same idyl, with reference to the same custom. Virgil also takes notice of these practices. The Tartars, moreover, encouraged divination in as extended a degree as these northern people, auguring from the shoulder-bones of rams, and laying claim to prophecy and the occult sciences, which serves to prove, that if a regular inquiry were instituted, the parallel would be perfect in its parts, in the different quarters of the globe.

CHARACTER OF SIR WILLIAM JONES.

(From a Prize Poem, entitled 'The Restoration of Learning in the East,' written
some years ago by the present Right Hon. Charles Grant.)

ACCOMPLISH'D JONES ! whose hand to every art
Could unknown charms and nameless grace impart :
His was the soul, by fear nor interest sway'd,
The purest passions, and the wisest head ;
The heart so tender, and the wit so true,
Yet this no malice, that no weakness knew ;
The Song to Virtue, as the Muses dear,
Though glowing, chaste,—and lovely, though severe.
What gorgeous trophies crown his youthful bloom !—
The spoils august of Athens and of Rome.

And, lo ! untouch'd by British brows before,
Yet nobler trophies wait on Asia's shore :
There at his magic voice, what wonders rise !
Th' astonish'd East unfolds her mysteries :
Round her dark shrines a sudden blaze he showers,
And all unveil'd the proud Pantheon towers ;
Where half unheard, Time's formless billows glide,
Alone he stems the dim discover'd tide ;
Wide o'er th' expanse as darts his radiant sight,
At once the vanish'd ages roll in light.
Old India's Genius, bursting from repose,
Bids all his tombs their mighty dead disclose.
Immortal names ! though long immers'd in shade,
Long lost to song, though destin'd not to fade ;
O'er all, the Master of the spell presides,
Their march arranges, and their order guides ;
Bids here or there their ranks or gleam or blaze,
With hues of elder or of later days.

See, where in British robes, sage Menu shines,
And willing Science opes her Sanscrit mines !
His are the triumphs of her ancient lyres,
Her tragic sorrows, and her epic fires,
Her earliest arts, and learning's sacred store,
And strains sublime of philosophic lore :
Bright in his view their gather'd pomp appears,
The treasured wisdom of a thousand years.
Oh ! could my verse in characters of day
The living colour of thy mind pourtray.
And on the Sceptic, 'mid his impious dreams,
Flush all the brightness of their mingled beams !
Then should he know, how talents various, bright,
With pure Devotion's holy thoughts unite ;
And blush (if yet a blush survive) to see
What genius, honour, virtue, ought to be.

ON THE REVENUE SYSTEM OF INDIA, AND ITS TWO PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF ZUMEENDARRY AND RYOTWARRY

SETTLEMENTS.

SINCE we first noticed Mr. Tucker's Work on the financial situation of the East India Company, we are glad to find that it has excited some attention; because, although other parts of his book contain very absurd and erroneous views of the subject, yet in his third chapter on the Land Revenue of India, he gives much valuable information, and exposes ably, and with honest indignation, one of the greatest enormities ever perpetrated even in India; namely, the introduction of the Ryotwarry System. We shall, therefore, consider it in conjunction with a pamphlet, to which we lately adverted, from the pen of Mr. Law, entitled, 'Remarks on the Ryotwarry and Mocurrery Systems.' As the latter was intended for East Indian functionaries exclusively, and was printed for private use, it is probably in the hands of but few; we were, therefore, anxious to take the earliest opportunity of making our readers acquainted with its contents. The subject discussed, indeed, appears to us to be, at the present moment, one of the utmost importance, when external war in one quarter, with the most alarming symptoms of discontent in others, must prove to every one the defects of our political system, and excite deep regret that the means of consolidating it have been so long neglected. With this impression on his mind, Mr. Law seems to have taken up his pen, feeling, like Warren Hastings, and all others who have thoroughly understood the subject, that our existence in India still "hangs by a thread," which "the least touch of chance may break, or the breath of opinion may dissolve." After having long quitted the scene of action, he is roused by the urgency of the danger to raise his warning voice, (in his own words,) "as one risen from the dead." His sentiments, expressed with the deepest earnestness, evince an honest regard for the happiness of the people of India, mingled with the most heartfelt anxiety for the welfare of its rulers, as men blindly treading on the brink of a precipice. He expostulates with them on their danger, as a father gives a word of parting advice to his children before he pass "that bourne whence no traveller returns." It will be for our readers to judge, whether his remedy for their political distempers be as wise as it is well intended. Being the original adviser of that Permanent Settlement of the landed revenue, introduced into Bengal by the Marquis Cornwallis, with whose name it is invariably associated, he looks upon it with that affection which it is natural for every one to feel for his own offspring. But he now brings to the subject the matured experience of thirty years, part of them spent in America; by which Indian prejudices, if they existed, must have been dispelled, and the benevolent views of his early life enlarged by the contemplation of popular rights and social happiness in other parts of the world.

In the much-agitated question about the preference between a zumeendarry or a ryotwarry settlement, two things seem to have been very often confounded, which are essentially distinct; viz., 1st, Whether the immediate cultivator of the soil (the *ryot*), or the middleman who stands between him and Government (the *zumeendar*), should be con-

sidered as the proprietor of the soil. *Sally.* Whether the person acknowledged as proprietor ought to pay a fixed revenue to the state, or liable to further increase, or to have his lands assessed anew from time to time, (as annually,) and thus be exposed to an indefinite augmentation of the demands against him for rent or revenue. We shall consider these two subjects separately, conceiving the widest possible distinction to exist between them; and believing that a confounding of the two together is highly injurious.

According to the principles admitted and acted upon in different parts of India, there are four modes in which the land revenue may be raised:

1. By a permanent zumeendary settlement, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, in 1789.

2. By a temporary zumeendary settlement; now operating in the ceded and conquered provinces.

3. By a temporary ryotwarry settlement, inflicted by Sir Thomas Munro, on the Madras territory.

4. By a permanent ryotwarry settlement; the only just measure, recommended by him twenty years ago, but not adopted.

In regard to the first question, of who *was, is, and ought to be,* proprietor? great diversity of opinion has prevailed. Under a despotic government, where there exists nothing like our Commons' House of Parliament to hold the strings of the public purse, all property is necessarily exposed to the arbitrary exactions of the sovereign, who will naturally take as much as he can get. Consequently, in India, it seems to have been an established maxim to leave the ryot, or cultivator, no more of the produce than was barely sufficient for his subsistence, or to defray the expenses of culture; that is, the whole nett produce was extorted as revenue. Hence, by assuming it as a principle that he only can be called proprietor of a thing who reaps the fruits of it, or the greatest share of them, it has been inferred that Government was the universal landlord. Now, without disputing the premises, we think this conclusion a mere misapplication of terms; for under a despotism, every thing, whether moveable or immovable, that can be made to yield revenue, is of course equally liable to arbitrary exaction; so that by the above rule, no individual property would be acknowledged to exist in any thing. Nay, the subject would not be allowed to call his head his own; for that also, as well as his lands, goods, and chattels, may be taken away at the pleasure of the prince. Those who argue in this way, mean only this, that it is the nature of despotism to render all private rights insecure and worthless; so that the term "property" cannot be applied to their possessions with the full significance it has among a free people. The ryots, or cultivators, were, however, as well secured in the property of the land as in that of any thing else which they possessed; or perhaps better. "Their possessions," says the historian of British India, "either individually or by villages, were hereditary possessions. So long as they continued to pay to Government the due proportion of the produce, they could not lawfully be dispossessed. They not only transmitted their possessions by descent, but had the power of cultivation; and could either sell them or give them away." They were protected in these proprietary rights by written title-deeds, called *pottahs*, and by public registers, containing an exact specification of their boundaries and extent of their lands, and the amount of their assessment, to secure them

against encroachment or extortion. It is true they were harrassed with a very heavy income-tax, for which, if unpaid, they might be ejected from their possessions; but a similar thing may happen in England, in recovering taxes by legal process. The only essential difference in their case is, that their taxes were extremely high, and were laid on, without their consent. If, on this account, their proprietary interest be denied, then, in the same sense, whenever the British Parliament becomes so subservient to the Crown as to increase the revenue and public expenditure to the highest possible pitch, in implicit obedience to the will of his Majesty's Ministers, the King will be virtually the universal landlord, and there will be no other proprietor of the soil in England.

In India, from the subdividing operation of the laws of hereditary succession, the surface of the earth was shared in small parcels among an infinite number of cultivators, who held them either as individuals, or as village corporations; and, in the lapse of ages, a peculiar state of society had grown up, suited to their natural wants, and the artificial distinctions introduced by their creeds and castes. The tenure by which they held the soil, necessarily formed a most essential ingredient in their social system, in which any violent change must occasion incalculable misery among this large and useful class of subjects.

The East India Company, regardless of these considerations, having seized upon the country by force, and dethroned the lawful Native Princes, afterwards resolved to trample in the same manner on the rights of the people, by proclaiming an entire revolution in the possession of landed property. With the view of creating an aristocracy, whose support might strengthen Government, the Company took upon itself, in 1789, to set aside and destroy, at one sweep, the rights of the whole proprietors of the soil throughout Bengal. The persons pitched upon for composing this aristocracy, were the zumeendars, or hereditary public officers of the Native system of government under the Moguls, who, among other duties which they discharged as magistrates or justices of the peace, &c. had been collectors of the revenue, and received one-tenth of it as their salary or reward. To them, therefore, the unfortunate ryots, the rightful owners, were now handed over in the gross, bound hand and foot, and left to beg leases on such terms as they could get, of the lands they had formerly held as proprietors; one of the most wanton and uncalled-for acts of injustice and universal spoliation ever committed on any people.

If allowance be made for the aristocratical prejudices of Lord Cornwallis, the object of this nobleman and his advisers, in setting up this great idol of their worship, a class of landed gentry, was a good one, in so far as it went to limit the demands of Government upon the produce of the soil. But this favour might have been granted equally well to the humble ryots, who were entitled to it as the rightful proprietors, and also as the persons through whose industry the revenue is produced. If it was thought desirable to increase the size of estates, this ought to have been done gradually by a law altering the rules of hereditary succession, as by the introduction of the right of primogeniture and of entail. But was such a thing ever heard of before, as that, in order to realize a political theory, and set up a landed aristocracy, a government should at once rob the whole of the actual proprietors and possessors of the soil, in order to give their rights to a new class of men? In the same country which sanctions these proceedings in India, we are continually deafened

with the outcry raised by aristocrats about the inviolable nature of property, the indefeasible and sacred rights of the Church to its lands and tithes, which must not be infringed upon or changed in the least degree, even although this be necessary for the public welfare. For India we have another measure of justice, and a new code of equity, by which the East India Company is sanctioned in robbing the whole proprietors at once of their rights of property, and selling them to the highest bidder. The zumeendars, seeing so excellent an opportunity of elevating themselves on the ruins of popular rights, were naturally very eager to grasp at the terms offered. The Government thus obtained a promise of revenue much higher than could have been otherwise expected. The consequence was, that the zumeendars themselves were speedily ruined by that revolution in property which was pretended to have been intended for their benefit. Being unable to fulfil their engagements, their lands were speedily attached, and sold in satisfaction of the revenue, by a summary process introduced with, and which formed the most essential feature of, this system, called "the permanent settlement."

So early as the year 1796, nearly one-tenth of the whole of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, were for sale; at which rate the whole of the land would again change masters in a very few years. In 1802, Sir Henry Strachey declared, that "an almost universal destruction" had overtaken the zumeendars; and that "if any survived, they were, according to the notions of the Company's servants, reduced to the same condition, and placed at the same distance from their masters, as the lowest ryots." Nothing more need be said to show that the "permanent settlement," which professed to erect a peculiar class into a landed aristocracy, had the effect of levelling it with the earth. The families of the ancient hereditary officers of the Government were quickly swept away, and their places superseded by the Native servants of the East India Company, who were raised on the ruins of the zumeendars; being able to buy them out at the public sales with the fortunes realized chiefly through bribery and corruption. The general result has been, to produce a double revolution in the proprietorship of the land in the course of about twenty years; to keep it in a state of perpetual fluctuation; and, finally, to confer the land, with whatever respectability or rank the Company's law suffers the natives of India to enjoy, upon the very lowest and basest of mankind.

This important change in the tenure of land, which ousted the cultivators of the soil from their proprietary rights, did not, we believe, profess to be intended for their benefit; consequently we cannot be surprised at the miserable condition in which it left them. The only provision it made in their favour was, that they should have leases, and not be tenants at will. But "fifty means," says Mr. Thackery, (Memoir, April 1806,) "might be mentioned, in which the ryots are liable to oppression from the zumeendars, even where pottahs (or leases) have been given. The zumeendars will make collusive arrangements, and get ryots to do so. In regard to the district called the Circars, he says: "I have no doubt but there are farmers and under-farmers, and securities, and all the confusion that arises from them; that pottahs (or written leases) are not given; and that village charges are assessed on the ryot as formerly. In a word, the cultivator enjoyed now no efficient protection, the zumeendar no permanent security of his possessions. Under the present

of creating landed proprietors, the rightful ones were despoiled, and a mere shadow of landholders set up, who had only a tenth of the rent; and the grand principle introduced was, that of selling off the lands by a summary process for arrears of revenue, whenever any deficiency occurred. This is the boon conferred upon India by the permanent settlement, which has been so much extolled for its generosity.

We are far from imagining that the zumeendars had no claim to the consideration of Government. Under the Native Princes, when these hereditary public officers were displaced, provision was made for their support, on the same equitable principle that when troops are disbanded they are entitled to something in the shape of pension, or half-pay. The justice and moderation of the Mogul Princes is also conspicuous in this, that throughout the period of their rule, the important office of zumeendar remained in the hands of Hindoos; which shows the utter fallacy of the pretence, that Colonization would necessarily exclude the Natives from the soil. For although the Mohammedans colonized, and were scattered over the whole face of the country, they still left its wealth and possessions to their Hindoo subjects. The Company might in like manner have continued to employ them, if not as magistrates, at least as collectors, or sub-collectors of the revenue, under the control of its own courts, empowered to take cognizance of all disputes between them and the cultivators. If found unqualified for this duty, they might have been gradually superseded, and provided for by suitable allowances of land, charged with a very moderate assessment. This would have been only imitating, not excelling, the "barbarous" rulers who went before us, and whom we thought it a duty to dethrone for their misgovernment. But we find that the Company's servants trample down the zumeendars, or "landed aristocracy," as it is nicknamed, with as little scruple as they did the ryots. To quote the latest of a host of authorities that might be adduced, the pamphlet of Lieut.-Colonel Stewart just issued from the press:—"The whole class of the gentry have, in the short space of half a century, melted down into the multitude! Of what volumes of wretchedness is not this the evidence? What scenes of honest pride struggling with the encroachments of poverty on habitual luxuries, comforts, and necessities, have not been acted over and over again in this universal process of humiliation?" Yet, melancholy as is this picture, the system of revenue collection to which it applies, is by far the most marvellous of those that have found favour in the eyes of the rulers of India.

The next in order is the temporary zumeedary assessment. In 1803 the Company pledged itself to give a permanent settlement of the revenue to the ceded and conquered provinces; unquestionably to the former, and to the latter was also implied; to commence at the end of the decennial arrangement then formed. The inhabitants were eager to obtain that security from unlimited exaction, and to deserve it by complying with the conditions on which it was promised. From the stimulus of hope, and the anxiety thus created to gain favour, the revenue of course received a considerable augmentation. But what did the Company do in return? It broke its solemn pledge, in the hope that further procrastination would enable it to extort still better terms from its subjects. When the time came for fulfilling its promises, it ordered its servants to announce that they were postponed, or, in other words, falsified. Mr. Tucker, one of the commissioners appointed to report on the subject, in

1803, who finds an excuse for every thing done by the Company, says of this proceeding, in his late work:—"The country continuing from that period under temporary settlements, an increase of revenue has been obtained abundantly sufficient to justify the delay which had been contended for by the commissioners in the first instance." Does the quantum of increment prove a breach of faith justifiable, or delay politic? Is it worthy of enlightened sovereigns, as the Company would be thought, or not rather a despicable pedlar spirit, that would make increase of revenue the supreme test of political expediency? Mr. Tucker ascribes this increase chiefly to the "able management" of the late commissioners, Sir E. Colebrook and Mr. Deane; and to "the indefatigable and successful exertions" of some of the collectors under them, among whom Mr. Trant, Mr. C. Lloyd, Mr. Ross, and Mr. Christian are named. "Mr. Trant," he says, "by a course of laborious exertions, increased the revenue of one district, Bareilly, in the sum of 100,000*l.* per annum; the amount of the first triennial settlement in 1803 being at 22,97,588 sicca rupees; that of Mr. Trant's settlement, in 1809-10—31,65,495 sicca rupees. With those, to whom the realizing of taxes is everything, this may be quite satisfactory; for, both at home and abroad, when a civil servant of the Company can prove that he has augmented the revenue, this, in their eyes, "covereth a multitude of sins." But we should like to know what sort of "exertion" is meant in reference to the tax payers? The settlement of 1803 must have been taken from the former settlements of the Nabob Vizier, not likely to have been too light; and we are told that the Company's humane government improved upon their "despotic barbarian" predecessors, by increasing one-third the burdens of the people; and this is now to be held up as a justification for also committing towards them a breach of faith!

We are assured that nothing but the terror of insurrection will induce the Company to give the permanent settlement, "solemnly promised," to the ceded and conquered provinces, where the people, being yet new to its yoke, have not that passive spirit which is requisite for slaves. Mr. Tucker says, (p. 172)—

Of one fact we may be quite certain from the concurring testimony of the local authorities, that a further delay will be attended with discredit to our name, if it do not excite a spirit of disaffection throughout our western territory. The landholders have received, in the most authentic form, repeated assurances of our intention to conclude a "permanent settlement" with them; and whatever we may pretend, they can never be made to believe that, in disappointing their just expectations, we have not been actuated by a sordid, rapacious policy. Is it possible, indeed, for them to believe that a government, which seems disposed to appropriate a vast territory as *universel landlord*, and to collect, not revenue but *rent*, can have any other view than to extract from the people the utmost fraction which they can pay!

Mr. Tucker, however, himself imbued with no inconsiderable portion of the spirit of his honourable masters, still dwells with complacency on one consequence of the breach of faith committed: namely, that the revenue had been increased by it a million annually,—a powerful *salvo* for a tender conscience. It is to be borne in mind, also, that he himself was one of the commissioners who advised the delay of the permanent settlement promised; if on moral grounds as well as political he would no doubt have told us. But as the Company appears to have

attached great weight to that advice, he says; "I am anxious, as one of the commissioners, to explain my sentiments on this important question, the decision of which may affect a valuable portion of our Indian territory. Its tranquillity will not, in my opinion, be long preserved if the project of sending out a host of surveyors to measure and assess every field, be carried into effect; and I understand that steps have already been taken for the execution of this ill-judged project." How are the strong apprehensions expressed in various parts of his work, that the Company is thus advancing on the brink of a precipice, in its mode of collecting the revenues, to be reconciled with the idea that its finances are in a safe and flourishing condition? Yet this is the proposition he set out with the professed object of demonstrating. He has proved, on the contrary, that where the ryotwarry system has been established, the country is reduced to ruin; and is convinced that its intended introduction into other parts will produce insurrection!

But defective in its nature, and ruinous as the zumeendary settlement has been to the great body of the people, it is a blessing compared with the temporary ryotwarry system established by Sir Thomas Munro in the Madras territory, which is undoubtedly the greatest curse that ever was inflicted upon a country. The former affords some degree of security to the zumeendars, if they are able to pay their revenue; the latter annihilates them. By the former, the ryots even had some relief from holding leases of the proprietors, and having the Government officers to appeal to against undue exaction of rent; by the latter, they are exposed to unlimited exaction from the Government itself, which is at once landlord, law-giver, tax-gatherer, judge, and magistrate, to assess and extort from year to year the highest possible amount by the most rigorous system of coercion. "Can we," says Mr. Law, "behold with apathy the great change in actual operation to set aside all the zumeendars, great and small, spread over the immense continent which the Company possesses in India, with a strange heedlessness of their pretensions, (I might say of their incontrovertible long established rights, of their influence, so well and often so woefully ascertained,) that the revenue may be collected from each cultivator of the soil through the agency of the Company's juvenile servants and their native delegates?"

The chief feature of the ryotwarry system is not the substitution of one set of revenue agents for another, but that there should be no permanent settlement to confine the amount of taxes to be levied within any fixed bounds. Its baneful characteristic is, to make annual or other periodical assessments, by which, whenever the produce of any field increases in a perceptible degree, the Company may step in and strip the cultivator of the fruits of his industry. We have before seen how its measures reduced the wealthy zumeendars to beggary; and we here see how the ryots, who were found poor, were kept from rising above their miserable condition. For if, in the words of Mr. Tucker, "the deadly hand of the tax-gatherer perpetually hover over the land, and threaten to grasp that which is not yet called into existence, its benumbing influence must be fatal, and the fruits of the earth will be stifled in the very germ." An army of surveyors and assessors are, from time to time, distributed over the empire, to measure and lay out the fields for cultivation. The peasant has not even the consolation of knowing, when he commences his labours for the season, how much will be exacted from him at its close. For in that event,

favourable weather and increased industry might enable him and his family to share in an undue degree the blessings of providence and the fruits of his toil. Therefore, it is only "when the season is so far advanced that a judgment can be formed of the crop," that the collector at last declares how much will satisfy him. We quote the words of Sir Thomas Munro, the great advocate and supporter of the system: at the commencement of the season, he informs us, the ryots merely receive a sort of general or verbal assurance, "that their respective rents will continue the same as last year, ONLY making allowance for such alterations as may become unavoidable, from the total revenue of the village being somewhat raised or lowered by the collector." That is, they are assured the rents shall continue the same, saving and excepting all such alterations as the collector shall choose to make! This, assuredly, is the express image of the spirit of despotism. Yet these helpless people are, he says, "satisfied with this promise, receive betel from him as a confirmation of it, and yoke their ploughs"! In another place, he says, "when a country has been surveyed, the individual supersedes both the village and district settlement, because it is then no longer necessary to waste time in endeavouring to persuade the cultivators to accede to the assessment." That is, if they are not pleased with the rent demanded for their lands, they may go and hang themselves if they choose. Or, as the people of England used to be told, if they do not like the public burdens fixed upon this country, let them leave it.

These rapacious and unmeasured exactions necessarily render the ryots very willing to give up their fields for others which promise to yield them more; and this want of attachment to any particular spot is now urged as an argument to prove that they do not consider themselves to have any property in the soil. Now, we would ask, can men, struggling for mere existence, feel any local attachment to the soil, when all the fruits of it, except a bare subsistence, are snatched from them by Government before they can reach their lips? Those who abandon one field in despair are not, however, allowed to select another, even on agreeing to pay the highest assessment, but must take such lots as are prescribed to them by Government. Should they turn with despondency from that soil which to them seems blasted with the curse of Cain, the revenue-agent pursues the fugitive wherever he goes, drags him back to his heartless toil, and, by stripes and imprisonment, compels him to sow in sorrow and suffering what the tax-gatherer is to reap. When, notwithstanding every act of coercion, some of these miserable serfs cannot pay the revenue demanded, the Company has still one cruel resource more: it assesses the deficiency upon his neighbours and fellow-labourers! Consequently, a man has not only to bear his own burdens, but he is saddled with those of others; by which the industrious ryot will suffer for the indolent, the frugal for the improvident! Sir Thomas Munro says, "if the crops are bad, and it appears that some of the poor ryots *must* have a remission, the loss, or a part of it, is assessed upon the lands of the rest, where it can be done without any material INCONVENIENCE."

Such a qualifying clause is a mere disguise for the foul deformity of the system. The limit of exaction is here, as in every other case, the impossibility of extorting more, which is indicated by the mild term *inconvenience*, as if it could ever be convenient for persons, continually assessed to the utmost, to pay also for their neighbours. From an extract

given at page 24, it appears by Sir Thomas Munro's own words, that no remission of revenue is ever intended to be allowed if it can possibly be avoided, even for the most reasonable of causes,—bad crops, a calamity depending on the seasons, and beyond human control. "All complaints regarding them should be received with very great caution." "Were an investigation to be ordered" (says he) "whenever a cultivator *thought proper* to solicit an indulgence for his loss, claims would soon become so numerous, that all the revenue servants in the country would not be able to examine one half of them." Therefore it appears they are seldom to be examined, or listened to at all. This summary mode of getting through the revenue business, by turning a deaf ear to the complaints of the peasantry, is justified by him on the following grounds:—"Were it even possible to estimate the actual loss in every year, it would not follow that it ought to be remitted; for the same cultivators who have lost this year may have gained last, and as no *extra assessment* was then laid upon their profit, no remission can now be fairly claimed for their loss." What "*extra assessment*" can be laid upon a country continually taxed by periodical valuations to the uttermost extent of its capacity to pay? "Whatever may have been the crop," continues Sir Thomas Munro, "should it be even *less than the seed*, the peasantry should be always *made to pay* their full rent if they *can*; because good or bad seasons being supposed to be equal in the long run, the loss would be merely temporary, and the making of it good is only applying to the deficiency of a year of scarcity the funds which have arisen from one of abundance." This reasoning, observes Mr. Law, would be equitable "if there were not an annual settlement, to obtain annual increases of revenue, and to leave the ryot as little as possible from every year's crop." To expect them still to amass wealth and pay revenue, when they have no crop at all, or "*less than the seed*," is like the Egyptians compelling their Hebrew bondsmen to make bricks without straw. The children of Israel, we are told, on receiving this cruel mandate, spread themselves over the whole land to gather stubble. From a similar source, it would appear, the Company's slaves in the East are expected to pick up a scanty subsistence, and also to fill its exchequer in years of barrenness.

It is superfluous to say that such a grinding system cannot be carried on without rigorous coercion. We have already seen how the peasant is kept at the plough-tail by the dread of the dungeon and the lash. Yet even this would be insufficient, were precautions not taken to prevent him from absconding with the produce; therefore the Government cannot safely postpone its assessment till the crops be gathered in, when it might be able to share with him his last grain. "Because," says Sir Thomas, (p. 32) "while the ryot remains in this state of uncertainty, he *sometimes suspects, without cause*, that his rent will be raised higher than is actually intended. He perceives that his grain will not be equal to the demand against him, and he sells it in a hurry at a low price, and absconds with the produce." Therefore the assessment must be made, if possible, while the crop is yet on the ground; but it appears that the ryot is *sometimes* called upon to pay the first instalment of revenue before he is made acquainted with the amount to be demanded of him for the season. Mr. Law observes, p. 36:—

When the ryot has to pay his kist (instalment) before he cuts his crop, must
Oriental Herald, Vol. 6,

he not borrow money at most usurious interest? and will not the lender augment his interest, for running the risk of the ryot being ruined by Government officers?

It must appear extraordinary to an English farmer, that a government officer is to go with full power on his land and to fix an assessment, *ad libitum*, according to his own valuation. Who but a Hindoo would commence cultivation with such uncertainty? he has no alternative but to cultivate or starve. Mr. Munro says 'that the ryot sometimes suspects, without cause, that his rents will be raised higher than is actually intended.' Does he mean by this that the ryot in general suspects rightly, and is only sometimes agreeably deceived? If he does so, I agree with him; for, as it is usual to make russydy jummas, or annual increases upon supposed improved cultivation, the ryot, by a woful experience in general, apprehends too truly some enhancement of rent, and when a collector or tehsildar does not augment his demand on the revenue of last year, it is a blessing unexpected and unusual. In my 'Rising Resources' I have shown that a crop having been valued when almost ripe at above its probable produce, the ryot has refused to reap it at the assessment, and has left it to rot on the ground, and stole in the night what he could for his own subsistence. There are two crops in the year, the khureef and rubber; in the latter crop is included opium, sugar, tobacco, cotton, &c.; the rate per bega on sugar, in Benares and Bengal, is now, I perceive, about three rupees per bega, (the third of an acre); I have known four times this sum demanded, and what could the poor ryot do?—to irresistible power he must yield. Mr. Munro justly observes, that 'there is often more mischief done in one year of over-assessment than can be remedied by seven of moderation.'

Mr. Munro, in page 101, says, that 'though the first year his ryotwary settlement will only give an increase of 8,557 pagodas: that in ten years, on the rents paid to Government, of 10,024,050 pagodas, there will be an increase of about 3,000,000 pagodas.' Must not these increases ruin the country? Is it not this constant avarice of increase which creates apprehensions and uncertainty, the bane of all improvement? Mr. Munro, in the above-mentioned paragraph, says, 'the highness of the land-rent is in this country the chief obstacle to the increase of population; a remission of rent in favour of a few zemindars or mootahdars, would be no remedy for the evil, but a remission to the ryots, by enabling them to extend their cultivation and augment the produce of food for their families, would, in a great measure, do it away.'

This cruel system could not possibly be carried on without a host of revenue agents, armed with despotic powers, to coerce the miserable peasantry. Therefore the zillah courts, or judicial tribunals, have been abolished, and the collectors and tehsildars made, at the same time, magistrates and police officers. So that when the cultivators suffer extortion, they must implore redress and protection of the very oppressors themselves! The character given of the Native officers employed, will convey some idea of the manner in which they are likely to exercise this dreadful authority. Sir Thomas Munro himself describes these worthy coadjutors of his system as follows:—

A very large proportion of the talliards are themselves thieves; all the kawillgars are themselves robbers exempting them, and many of them are murderers; and, though they are now afraid to act openly, there is no doubt that many of them still secretly follow their former practices. Many potdars and cumums also harbour thieves; so that no traveller can pass through the ceded districts without being robbed, who does not employ either his own servants, or those of the village, to watch at night; and even this precaution is very often ineffectual. Many offenders are taken, but great numbers also escape, for connivance must be expected among the kawillgars and the taluqars, who are themselves thieves; and the inhabitants are often backward in paying

information, from the fear of assassination, which was formerly very common, and sometimes happens on such occasions.

Such are the agents let loose by the Company's government to overspread the country, from year to year, like a flight of vultures, armed with double powers, to tear and devour and blast the hopes of the husbandman. The evidence of Sir Thomas Munro himself, may again be cited (Tucker, p. 127), where he says, "that of a hundred *principal* division and district servants known to him, all had been *proved* guilty of peculation, with the exception of five or six."—A truly small percentage of honesty, or perhaps roguery undetected. As an example of their proceedings, we further quote one of his remarks, with Mr. Law's just commentary, as to the degrading, demoralizing, tendency of the system:—

'Perhaps there is no curnum, who in any one year ever gives a perfectly true statement of the cultivation of his village, and it is only the fear of removal or suspension that can make him give such accounts as are tolerably accurate.' Here let me ask whether a vassal has any mode to defend himself from oppression, but deception? Cunning only can counteract superior force. Why were modern Greeks proverbially fraudulent, but because they could only employ subterfuges to avoid tyranny. In p. 712, there is an account of one agent's embezzlements in Coimbatore, amounting to 2,014,010 pagodas; as the Company's collector was sick, and died. The exactions were so excessive, that they occasioned a commission to inquire into them. The commissioners were Mr. T. Munro, and Mr. J. Sullivan; their report occupies from p. 708 to p. 754. They state, 'on the whole, the country is in a worse state than it was eight years ago, but the decay of the resources is not so great, nor such as a few years of attention may not restore.'

The reader ought to consider, that under a despotic Government, like that of which we are speaking, perhaps only one case of extortion out of a thousand ever becomes known, and that even then the oppressor often escapes punishment; but the chance of the injured obtaining redress is infinitely smaller than either. Sir Thomas Munro adds,—

Were it not for the pressure of the land-rent, population ought to advance more rapidly in India than in America, because the climate is more favourable, and because there are everywhere large tracts of good land uncultivated, which may be ploughed at once without the labour and expense of clearing away forests. As there are above 3,000,000 of acres of this description in the ceded districts, it cannot be doubted that a very considerable addition will be made in twenty or twenty-five years to the population, and also to the land-rent, beyond the highest estimate which has been made of it.

Here (says Mr. Law) is the burthen of the song, which causes postponement of security from land-tax exactions, which keeps the people hopeless and distressed, and prevents attachment to the British rule.

The testimony of Mr. Thackeray, whose name is considered to carry with it great weight, is a strong and unqualified condemnation of the system. "After so many years of peace and plenty," says he, "it is lamentable to find the revenue less secure—the people less respectable, and perhaps less intelligent—the servants less to be depended on, and private rights not more certain and secure, than when the province first came under the Company's government."

We now turn to Mr. Tucker's work, and regret that our space prevents us from laying before our readers more than a few extracts, to show

more strongly the opinion entertained of this system by the most intelligent individuals. The following is from p. 141:—

The Board of Revenue at Fort St. George sum up the character of the 'ryotwar' system in the following very forcible language:—
 Ignorant of the true resources of the newly-acquired countries, of the precise nature of their landed tenures, we find a small band of foreign conquerors no sooner obtaining possession of a vast extent of territory, peopled by various nations, differing from each other in language, customs and habits, than they attempt what would be deemed a Herculean task, or rather a visionary project, even in the most civilized countries of Europe, of which every statistical information is possessed, and of which the Government are one with the people, viz. to fix a land-rent, not on each province, district, or country; not on each estate or farm; but on every separate field in their dominions. In pursuit of this supposed improvement, we find them unintentionally dissolving the ancient ties, the "ancient usages," which united the republic of each Hindoo village, and by a kind of Agrarian law, newly assessing and parcelling out the lands which, from time immemorial, had belonged to the village community collectively; not only among the individual members of the privileged order, (the Meerassidars and Cadeems,) but even among the inferior tenantry, (the Pycarries): we observe them ignorantly denying, and, by their denial, abolishing, private property in the land; resuming what belonged to a public body, (the grama manium,) and conferring, in lieu of it, a stipend in money on one individual; professing to limit their demand on each field, and, in fact, by establishing for such limit an unattainable maximum, assessing the ryot at discretion; and, like the Mussulman government which preceded them, binding the ryot by force to the plough, compelling him to till land acknowledged to be over-assessed, dragging him back to it if he absconded, deferring their demand upon him until his crop came to maturity, then taking from him all that could be obtained, and leaving to him nothing but his bullocks and his seed-grain; nay, perhaps, obliged to supply him even with these, in order to renew his melancholy task of cultivating, not for himself but for them.

Sir Henry Strachey's opinion of conferring the power of judge and magistrate on the collectors of revenue, under this system, is as follows, p. 151:—

'If the "ryotwar" plan can be carried on successfully after the establishment of the judicial authorities; if rules can be framed, under which the ryotwar collector shall act as manager only of an estate, and the judge shall have the usual power of redressing grievances, then I shall not condemn the plan; but I protest against the ryotwar collector having any judicial power whatever. As manager of an estate only he ought to be considered; consequently, we must be jealous of his power, lest he should pervert it to purposes of extortion. Every manager of an estate has, in India, a natural inclination or tendency towards extortion. If any man, whose business it is to collect rent from the ryots, shall persuade himself that, while so occupied, he is the fittest person in the world to defend these ryots from the oppressions which he and his dependents commit, that his occupation supersedes the necessity of all control, that person, in my opinion, most grossly errs.'

Sir Thomas Munro having, by his system, taken away from the people all stimulus to industry arising from self-interest, we are not surprised to find him, at p. 167, proposing to substitute force in its stead, and making compulsory cultivation his grand principle of improvement. He says, in regard to the ceded districts under his peculiar management, that since 1811—

'The proportions of some of the more valuable articles, as indigo and sugar, have greatly augmented: Indigo to the value of star pagodas 1,03,000, and

duty in 1215; and it is supposed that the export to the Carnatic, for which no duty was paid, was equal to star pagodas 25,000. The quantity would have been nearly doubled in 1216, had not the crops been destroyed by the drought. The coarse sugar, or jaggery, manufactured in 1216, was double the quantity of any preceding year. The increase of these articles is occasioned by the addition of an extra land-rent, amounting to *twice or three times the ordinary rate*; to which all land employed in their culture was subjected; and this increase is likely to go on progressively, as the demand for them is great. Cotton, one of the chief products of the "Ceded Districts," has not increased in a similar degree, because the demand for it is not greater than usual, and because from its being a common article of cultivation, and never having paid more than the ordinary land-rent, it has obtained no advantage from the equalization of rent by the survey.

The language, as Mr. Tucker observes, is somewhat ambiguous, which we attribute to a feeling of shame in being obliged to avow that the people had been compelled to produce a greater quantity of certain articles by double or triple exactions of rent, and that where the scourge of the tax-gatherer was relaxed, production also declined; an exact imitation of the West India system of negro-driving, which the Company is evidently doing every thing it can to introduce into its territories in the East.

Having censured Sir T. Munro's plans, we think it but just to observe, that it is only the mode of collection, not the amount demanded, for which he is answerable; and it was probably the latter which drove him to devise the former. Feeling, like others, that the assessment was heavier than the country could bear, he recommended, in one instance, a general reduction of twenty-five per cent., but the Company could not remit a fraction! The revenue exacted, Mr. Tucker would persuade us, (p. 135,) is only one-third of the gross produce; but Mr. Law, quoting the authority of the Madras Revenue Board, shows it to be 56 per cent. of the gross produce. The extra assessment is also stated, in Mr. Tucker's work, in one place, (p. 122,) at 10 per cent. and *no more*; at another, (p. 133,) on the same authority, that of Sir Thomas Munro, at 10 or 12 per cent., making in all an assessment of 65 or 67 per cent. on the gross produce; exceeding, by seven per cent., the rapacity of the detestable Mohammedan tyrants, from whom we glory in having delivered India!¹

In concluding our remarks on Mr. Law and Mr. Tucker, (who, as old servants of the Company, and well experienced in its affairs, seem to have but one opinion on this point, that our existence in India hangs by a thread, unless some means be adopted to give internal solidity to our political system,) we shall only add, that this can be done but in one way and in no other: namely, by COLONIZATION. Englishmen settled in India, and introducing an improved agriculture, would form a natural

¹ Many writers on India extol this mode of raising the land-tax by a permanent settlement, as humane and generous. Contrasted with the systems of taxation adopted by the Company in other parts of India, this one is really felt by the Natives themselves, who are subject to it, to be, by comparison, a special blessing. But that the English reader may conceive the positive happiness of their situation, let him suppose that all the lauded proprietors in England were compelled to pay an income-tax of ninety per cent. on the whole rents of their estates, and that these were brought immediately to the hammer whenever the quarterly instalments of revenue failed to be regularly paid into the exchequer,—he will then have a true idea of the tender mercies of the East India Company's Government.

aristocracy of wealth, intelligence, and moral influence, supporting the Government to which they are so strongly allied, and by superior mental energy, controlling the people. The zumeendars, we have seen, cannot form that aristocracy, and have, on the contrary, been degraded by the very measures by which it was proposed to raise them. In giving our voice for a permanent settlement, therefore, it is not in favour of these factitious proprietors, but the natural and rightful owners of the soil, by whose labour it is rendered fruitful. The assessment should be at once moderate and fixed, that every man may be stimulated to industry by seeing the fruits of his toil secured to him, so that he may sit down "under his vine and under his fig-tree with none to make him afraid." If the zumeendars still existing cannot be employed as assistants to the revenue collectors, they may have suitable provisions of land assigned to them. The Company, instead of grasping yearly with iron hand every stalk of corn as it springs up, ought to be satisfied with the sure prospect of being always able to share sufficiently in the growing wealth of its subjects, by taxes on luxuries which they would then well afford to pay. With this, any other civilized Government would be content, except the East India Company, which, notwithstanding its salt and opium monopolies, the first operating as a tax unlimited in amount, is still craving and insatiable.

It is sickening to contemplate the means to which it has resorted for extorting the greatest possible tribute from its Indian subjects. There does not exist in Russia or in Turkey, or in any country on earth where despotism is supposed most to flourish, an engine of taxation so grinding, so oppressive, so atrociously cruel as the ryotwarry system; which, if it be suffered to exist, will entail upon this country the deepest disgrace. When England reproaches other nations with the infamy of their slave trade, they will scornfully retort upon us, that we should reserve our humanity for our millions of Asiatic subjects whom we are hourly compelling to labour and to suffer under the unrelenting and unremitting lash of the tax-gatherer.

TO E——.

DEAR Girl, the years that bear away
 Our youth, and turn our locks to grey,
 Which, by and by, will wrinkles bring
 To shroud the promise of thy spring,
 And put the little loves to flight
 That wanton now in full delight
 Within thy dimpled cheek and smile,
 And meditate the playful wile:
 These years, howe'er, from me and thee,
 They cannot bear the memory
 Of love away, they cannot steal
 The joys the past has set his seal
 And image on:—thou still wilt be
 The polar-star of life to me
 Through youth and age, unchanging yet,
 Whatever other lights may set;
 And could these lines preserve thy name,
 Thou shouldst not want thy share of fame!

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF CHARACTER.

I cannot sufficiently marvel that this part of knowledge, touching the several characters of natures and dispositions, should be omitted both in morality and policy; considering it is of so great ministry and suppedition to them both.—
LORD BACON.

IN every pursuit into which a man can be led by his necessities or passions, his means of success will be proportioned exactly to his knowledge of character. Not but that there are instances daily occurring of men who acquire power or wealth by mere accident, without their having any pretensions to this knowledge. But as no man can rationally calculate upon having his wishes fulfilled in such a god-send manner, and as no wise or great man would wish it, knowledge of character, the only instrument of success upon which we can rely, appears to deserve cultivation. Men of the world, in whatever kind of affairs or business they may be engaged, from the management of a shop or counting-house, up to the direction of a government, stand eminently in need of this knowledge; and the few adventurers who raise themselves to distinction and rank in the state, will be found upon inquiry to have owed their advancement entirely to it. It is, therefore, the *grand moyen de parvenir*. This being the case, it seems very astonishing that so little has been done to facilitate the acquiring and perfecting of this science, which holds the golden keys of fortune and power, and affords a still greater benefit, the means of living serenely and independently without either.

By studying the virtues and defects of others, a prudent man will be induced to reflect upon his own character; for he will perceive that the effect produced upon mankind by his exertions must inevitably correspond to their fitness no less than to their energy. As few, however, can be found possessed of sufficient courage to dissect and acknowledge to themselves their own weaknesses, for we all love to believe ourselves perfect, the knowledge of character is seldom acquired, and may in fact be looked upon, almost exclusively, as the science of great men. It may seem strange, since men, the elements of this knowledge, are perpetually in the presence of each other, that notwithstanding it should be so little common. But there are many impediments. For men, to whom study is habitual, choose most commonly a retired life, and speculate upon humanity from too great a distance; thus they never acquire even the elements, and their reasoning on this subject, for the most part, is cold and common-place. Men of business, on the other hand, have their faculties stunned by approaching the great machine of life too near; they indeed step into it, and are hurried along so rapidly that they have no time for observation. Subtile and acute reasoners, who unite experience with talent, frequently err, nevertheless, through their attempting to explain all human actions by one simple principle. Numbers decide inaccurately through an over-weening confidence in their capacity to judge at first sight; many through a habit of judging of others by themselves. These reasons of failure belong to the observers; there are others in the complexion and nature of the study. For men of evil dispositions are most careful to throw a veil over their natures, knowing that it is for every body's interest they should be discovered, but for their own that they

remain concealed. Even the weak and trifling exert all their energies to hide the defects of their character, come prepared to exhibit themselves in company, and pick their phrases and plume their actions with all the art they possess. In business, men view each other with mutual distrust. In their pleasures, they feel or affect a recklessness and magnanimity that form no part of their character. Some are close in their dealings and prodigal in their pleasures; others the reverse; and many appear to act conformably to no rule whatever.

It is in the nature of the study that one man can have but limited observation of another; that the tide of business and conversation should carry a man out of his drift, and make him a *spectacle* rather than a *spectator*. Therefore no one can properly be said to study the characters of men who mingles sincerely in their pleasures, or partakes in any great degree of their solitudes, or is immersed in affairs, or attaches great value to present matters; for in all these predicaments he will want that coolness and self-possession which are necessary to study of every kind.— To understand a man's character, it is necessary to observe very frequently the conflict between his passions and his intellect, and to calculate on which side victory most generally declares itself; for his nature is a thousand-sided figure, which cannot be viewed completely from any one position, but must be contemplated on every side, by the lamp of occasion, if we would comprehend it thoroughly. Horace speaks with commendation of kings—

— who never chose a friend
Till with full bowls they had unmasked his soul,
And seen the bottom of his deepest thoughts.

But much dependence cannot be placed upon what is wrung out of a man under the influence of wine, which does not so much unveil as it disarranges our ideas; and, therefore, whoever contemplates the character from the combination of ideas produced by intoxication, views man in a false light. Violent anger has nearly the same effect as wine; and surely no man would choose this mood under which to judge of others. Voltaire is said to have remarked, that no man is a hero to his valet. There is more wit than truth in the observation, unless the valet be a dolt. Whoever is possessed of real greatness, and is not a hero by complaisance, will lose nothing by being contemplated in the relations and accidents of domestic life; but, on the contrary, will gain upon the imagination by allowing the observer many casual glimpses into the heart when it is under the influence of the most ennobling affections. It is a vulgar error to consider a man humiliated by being contemplated under pain, or sickness, or any grievous calamity, or even in the exercise of the meanest function of our nature; for they who think, know before-hand, that the latter must be performed; and in the former, there is always too much of the terrible or the solemn to allow of the existence of contempt. It is only when a man gives way under pains, which include no idea of danger, that he appears weak: a secret sentiment that they are subject to the like contingencies will keep up, in serious disorders, the respect of the by-standers. But although the character be much under the eye of domestics, it may be doubted that "*verior fama à domesticis emanat.*" Relations, and persons who live together, unless they be very extraordinary people, have very seldom any enlarged knowledge of each other's

character. They rather instinctively conform to than understand one another; and pursue the thread of each other's affections and desires, as a blind man finds his way through streets to which he has been accustomed. They who live in London are much less observing than strangers of its beauties and peculiarities; the greatest things in it have been subdued by familiarity to common-place in their imaginations; and, therefore, their ideas of those things are very incorrect. In this way, Voltaire's hero might appear little in the eyes of his valet—but the defect would be in the valet's eyes.

Cupid was painted blind by the ancients, to signify that the affections prevent the sight, not so much from perceiving outward as inward defects. They even obscure perfections and beauties of character, that are not their immediate object, or whose existence might be a bar to their progress or continuance. A man, conscious of many glaring defects in his own mind or person, would dissemble to himself his mistress's discernment and good sense, because, to dwell on them, would be to view the unpleasant side of his prospects, which a man in love is seldom apt to do. This, *secundum majus et minus*, may be said of all persons who live affectionately together; and, therefore, a man's family are not the best judges of his character.

Nor can any correct judgment of the character be formed from conversation; for men of strong passions are commonly too much interested, men of weak, too little, to be known by what they say. Plutarch relates of Brutus, as a proof of his sagacity, that he proposed to some of his friends the question of tyrannicide in the abstract; and by the manner in which they reasoned concerning it, decided whether or not he should associate them in his enterprise against Cæsar. It was hazarding much, if he trusted to their mere approval or condemnation; for although one might decide for excluding from such an undertaking a man who should condemn it in the abstract, he ought not, perhaps, conversely, to admit any one who might approve of it; for the action might appear so noble and so virtuous to the imagination, while merely contemplating the abstract proposition, that a man could do no otherwise than admire it, but his energy might fail in action. For to know how a man will act, it is not enough to observe how he can reason. Brutus, however, knew in many other ways the men he had to deal with.

But even actions themselves bespeak not the character infallibly. Our natures are often so curbed and constrained by circumstances, and impelled by the general habits of the times, that we seldom appear to be what we are. Indeed it may almost be said, that the character a man gains by his actions in society is never his real character; for what he does, flows from the fashions of the age, from his position, from the influence of others, and is no manner of rule by which to judge how he would conduct himself the next moment, were he removed to a new scene. It is well known that men sometimes feel appetites and inclinations in their souls which they dread to contemplate, and endeavour to conceal from themselves: these are rays of their original character breaking up through the forms and habits acquired amongst others. There are those, also, who experience impatient longings for perfection, who question daily their compliance with the maxims of the world, and are never satisfied with the fashionable standard of virtue. These are they whom Cæsar denominated "men of impracticable consciences;" persons who seldom

make their fortunes, who are not sought after in society, who really love the simplicity of nature. The existence of such men is no chimera, and can, upon very philosophical grounds be accounted for. Imagination is the great efficient cause.

But people of this cast are rarely the persons to understand the characters of others. They wear a severe, observing look, which discloses the drift of their meditations. Now, whoever would study the characters of those with whom he lives or converses, must keep up the appearance of a kind of recklessness and *abandon*, for the mind closes itself up like the sensitive-plant, at the least sensible touch of observation, and will not be afterwards drawn out. Men have been seen in the middle of a discovery of themselves, to be stopped short by a look, which brought them to themselves, and traced before them in an instant the danger of their position and the methods of escape. A keen observer, indeed, may always adjust the temperature of his discourse by the faces of his auditors, which are saddened or brightened, like the face of the sea in April, as more or less of the sunshine of rhetoric breaks forth upon them.

Men who are placed in conspicuous situations are supposed to be well known, because any one may soon learn the general opinion concerning them, which is thought to be an exact picture of their characters; but very few, even of such men, are ever known to the world. Still less are those understood whose birth and manners throw a rough covering over their souls, and, like the Grecian *Hermæ*, which were rude and shapeless without, but contained within the statues of the gods themselves, conceal the beauty of their intellect. There is nothing, in truth, that bespeaks so much sagacity as to be able to detect genius in the obscurity of small beginnings, while the intellectual dawn is struggling, as it were, through the clouds, and revealing, by almost imperceptible rays, the brightness that is approaching. It is nevertheless very politic to mark the first signs of power in intellect, as well as in other forms; for genius, like beauty, treasures up the remembrance of insult and neglect,

Manet alta mente repostum,

and very often has much better means of revenge. It is a fine court-maxim, that, even in disgrace, those who are in the high-road to power ought to be respected; for, as a great author observes, many that are despised are destined by providence to arrive at eminence and fortune; and then, confusion to those who have treated them contemptuously! What renders it difficult for ordinary minds to discover a great man before he has, like a tree, put forth his blossoms, is the manner, various and dissimilar, in which such persons evolve their powers. For as in nature the finest days are sometimes in the morning overclouded and dark, so the development of genius follows no rule, but is hastened or retarded by position and circumstance. But to a keen eye there always appear, even in the first obscurity of extraordinary men, certain internal commotions and throes, denoting some *magna vis animi* at work within. These should rouse inquiry in the minds of whoever they may concern; for besides the reputation for wisdom and foresight which a person acquires by announcing the future appearance of any thing extraordinary, there is to be taken into the account the gratitude of genius, warm and lasting, in proportion to the excellence of the principle.

Many persons overlook a great character, because they observe it

slow to come into the field of contention; but they should reflect, that he who has few wares in his shop can easily dispose them for sale, while the merchant who has numerous stores requires time and labour to prepare himself for business. There is, as Lord Bacon observes, a *longanimity*, as well as a *magnanimity*, which demands scope and compass to evolve itself. There is a connexion and continuity in its energies which link it to a distant conclusion; but

Jam tum tenditque, fovetque.

Flowers and fruits, nature produces abundantly and rapidly upon her bosom, but she ripens gold and diamonds, and all her most durable gifts, in her obscurest womb. The maturing of men's minds bears a strong analogy to these different processes: the light and trifling are generated readily in the lap of fortune; but no one knows of the existence of the powerful and solid intellect till it comes out fully armed, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter.

The generality, however, are no gainers by this proceeding; for knowledge of character, as has been said before, is the grand *moyen de parvenir*, the mighty engine by which fortune lifts men up to the high places of this world. Some acquire it by experience, and, acting upon it, rise frequently to eminence without reflecting profoundly on the causes of their elevation. But the causes are really obvious: they are nothing but suppleness and the art of pleasing. And because this art has not even yet been very accurately described, we shall explain what is here meant by the *art of pleasing*. From original conformation, or from accident, every man has in his mind an aptitude to receive delight from certain trains of ideas rather than others; whoever is intimately acquainted with any one will quickly discover these trains, and, if he think it worth his while, will make himself beloved, by artfully managing to connect himself with their appearance. By pursuing this course for any length of time, his presence will become associated in the mind of the other with the most agreeable ideas, and serve, in some sort, as a mirror to reflect back upon his fancy its most delightful images. Through the same kind of policy, light and amusing writers preserve their ground with the public: they know that mankind are more solicitous for pleasure than for knowledge; that a delightful sensation will at any time outweigh a sublime idea; and that to describe what every body feels is flattering every body, by appearing to give to his transient delights a permanence and stability which he had not looked for. Men perpetually individualize, if that will express our meaning, the universal feelings of our nature; they think those things peculiar to themselves which are common to the species; and a writer that describes with tolerable accuracy his own sensations, pleasurable or painful, will describe those of the whole race, and appear to have looked into every body's bosom. Upon how many authors has love bestowed immortality! And yet what discovery has ever been made,—what new idea added to our old notions of love? The writers in question first felt, and then reflected upon their feelings; the circumstances attending them were fresh upon the memory; the subsiding passion, in its departure, had deposited a voluptuous sediment upon all the faculties, and while this was fermenting, the mind gave vent to its rich terrestrial ideas, with all the bloom of love diffused over them. As the passion and its reminiscences are common,

true descriptions of them find an easy way to the heart, which, once interested, bids defiance to criticism. The end of our being is happiness, and these works producing pleasure, its strongest ingredient, are thought to promote very sensibly the main design, and, it must be owned, not without some show of reason. But to return to the art of reaching fortune by pleasing an individual: there are no undertakings, the performance of which does not include at least as much labour as pleasure. Of these, great men, or rather, men of fortune and power, desire to have as much of the credit, and as little of the difficulty, as possible; in all such enterprises the *protégé* will consent, with an eye to futurity, to let his portion be made up of the greater number of unpleasant, and of the smaller number of agreeable sensations; in other words, he will do a great deal for very little reward. Here, then, he suffers the great man's pains by proxy, and in so doing, enables himself by habit to suffer more, while his patron grows enervate, and consequently more in need of him every day. By degrees the *protégé* feels his own weight, and begins to presume upon his usefulness; and the patron, on the other hand, knowing very well that he stands in need of his co-operation, becomes inclined to part with a larger portion of the instruments of pleasure in order to preserve the remainder, now depending, in a great measure, upon his underling. It is in this way that fortune is acquired by the knowledge of character.

But, undoubtedly, there is a more dignified way of arriving at worldly greatness by the application of this knowledge. Whoever takes a long survey of his course of life, will immediately perceive, that towards whatever aim he directs his footsteps, his path is not through absolute solitude: moving in his way, there will be many rivals, many enemies, many inert hindrances, few co-operators, and of these he cannot misunderstand one without danger. Even his knowledge is a weapon that will stand him in no stead if it be not closely hidden; the reputation of it would carry such a terror into men's minds, that they would never associate with him; for who could bear to be the companion of him, who

— almost like the Gods,
Could even his thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles?

But, well dissembled and sharpened by experience, the knowledge of character is a sure help to success; and is the more honestly and cheerfully used, as no man is hurt by it, each being managed according to his nature, and only made to promote, blindly and without detriment to himself, the deeper designs of another. The *vis inertiae* of human nature, which we denominate indolence, is a thing upon which all calculate in making an estimate of their associates; but it requires a nice discernment to perceive from what quarter precisely we are to expect co-operation, and from what resistance.

In order to present a kind of frame to experience upon which it might spread out the various textures of humanity occurring in its way, philosophy has divided men into classes,—into the magnanimous, the poor-spirited, the phlegmatic, the irascible, the proud, the meek, &c.; but since it must always depend upon the observer to refer individuals to their class, the whole utility of this division consists in the accurate enumeration of the signs of the classes. For what will it avail one to know, that a proud man will be an ill co-operator in certain designs, unless it be also known how, by his carriage, looks, or comportment, to

discriminate between a proud man and a vain? Besides, large divisions include so many differences, that they are of small practical utility, being little more than the alphabet of human nature, which a man must combine many times before he can express his reasonings. Humanity is a common *substratum*, out of which individuals with infinitely various qualities are formed. It is disputed whether difference of character arises from the original mould, or from education: but character appears, in some degree at least, to be transmissible from father to son, and to continue, with slight modifications, to the extinction of a family. If this be proved, it will follow, that education is not so all-powerful as many pretend, but that, in certain tribes of men, there is a kind of *virus* which runs through the blood, and gives a secret tinge to the fountains of thought and action in the depths of the soul. Aristotle tells a story illustrative of hereditary irascibility, which is well worth transcribing: "Transports of anger . . . seem to be congenial to some races of men; as in the family of him who apologized for beating his father, by saying, 'He beat my grandfather, and my grandfather, the father before him; and this little boy,' pointing to his son, 'will beat me when he is able: the fault runs in our blood!'"¹ He elsewhere observes, that men of energetic characters, as Alcibiades, and Dionysius the elder, failing to transmit their intellectual qualities to their offspring, have progenerated a race leaning strongly towards madness. The animal part of the character, the passions, the affections, the desires, were transmitted in all their force, without that strong reason which, in their great ancestors, regulated and controlled them.

But, to say no more on this point, which would demand a separate essay, and recur again to the methods of discovering the character, whatever it be, for it is not yet decided what constitutes character in men. It appears, however, to be the result, or balance, more or less perfect, of the intellect, passions, and affections, by which an individual is impelled to perform actions common to all the species, in a way peculiar to himself. It is observed by philosophers, that the agitation of the passions operates imperceptibly on the muscles of the countenance, giving them abruptness and prominence in proportion to the violence of the inward struggles. Our contemporaries have mentioned Lord Byron as an example, who, they say, had those rough elevations of muscle which indicate excessive passion. We can say nothing to this; we only know that our own experience does not corroborate the opinion. We have known many men whose passions were fierce, changeful, abrupt, and of continual recurrence, who had yet smooth even countenances, indicative of ease and tranquillity. Their eye, it is true, was dark, piercing, uneasy, and had an inscrutable glitter; but their characters could never have been inferred from thence. We likewise remember to have known a lady, of a mild placid countenance, full of looks of benevolence and urbanity, with eyes slow, humid, and modest, carriage and mien tranquil and dignified; yet that woman was a serpent, a Messalina. As it appears, however, that every passion has a corresponding sign in the visage, it has, by physiognomists, been inferred that the face is a sure index to the mind. But, allowing that the existence of certain passions is indicated by the expression of the countenance, it will not follow that

¹ Ethics, book vii. Gillies' translation.

any time is thereby afforded to discover whether those passions habitually subside in gratification, or are subdued by intellect; and in this consists the fallacy of physiognomy. But it is very questionable that the muscles of the countenance correspond exactly to the inward temperaments, though we by no means think that the expression of a man's visage is to be overlooked. For although it cannot by the countenance be known correctly how the mind it covers has been actuated for a long backward tract of time, which yet must be known if we would judge of character by physiognomy, we may almost infallibly discover the present disposition by it. And to this politicians confine the utility of reading the countenance. For when Atticus advised Cicero to keep strict watch over his face, in his first interview with Cæsar after the civil wars, he could not mean that he might thereby conceal his character from Cæsar, who knew well enough what that was; but he meant, that by that means he might conceal from the tyrant his actual hatred and disgust for his person. Yet for the character and secret nature of a man, *fronti nulla fides*.

Some men's minds resemble a mirror, and reflect back exactly the character of him with whom they converse. Such persons, therefore, are not to be studied when their mental face is towards you, properly disposed to give you back your own image. They must be observed by a side view, when their mind's surface is receiving the impression of other objects; as also at the moment these are withdrawn, when, like the pupil of the eye, on the removal of intense light or darkness, they gradually dilate or contract to their natural size. An effort of magnanimity exhausts a weak mind, but strengthens one naturally strong. The former, like waves raised by a tempest, rapidly sinks to its original level; the latter, like a mountain lifted higher by an earthquake, preserves its new position.

It does not seem necessary, in order to know mankind, that a man should be much in the throng. He may sit quietly on the shore of human society, and observe the rise, fall, and current of the tide, much better than those who are tossed about upon its billows, and obliged to use all their efforts to keep themselves from sinking. But this is what men of business can seldom comprehend. They think, because they have been conversant with affairs in detail, and have come in contact with a great number of men, that therefore the characters and principles of their associates at least must be known to them. But this is seldom the case. Dissimulation and hypocrisy are a cloud, which, like that of Æneas, screens the man who walks under it from all common observation; and people never spread this cloud so diligently over their characters, as when they have to do with persons like themselves. Besides, in general, men of the world have no time to reason on the data afforded by their experience, which supplies but badly the want of principles. For this reason, such persons never properly conceive extraordinary characters; because, as these occur to them but seldom in their course of life, their experience only enables them to perceive a difference, without determining exactly whether for the worse or for the better. They take a man's character up where it comes in their way, and judge of it superficially in its present position, never troubling themselves with calculating its previous race, the obstacles it has surmounted, the difficulties it has subdued, the temptations it has resisted.

How then shall we know mankind, if we can trust neither their words, their looks, nor their deeds?—By their passions and affections. These are the keys of the soul. There is exaggeration, but there is no dissimulation in passion: it bares the bosom of the closest; it sports with policy; it laughs even intellect, for a time, to scorn. But its undivided reign in a great character is short; mind retreats but for a moment, and returning, curbs, calms, subdues it at length. To know a man thoroughly we should be able to watch him in these conflicts, in which the workings of the soul are unveiled; whence we might in time be able to predicate, *a priori*, what he would do, and what he would be, in any given situation of life.

It is delightful, even in contemplation and anticipation, to be able to lift the veil from the souls of men; to be the "*animarum spectator*," of our species. For if we meet but too frequently with a ludicrous or dark prospect, there are occasions in which we find men much better than we expected. We have always thought, therefore, that such writers as Rochefoucault are the satirists, not the painters, of human nature. He is particularly believed that all men move on the same dead level as they generally do in a court, and was deceived by the sameness of his experience. To know the characters of men, we must go to the study of them without an hypothesis, see them singly, and reserve it to the last to erect a theory from the result of our observations. This kind of knowledge always accompanies extraordinary abilities: the reader will recollect the Athenian Timon's judgment of Alcibiades; Sylla's opinion of Cæsar, and Cæsar's own decision respecting Anthony, Brutus and Cassius. Tiberius was a keen judge of men; and, in our own days, Napoleon knew perfectly well how to read the heart.

SONG.

Air—"Far, Far at Sea."

At eve, when the bright orb of day
To Ocean's embrace is retiring,
Oh! dear is its last parting ray,
The fond dream of home while inspiring,
Far, far at Sea.

And when the dim twilight's soft grey
The face of tired Nature is veiling,
To thee, Love, I silently pay
The pledge of affection's best feeling,
Far, far at Sea.

When dark hang the clouds o'er the sky,
And storms through the mid-watch are roaring,
To thine arms in fond fancy I fly,
Nor heed the shrill blast that is pouring,
Far, far at Sea.

But, oh! when I sink to repose,
Hushed to rest by the hoarse foaming billow,
The sweetest relief from my woes
Is to clasp thee in dreams on my pillow,
Far, far at Sea.

ON THE POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH IN THE EAST INDIES.

A small pamphlet, under this title, has recently appeared, discussing the nature and effects of the treaty concluded during the past year, between the British and Dutch Governments, regulating the cession and interchange of certain territories in the East Indies, and the principles of commercial intercourse between the British and Dutch possessions in that quarter of the world. Other claims on our attention and our space have hitherto prevented us from entering into this subject; but we cannot longer postpone it, as it has not only given rise to much discussion here, but seems to have occasioned some diversity of opinion in India also. The loud exclamations uttered there, however, against the treaty and its supposed authors, must be taken with many grains of allowance, on account of the inveterate jealousy and hatred which the East India Company's agents have always cherished against their rivals in eastern monopoly. In their eyes the prosperity of the Dutch is in itself a deplorable evil, even although it be attended with no disadvantage to ourselves, but otherwise. Their existence is an eye-sore; their success odious; an extension of their territory a most galling triumph over the servants of the honourable East India Company. Instead of feeling satisfaction at having got so well rid of Bencoolen, an unhealthy settlement of no political value, which cost the Company, it is said, nearly 100,000*l.* per annum, they burn with indignation at the thought of the Dutch flag "waving in triumph over the walls of Fort Marlborough!" It is not pretended that the island of Sumatra was necessary, or added any thing to the Company's security; and it is absurd to suppose that its possession will render the Dutch power dangerous: for it is not extent of territory, but its compactness and wealth, and the internal strength of a state, that render it formidable to its neighbours. The Dutch have, in fact, become less so, in proportion as they have now diffused their force over a wider surface, and undertaken the government of a numerous widely-scattered population, which will find them abundant occupation at home, so as effectually to prevent them from annoying their neighbours. In Sumatra they have to maintain a continual struggle with the *Padrees*, a sect of *Mohammedans*, becoming daily more formidable from their warlike spirit and increasing numbers. With these, when the check imposed by the awe of British troops is withdrawn, the Dutch will have to contend single-handed; nor will the wealth of their other settlements enable them to throw away annually a hundred thousand pounds on the island of Sumatra. Yet hear the extravagant strains in which the Company's servants in India sing a solemn dirge over the loss of this cumbersome and costly appendage:

Singapore (say they, the equivalent obtained) is not of more intrinsic value than the smallest of the *Pogays*, and other invaluable islands with which is enriched the western coast of that magnificent continent, SUMATRA! With this splendid country, teeming with gold and other invaluable products, after a lapse of one hundred and fifty years, England, by means of a treaty, (the pen, like a canker-worm, destroying inwardly what the sword is unable openly to accomplish!) is at length forbidden direct commercial intercourse,—

Sumatra,—the golden *Ophir* of antiquity! the rich mart of spices and ivory in all ages! whose estimable products have proved the desire of every nation from the days of Solomon downwards,—is ~~now~~ ^{entirely} surrendered into the hands of the inveterate opposers of our country. Yet, Sir, with deference let me ask, for what have been made this tremendous sacrifice of the *wealth* of the East India Company, and surrender of its power, and what is equivalent to its power, ~~its name~~—throughout the Archipelago? Why, a paltry island, situated at the extremity of the Malacca peninsula, which has hitherto, since its establishment in 1819, been supported more by paragraphs in the newspapers than by any other recommendation,—paragraphs and puffs more suitable to lottery proprietors, than the germ of an empire intended to spread British glory, opulence, and reputation over the vast countries which lie scattered in the wide seas of Eastern Asia. For, with the sole exception of its port, and the convenient situation of its harbour as a commercial depôt, forming a mart for British goods, Singapore can boast of no other qualification.¹

But this exception is every thing: so that one indulging in similar flights of exaggeration might say, such a commercial depôt is worth the gold of *Ophir* and the riches of Solomon! That wise king, moreover, did not accumulate his wealth by maintaining distant colonies at a surplus charge of fifteen or twenty talents of gold yearly; nor by attempting to monopolize their trade to the exclusion of other nations. On the contrary, he dealt with Hiram, king of Tyre, on the fair principle of exchange or barter, paying for what he received in *measures* of wheat and barley, and *baths* of wine and oil; and their ships of Tarshish, carrying on a joint trade, brought every three years rich cargoes “of gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.” No mention is made of supporting forts and garrisons; and, no doubt, it must have been a free trade, as it turned out to be so very beneficial. For although the galleons and Indiamen (the Tarshish fleets of modern days) return oftener than once in three years, London and Madrid have not yet been overflowed with the precious metals as Solomon’s capital was. In regard to the vaunted riches of Sumatra, we need hardly observe, that a gold-mine, although it sounds magnificently, is often of less value than a stone-quarry; since, in most cases, the expense of working exceeds the value of the metal procured. In that island, gold is indeed obtained in minute portions, after much painful labour in washing the sand deposited in the bed of some of the streams. It is quite ludicrous to put this in competition with the possession of a valuable entrepôt, as Singapore may be, for diffusing British commerce over the Indian Archipelago. But this is an object of very little concern to the partisans of the Company, provided their own exclusive privileges be promoted, and their pride gratified. The same writer proceeds to say:

The pepper and spices of Sumatra have long formed one of the most important and valuable exports from the possessions of the Company into Britain; and it was solely with the view of securing this lucrative branch of commercial enterprise to our country that the settlement of Fort Marlbro’ was originally projected and established. Yet in one moment, a blow, as unexpected as evidently it is hostile to the interests of a British company of merchants trading to the East Indies, and obviously advantageous to a Dutch mercantile association, is struck at the root of this most valuable branch of our trade, this great and powerful arm of the Company—viewed in the light of a commercial body—

¹ From a Letter addressed to the Editor of the ‘*Scotsman* in the East,’
December 13, 1824.

which is transferred forthwith, without the smallest anticipation of such an event occurring, to the inveterate and bitter rivals of our commercial interests, whose spirit of enterprise and animosity towards Great Britain in her Asiatic possessions, is known, and well known, to be in as full existence as at the period when Englishmen were subjected to imprisonment and massacre, through means of the same spirit of avarice and monopolizing cupidity, on the island of Amboyna!

How monstrous and hateful a thing is "monopolizing cupidity" and "avarice" in the Dutch! But in the Leadenhall-street monopolists and their servants, how becoming and amiable! How unpardonably atrocious to execute Englishmen in a Dutch settlement, after being tried and convicted by Dutch laws; but we are expected to overlook the fact, that Englishmen have often been tortured and starved to death by their own monopolizing countrymen in British India,² without even the form of trial. And if the execution of twenty individuals, according to the forms of law, at Amboyna was a *massacre*, what name shall we bestow on the destruction of several hundreds at Barrackpore without even a drum-head court-martial? Far be it from us to justify cruel and sanguinary measures in any part of the world, and by whomsoever perpetrated; but we cannot help thinking it somewhat *mal-a-propos* in the Company's regulated press at Calcutta, to declaim to the world about so old an affair as that of Amboyna, at a period when, within a few days, in the very neighbourhood, ten times more blood had been shed, without any form of trial, and for which not a shadow of justification has yet been offered.

The mutual jealousy and recrimination of the Dutch and English monopolists are only worthy of attention as proving, from their own mouths, that both are equally the enemies of the general welfare, and their power pernicious to the free trader. The most solid objection we have seen urged against the treaty, is its tendency to strengthen and confirm the monopoly of the spice islands, by putting the Dutch in possession of Sumatra, which yielded a large supply of pepper, and was also capable of producing the finer spices, the clove, the nutmeg, &c. in sufficient quantities for British consumption, while their monopoly of the spice islands still exists, and is guaranteed to them by this treaty. We thus put it in their power more effectually to pursue the ancient execrable policy of shortening the supplies to the European market, and thereby extorting from us, as well as other nations, an exorbitant price for their spices. We cannot think that our present ministers would be so regardless of the interests of their country as totally to overlook so serious an evil. Yet we do not see any provision made against it in the treaty; and, what is equally surprising, the pamphlet, to which we have referred, in like manner passes it over unnoticed, although the author is evidently a person intimately acquainted with the bearings of insular policy. After a rapid sketch of the relations between Great Britain and the United Provinces, previous to 1814, this writer observes:—

It is no part of my present plan to discuss the policy of those measures which were decided on by the allies at the treaty of Paris, and which, as regards the Netherlands, had for their object the formation of a barrier to the ambition and power of France on that frontier, by the erection of this new kingdom, and the chain of fortresses which defended it. Our ministers have been censured, not so much for this part of the plan, as the restoration of Java and its

² See Mill's History, vol. i. p. 48, note.

dependencies, which has given great umbrage to the mercantile interests, although this measure was perfectly in unison with the policy, and consistent with the principles, which Great Britain had been advocating and contending for, at the expense of so many sacrifices. Could she, consistently with these principles, and in the face of Europe, have retained from her ancient ally, whose hands she was strengthening, the most valuable possession belonging to a country which existed principally by its commerce? Our objects in the war just terminated had been opposed to aggrandisement and the right of conquest, which alone would have given us a title to these possessions. In another point of view, was the value of Java, &c. so well understood, or so manifest in 1813-14 as it soon afterwards became? During the three years of British occupation, it proved to the East India Company anything but an acquisition, and became in fact extremely burdensome.

Of its staple productions, coffee and sugar, our West India colonies yielded more than sufficient, and claimed a peculiar protection, no matter how unreasonably, in their sale and consumption. It is not so much for the purpose of advocating the line of policy so taken up by the British Government, that these circumstances are recalled to memory, as to account for the apparent political oversight in restoring, without condition or equivalent, so valuable a possession. Here, indeed, then, is room for censure. It might be wise and liberal policy to restore Java to its ancient masters; but the interests of our own country, and of those, in particular, who had embarked in the trade of that island, claimed the protection of the Government, who might, at the proper time, have easily secured those privileges to which they were so justly entitled, and a preference in their treatment to other strangers, who had no such claims. This was neglected, or but very slightly adverted to, in the treaty with the Netherlands' Government in 1814. Java and its dependencies, as well as the Island of Banca, (an acquisition exclusively British,) reverted to the Dutch, without one stipulation in favour of our commerce in the scale of duties, or distinction between us and other foreign nations!

In 1815, an expedition sailed from the ports of Holland to take over the Government of Java, &c., and in 1816, the Dutch flag once more waved over their ancient possessions in the Eastern seas. The proclamation of the Netherlands' Government, on this occasion, breathed rather a liberal spirit; the ports were opened to all nations, under a moderate scale of duties, and free cultivation encouraged and permitted. English, Americans, French, Danes, &c. resorted to Batavia, and the minor ports: produce increased and advanced in value, and wealth poured into Java from many different channels. The receipts of the island rapidly improved under this wise system. During the British occupancy they had not exceeded seventeen millions of rupees, including the drafts on the Indian treasures. They soon amounted to 20 millions, and had reached in 1822-23, 28 millions! The English still carried on the principal commerce of the island, and experienced from the higher authorities, in the first instance, a great deal of politeness and consideration. This state of things, however, was not intended to be permanent, and they soon had reason to lament the neglect of their own Government in not securing it by treaty.

The evidence here afforded of the salutary influence of freedom of trade, wherever introduced, is rendered still stronger by the contrast which followed, arising from a restrictive system which was adopted, and which, while it cramped the trade with foreigners, is declared to have materially injured Java itself. In 1818, three commissioners having been appointed to frame a code of laws and regulations for the government of Java, as a part of the Netherlands' dominions, the result of their labours is thus described:—

A very material change took place under these regulations in the scale of duties:—goods imported, had hitherto paid, by Dutch vessels, 6 per cent., and

by foreigners, 10 per cent. They were increased, on the former to 8, and on the latter to 16 per cent. on the prime cost. The export duties experienced a heavier increase: coffee, exported by Dutch vessels, formerly paid half a rupee per pecul, and by foreigners, one rupee. It was now advanced, in the former to two, and in the latter to four, rupees per pecul, of which, however, one rupee was refunded in Holland, if the vessel discharged at a port of that country: other articles in like proportion.

Afterwards, with the view of creating a colonial trading marine, the Dutch authorities at Java prohibited European ships from visiting any of the minor ports, with the exception of Samarang and Sourabaya; and latterly, in 1820, restricted them to Batavia alone, thereby throwing all the coasting trade into the possession of country vessels. Still the British trader, by his superior skill and enterprise, was enabled to compete successfully with them, and enjoyed, we are told, the principal share of the trade: two-thirds of the colonial shipping, under the Netherlands' flag, being owned, officered, and navigated by British naturalized inhabitants. In a note on this subject, the author says:—

The importance of this trade to Great Britain will be better estimated from the following facts:—In 1814, the value or amount of cotton goods, imported into Java for native consumption, did not exceed 30,000*l*. In 1820-1, it could not be less than 300,000*l*.: and they will not be over-rated in stating them, for the year 1824, at half a million sterling. Indeed, the circumstance of one commercial house in London having exported to the Archipelago, between the years 1820 and 1824, inclusive, cotton manufactures of the actual cost value of 600,000*l*., will speak more than volumes to the growing importance of this commerce to the British manufacturer—and, it might be added, to the revenues of Java; for this amount has been subjected to the import duties of from 16 to 25 per cent. at Batavia, while their own manufactures have paid nothing.

The taste, as well as circumstances, of the consumers have been consulted, and the fabrics, both white and printed, brought to the highest perfection.

The exports to the islands far exceed those to the continent of India. The Hindoos are themselves a manufacturing people, and there is less room for the extension of our trade with them. What openings may not yet be found for the admission of these manufactures in the wide extent of the Eastern seas!—in the Siamese and Cochin Chinese empires,—the Philippines,—Borneo, Sumatra, &c. &c. where the natives have shown a decided predilection for them! True, the consumption of the Indian fabrics will be lessened, because the British must supersede them, but a ready source of indemnity to them presents itself in the cultivation of sugar and coffee, both of which can be grown at considerably less cost than in the West India colonies, and by free cultivators.

It is this trade—created, let it be remembered, by the British—which the Dutch are now endeavouring to engross to themselves, and these heavy impositions will, no doubt, very materially check its growth, wherever their influence and authority extends, particularly in Java, where we are likely to lose the supply of five to six millions of customers, if the present scale of 25 per cent. duty (made, by their process of valuation, 35, and even 40, per cent. in some cases) be submitted to.

When we read these mournful lamentations on the evils of Dutch monopoly, and the injury done by British commerce by its exclusion from the Indian islands, we cannot help asking—Who excludes the British merchant from China? Who banishes him from the continent of India, and shuts up the interior of that country from the amelioration of British capital, skill, and industry? Is Great Britain robbed and defrauded of these far richer fields of agricultural and commercial enterprise by the Dutch? No; but by the English East India Company, a much more

deadly enemy to British commerce. This writer seems to sneer at the treaty, because it stipulates that Great Britain shall, in the Netherlands' Indian ports, only stand on the footing of "the most favoured nation;" observing, that there is no difference made by the Dutch between the most favoured and the least. But will the East India Company make such a stipulation, in regard to the territories included within its charter? Will it allow the British merchant to purchase the tea of China on the footing of the most favoured nation? No; the French, the American, even the Dutch trader, has a preference; and we must be content to have our tea on the sole condition of paying a tax of one or two millions annually to the Company. No other nation on earth would suffer a body of commercial monopolists to saddle it with such a tribute; an imposition more galling and disgraceful than that which drove America to renounce its allegiance to the British crown.

The Dutch authorities, further to encourage their own trade, and give it a preference over that of other countries, then raised the duties on cotton and woollen goods of foreign manufacture imported into their Indian settlements, to twenty-five per cent., and ten per cent. more if imported from any foreign settlement to the eastward of the Cape. The avowed reason of this was, that in some other countries encouragement was given to the production of such goods as gave them an advantage over those of Dutch manufacture, which therefore required to be protected by a countervailing extra duty. The author justly remarks, that their proclamation does not set forth what are "those privileges that attach to this branch of industry in other countries," which were to be counterbalanced by a protecting duty of twenty-five per cent. Disapproving entirely of every factitious system of commerce supported by alternate duties and premiums, we are glad to find in this pamphlet evidence, that the more fetters were imposed upon trade by the Dutch, the worse it was for themselves:

It is a fact, from which useful inferences may be drawn by a nation considered to be alive to their own interests, that every step which the Dutch have taken towards the exclusion of the British trade, has been followed by consequences injurious and prejudicial to the prosperity of their own possessions. Java flourished under a liberal system and a free trade: since the year 1818, when that system became at first narrowed, and subsequently altogether changed, the finances of the colony have been gradually involved in embarrassment. Even the high duties, as well as the increased price of their produce, have been inadequate to support the expenses which an overgrown civil and military establishment (called for by the extent of their dependencies) have brought upon them. In some of these dependencies, hostilities have been carried on against the natives, and expeditions have been necessary for their security, as well as the support of the national honour, at enormous cost to the Java Government, for they derive no aid from the Netherlands; yet they do not appear sensible of the folly they have committed, in adding to the number of these small and useless dependencies, or of extending themselves in every direction.

We concur with the author in thinking, that it is an unwise policy in the Dutch to aim at wide extension of territory, and that they ought rather to bestow their whole attention on the cultivation and improvement of the most valuable of the islands they already possess. Of some of these the forms a much more unfavourable estimate than we were prepared for. The spices of Amboyna and Java are said to cost (including, of course, both the cost of production; and the charges of governing and

defending the islands) more than double the price at which they have been disposed of at Batavia and the Netherlands. The tin of Banca is said to fall short of the charges attending that island, by two or three lacs of rupees. Lastly, Pontiana, Banjir Massin, Sambass, Macassar, and the Celebes, are pronounced to be all more or less burthensome to the general government; and, in the language of the writer, "Java, beautiful and fertile Java, must pay for all!" How groundless, then, the outcry raised in India, as if the Dutch were becoming politically too formidable from the late extension of their settlements, when the possession of the west coast of Sumatra, with its fierce and warlike inhabitants, will, in fact, greatly increase their public disbursements and political difficulties. In short, the English and Dutch have no need to dispute about territory, of which both have quite enough; and they ought rather to emulate each other in striving to determine which can most improve their own. It is for their mutual interest to cultivate an amicable commercial intercourse, which would serve to call forth and improve the resources of both states. This treaty seems to have had this object sincerely in view; and in so far as balancing political power is concerned, and obviating the causes of collision and difference, may answer its object. But, on the other hand, it is quite inadequate to protect the interests of British commerce against the spirit of monopoly which has become so inveterate in the East; and if the hopes formed of it be disappointed, it will be chiefly owing to this cause.

The first article of the treaty stipulates, that the English and Dutch shall trade with each other in their Indian possessions, each "on the footing of the most favoured nations." But if the Dutch have shut all their ports but one, namely, Batavia, against all foreign vessels, will this single port be an equivalent to us for our admission of them into all the ports of the Indian continent, Ceylon, &c.?

Secondly, The subjects and vessels of one nation are not to pay, upon importation or exportation at the ports of the other in the Eastern seas, beyond double the duty charged to the subjects and vessels of the nation to which the port belongs. If the latter pay no duty on any article, then the former are not to be charged above six per cent. Notwithstanding, it appears the Java Government had imposed a duty of twenty-five per cent. on British cottons and woollens; and it is said that the negotiators do not consider them protected from this imposition. To our apprehension, it is a plain violation of the very letter of the treaty, which is otherwise a deception upon the public. But it is still more strongly opposed to the declared spirit of it, and the mutual professions of liberality in commercial intercourse made by the negotiators. A note, addressed by Messrs. Canning and Wynn to the Netherlands Government, in the interchange of congratulations on the conclusion of the treaty, ends with these words:

The disputes being now ended, which, during two centuries, have occasionally produced irritation, there will henceforward be no rivalry between the English and the Dutch, except for the more effectual establishment of those principles of liberal policy which both have thus day asserted in the face of the world!

On this high-sounding declaration, the author of this pamphlet remarks:

Very beautiful, certainly! How easily and satisfactorily these disputes are terminated, and what a heavenly prospect of future tranquillity and emulation is

here opened to the two nations! Now, how stands the fact?—A year has elapsed since this treaty was signed and these principles proclaimed in the face of the world. We know that it had been received in Java several months, when the last accounts, reaching to November, were despatched from Batavia, and yet up to that period, not the slightest relaxation in the obnoxious restrictions and duties had taken place; indeed, so far from it, additional rigour and severity had been exercised: vessels which had gunpowder on board for Singapore, have been refused permission to land any part of their cargo which was consigned to Batavia; and after being detained under seizure, have been ordered away, to the injury and prejudice of the innocent parties, who shipped in entire ignorance,—not only that gunpowder formed part of the cargo, but that it was contraband in Java, if destined to *another* port.

It is impossible to believe that Messrs. Canning and Wynn will submit to this; otherwise they will have the mortification of being told, that the fruits of their able diplomatic services is to place their countrymen in a worse situation than they were before; and their flaming professions of “asserting the principles of liberal policy in the face of the world,” will be regarded as a mockery of the British public, which allows itself to be thus deluded by empty words.

The third article of the treaty is satisfactory; as it provides that no compact shall hereafter be formed with any native power by either party to the prejudice of the other; and abrogates any such stipulation if it existed in former treaties. But the seventh article guarantees to the Dutch the monopoly of the Moluccas or Spice Islands, so long and until “the Netherlands Government shall think fit to abandon the monopoly of spices”! This, coupled with the entire cession of Sumatra, the only considerable island in our possession capable of yielding the clove, the nutmeg, and mace, is, to our apprehension, a very rash and inconsiderate arrangement. Bencoolen alone was able, we are informed on good authority, to produce a sufficient quantity of the finer spices to supply British consumption. Some part of the stock still remains on hand, but it cannot last beyond a few years, and then we are left at the mercy of the Dutch monopolists. It is to be expected that they will speedily contract the cultivation of the spices within the circle of their exclusive trade—the Moluccas; and they have, it appears, narrowed British commerce to a single port in Java. Consequently, the effect of the treaty is, to shut Great Britain almost completely out of the islands, and to secure the market of the finer spices, mentioned above, exclusively to the Dutch. The only consolation held out to the public is, that Singapore, now secured to us, is adapted to the cultivation of the clove and nutmeg; but would a wise minister conclude a commercial treaty of this description on the mere speculative chance of what may be produced by a small island, in point of territory altogether insignificant, and, we believe, yet chiefly covered with jungle? Mr. Canning urges in excuse for his indulgence to the Dutch monopoly of spices, that he could not *have the face* to argue with them against it, knowing that they might reply—“And have not you your monopoly of salt, opium, &c. in British India?”—This is another of the blessings we owe to the East India Company: that not only does the nation suffer directly the worst effects of its mischievous policy, but, indirectly also, its consequences are retaliated by foreign states upon the British merchant. The present treaty therefore may with more truth be said to “assert the principle of monopoly in the face of the world.” The only parties whose interests are

taken care of, are the Dutch and English monopolists : the former being still better secured in the spice trade ; the latter being relieved of a very expensive settlement, and enabled more effectually to shut out all Europeans from the Continent of India. This grand object of its policy has been much forwarded by obtaining possession of the settlements there belonging to the Dutch ; and from the desire expressed in Parliament at the same time, to get rid, if possible, of other foreigners in a similar manner, there can be no doubt of the main object of the treaty. It is evident, then, from the confession of the right honourable Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that he must do away with that great public nuisance—the East India Company's Monopoly—before he can “have the face” to call upon other powers to act upon liberal principles, and allow British commerce to flow unrestrained among the nations of the East. Till then, the enterprise of the British empire, whose trade has laid the foundation of so much of its present greatness, must continue to be weighed down by restrictions, and shut out by monopolies and exclusions from the finest marts of commerce in the world !

HARP OF THE SOUL.

HARP of the Soul ! oh breathe to me
The anthem that my Laura taught,
In youth's exulting melody,
When all with hope and joy was fraught.

Then fondly did my heart rejoice,
To hear thy chords with magic strung ;
And the deep cadence of the voice,
That from her burst of rapture sprung.

Wake the wild spell with transport blent,
The Syren o'er the senses threw,
As low her fragile form she bent,
And from thy chords such music drew.

Her eye of inspiration beam'd
The soften'd ray of pure devotion ;
Or then with Love's own lightning gleam'd,
As swell'd the strain of deep emotion.

But, silent Harp ! thy music fled
With Laura's evanescent love :
And now, forlorn, to sadness wed,
I mourn the joy I ne'er may prove.

Yet thou, deserted Harp ! art dear
To him, like thee, thus left alone ;
While fond affection lingers near,
To worship, though the idol's gone !

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. II.

Entrance to the Mediterranean Sea.—Description of Gibraltar, and History of its celebrated Siege.

THE entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, being not more than five or six leagues across, affords an interesting view of two opposite quarters of the globe, the scenery of which bears a strong resemblance to each other, and is remarkable for high barren masses of rock, skirted on the sea-shore by fertile slopes of land, with small watch-towers, at short distances, guarding the coast.

The most remarkable circumstance which strikes the attention of a stranger, on his first entering the Mediterranean, is the constant setting of the current inward through the Straits, without any visible outlet for such an accumulation of water; and though many nautical men believe it to be carried back into the Atlantic, by a strong under-current, yet no experiments have confirmed the truth of such an hypothesis. The learned Doctor Halley has suggested, that the expense of water by evaporation is alone sufficient to account for the constant current which runs from the ocean into this sea, without looking for any other cause; to which, however, it has been objected, that this could not be an adequate reason, from the probability of there being an equal evaporation both from this sea and the ocean. This objection is certainly groundless; for in the summer the land is always much hotter than the water, and its surrounding air more dry; consequently the evaporation of all mediterranean, or inland seas, must be infinitely greater than that of the ocean in the same parallel, where the air, from being saturated, continues in the same temperature for many successive days; besides that, the water evaporated from all mediterranean seas is, in summer, immediately carried towards the land, where great part of it remains, being either precipitated there in rain for the benefit of the earth, or retained on the summits of the mountains in the form of ice and snow, and the residue but slowly returned through the medium of streams or rivers. The quantity of water thus raised in vapour, and retained there for these beneficial purposes, can only be supplied by a constant current from that part of the Atlantic with which it communicates. If this hypothesis be founded in truth, it will also readily account for the equatorial currents; for during the equinoxes, and for some weeks preceding and following them, the evaporation near the equator must be very considerable; the surrounding water, therefore, will flow in to supply the deficiency, and consequently in all parts of the ocean, where it is not obstructed by land, will produce at the seasons of the equinoxes opposite currents from the two poles towards the equator.

The coast of Barbary, on the south side of the Straits, has been a scene of such turbulence, cruelty, and bloodshed, as to make one turn with horror and disgust from its annals. Its possession by the original Moors of Africa, their conquest by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, the revolt of his generals, the establishment of the Vandal kingdom, the expedition of the renowned Belisarius, and their final overthrow by the Saracens,

form striking eras in their history. Since the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens, and the removal of the caliphate to that country, the whole maritime tract, from the Egyptian confines to the Straits of Gibraltar, has become a nest of pirates, to whom Great Britain, for a long series of years, sent annual presents of warlike stores, as a bribe or tribute, professedly to maintain a commerce, which she could well command by the power of her maritime force alone; and as these marauders often employed their supplies from Britain in the capture of her vessels, and the enslaving of her subjects, it is impossible to reflect on the combination of folly and meanness exhibited in this policy, without detestation and abhorrence!

Cape Tariffa, a little to the southward of the renowned Trafalgar, the spot where the immortal Nelson fell—

„With all his blushing honours thick upon him,

forms the southern boundary of Spain, the ancient Iberia; a country that, divided and subdivided between contending powers, has been a theatre of action, where the scenes have often changed: alternately possessed by the Vandals, Goths, and Moors, whose decisive battle at Xeres, in Andalusia, rendered them for a time completely masters of the country. The mountaineers of Asturias having, after a short period of slavery, thrown off the yoke they had impatiently sustained, revived the power of the Goths, by placing Don Pelayo, or Pelagus, a prince of the blood, on the throne, who headed those nobles that had retired to the mountains after the fatal battle of Xeres; and thus the first monarchy was reared. As the Christians gained ground on the infidels, between whom the contests were dreadful and sanguinary, other kingdoms gradually succeeded, until the different independencies that arose amounted to nearly as many as there were provinces. These were gradually lost in the respective sovereignties of Arragon and Castile, which were themselves united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; under whose auspices the discovery of America by Columbus was effected, and the kingdoms of Naples and Navarre conquered. The Spanish troops also took Gibraltar from the Moors, and subdued their kingdom of Granada, by which the independence of Spain became finally confined; but before this was effected, according to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war had elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles had been fought! Indeed, the conquest of the last Mohammedan power in Spain, which required six years to effect, was considered a service of such importance, that the Pope bestowed the title of Catholic Majesty on Ferdinand, as an honorary distinction; and Henry VII. of England ordered a *Te Deum* to be performed in St. Paul's Cathedral, in order to celebrate as well as solemnize the event. Hume, speaking of this period, observes: "Spain, which had hitherto been almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterprises the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion; and, in that expedition, the military genius of Spain was revived, honour and security were attained, and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter

into all the transactions of Europe, and to make a great figure in every war and negotiation."

In contrasting the present naval superiority of Great Britain with the maritime power and science of Spain and Portugal, the mind is naturally led to wonder at the rapid ascendancy gained by the former, more particularly when it is remembered that England ranks inferior to both in point of early efforts towards extending commerce and discovery. The palm of glory, in that respect, belongs to Portugal, though it has been long since tarnished by her subsequent weakness and indolence. The British Bard acknowledges their claim with all that liberality of sentiment and enthusiasm of feeling, which characterize his effusions:—

————— Then from ancient gloom emerged,
The rising world of trade! the genius then
Of navigation, that in hopeless sloth
Had slumbered on the vast Atlantic deep
For idle ages, starting, heard at last,
The Lusitanian Prince, who, heaven-inspired,
To love of useful glory roused mankind,
And in unbounded commerce mixed the world!

And even when Camoens wrote the first books of the *Lusiad*, which his elegant translator, Mickle, conjectures to have been about the reign of Henry VIII., of so little importance did England appear in the commercial and maritime scale, that the poet, in his description of Europe (Book 3d) entirely omits this country; and in the beautiful episode (Book 6th) respecting the Twelve English Knights, so intimately connected with the history of Portugal, which Veloso introduces to cheer his companions of the mid-watch, Camoens merely notices England as being always covered with snow:—

La na grande Inglaterra, que de neve
Boreal semper abunda.

In accounting for the backwardness of England in an undertaking of so much glory, historians assign various reasons. During the Saxon heptarchy, Britain, split into many petty kingdoms, which were perpetually at variance with each other, exposed to the fierce incursions of the Danes and other northern pirates, and sunk in barbarity and ignorance, was in no condition to cultivate commerce, or indeed to pursue any system of useful and salutary policy. When a better prospect began to open, by the union of the kingdom under one monarch, the Norman conquest took place, which occasioned a sudden and total revolution of property, from which the nation did not recover during several reigns. By the time the constitution had begun to acquire some stability, and the English had been so incorporated with their conquerors, as to become one people, the nation engaged with no less ardour than imprudence in support of the pretensions of their sovereigns to the crown of France; and long wasted its vigour and genius in its wild efforts to conquer that kingdom. When, by ill success and repeated disappointments, a period was put to this fatal phrensy, and the nation, beginning to enjoy some repose, had leisure to breathe out, and to gather new strength, the destructive wars between the houses of York and Lancaster broke out, and involved the kingdom in the worst of all calamities. Thus, besides the common obstructions of commerce, occasioned by the feudal government, and the

state of manners during the middle ages, its progress in England was retarded by peculiar causes; and such a succession of events adverse to the commercial spirit, was alone sufficient to have checked its growth, although every other circumstance had favoured it. The English were, accordingly, one of the last nations in Europe who availed themselves of those commercial advantages which were natural or peculiar to their country. Their subsequent rapid strides have, however, fully compensated for their tardiness.

The kingdom of Spain, though it appeared next to Portugal in the progress of discovery and commerce, was a mere scion, in this respect, taken from an older tree, which the state of Genoa had long cultivated; for the same causes which prevented England from attaining an early maritime ascendancy, had an equal effect on Spain in her domestic contests with the Moors; and but for the circumstance of Columbus literally forcing his services on the attention of Ferdinand and Isabella, after offering them to other countries in vain, that kingdom would have appeared equally late in the progress of discovery and commerce.

The Bay of Gibraltar, in which we anchored, is safe and commodious, and though it has the Spanish towns of St. Roque on the north, and Algeziras on the west, it is so well commanded by the fortifications, as to make it perfectly secure for British vessels, even in time of war. The inner harbour is formed by two moles, projecting into the sea, making a kind of artificial basin. These are well planted with heavy cannon, and, like the whole of the fortifications on the rock, are bomb-proof. The landing-place is a spacious wharf, at the end of which is a regular town-gate, where sentries are posted to examine all who pass, and to prevent all persons from communicating with the town who are not provided with *pratique*, i. e. a licence from the health-office of the port to land. The town itself is built at the foot of an immense mountain, anciently called Calpe, which, with Mount Abyla, on the African shore, (now called Ape's Hill,) formed the famous pillars of Hercules. This abrupt and mountainous mass, with great propriety called the Rock of Gibraltar, is computed to be 1400 feet above the level of the sea, and rises so steeply from its base to its summit on all sides, as to make it in many places perfectly perpendicular. It appears, at a little distance, one mass of solid rock, incapable of the least vegetation; and the roads, which have been cut with great labour and expense, are invariably in zig-zag directions, as it would be literally impossible to ascend in a straight line. On the summit, there are two signal-posts and watch-towers, with a battery to each, to give alarm in case of danger: and in every part of this immense rock that is at all accessible to human tread, large caverns have been dug and port-holes opened through the sides, forming subterranean batteries, the elevation of which alone would prevent an enemy's fire from reaching them; while the same cause would enable them to pour destruction on the heads of their assailants. The principal part of these fortifications guard the narrow isthmus that connects the rock with the continent of Spain, and, by posing so formidable a front, renders it literally impregnable to the largest besieging force, nor could any thing but treachery wrest it from the hands of its present possessors. I could not learn the exact number of cannon mounted, but heard it supposed to be nearly a thousand; and our precarious stay, added to the difficulty of obtaining official permission, prevented my seeing those stupendous efforts of military skill which

the fortifications exhibit. About mid-way up the mountain, is an ancient Moorish castle, in a state of excellent preservation for its age, but being now converted into a military magazine, strangers cannot obtain admission. From the ships in the bay it has a good appearance, and looks like an octangular building of stone, which has a greyish cast, and is about the usual height and circumference of garrison citadels. From its commanding situation it must have been admirably well adapted to the purposes of a governor's residence, or a stronghold, during the Moorish wars with Spain.

The town of Gibraltar, stretching itself along the foot of the rock, and rising gradually from the shore, forms a kind of amphitheatre, and, from the bay, has a charming appearance. It is about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, allowing for its irregularities of shape, and is said to contain, independent of its garrison, about 2000 English, and nearly 5000 foreigners. The houses are, in general, well built, partaking partly of the English and partly of the Spanish style of architecture, calculated in every respect for the situation and climate. The public buildings are excellent, and the streets, though narrow, are well paved, and present an air of health and cleanliness not often to be met with in this part of the world. The language most in use is Spanish, but in this it may be called a modern Babel, for its inhabitants comprise nearly every nation, kindred, and tongue: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, Turks, Greeks, Moors, Arabs, and Jews, with intermediate classes and divisions even of these. The French and English dress much the same as in their respective countries. The Spaniards assume an air of grandeur amidst their poverty that is truly ludicrous. Their people of distinction are attended by all the parade that can be imagined; and the clergy, in their monastic habits of humiliation, seem to look on the laity as a race of inferior beings. In the middle ranks of society, there is something really interesting, particularly about the Spanish ladies. They possess, in general, elegantly proportioned figures, the effect of which is heightened by a majestic gait, in which they are said to excel every nation on the globe. Their complexion is a fine brunette; their features regular, with small lips and beautifully white teeth. They dress universally in black, with a scarf or hood thrown over the head; which covers the ears and neck, and falls carelessly over the shoulders; it is difficult to describe it with precision, yet its effect is highly interesting. There are, indeed, a thousand dangerous allurements in the beauties of an Andalusian woman, and something irresistibly bewitching in eyes full of fire and expression, that vivaciously sparkle from beneath a fine arched brow, negligently shaded by dark glossy tresses, and occasionally eclipsed by the seemingly accidental intervention of an elegant fan, the graceful exercise of which displays an arm that serves but to rivet admiration more firmly. They are, however, so piously attended by lynx-eyed governesses, maiden aunts, and human Cerberuses, that one can but silently admire and pity them. The lower orders of Spaniards here are composed chiefly of Andalusian peasants, who bring supplies to the garrison and town. They have preserved the costume of the age of Cervantes, and exactly resemble the peasantry of the oldest Spanish paintings. They wear high and short-quartered shoes of light brown leather, tied with a rose-band of some gay-coloured ribbon; cotton or silk stockings (often by rage); velvet or leather breeches, the knees and flap finely worked with

cord, round silver buttons hanging by a silver chain instead of all eyes, and long open slits cut round the thigh, with a white lining underneath; a white calico shirt, open at the neck, and sometimes turning down over the shoulders with a frilled collar, like children at home; a jacket made of the same materials as the breeches, worked with cord, silver buttons, and chain, and open slits round the arms; with a black velvet cap and feather, ornamented with tassels, not much unlike our college caps with the trenchers taken off. I was at first surprised to see persons of so low a rank in life wearing so expensive a dress, as I think it could not be made in England for less than 20*l.* or 30*l.*; but I was told their wives and children in the country are employed in making them, and that one suit lasts them for many years, which I was ready to believe from the thread-bare condition in which most of them appeared to be. The Portuguese and Italians dress as in their own countries. The Turks with much splendour of costume. The Greeks nearly the same, except in the colour of their turbans and slippers, to which they are restricted in their choice by their imperious masters. The Moors, great part of whom are blacks, wear also the Mohammedan dress, as they profess that religion. The Arabs, some of whom are Bedouins, or Wanderers of the Desert, having no fixed residence or habitation, are literally rolled up in a singular garment of white serge or stuff, large enough to make two pair of sea blankets, wearing neither shirt, cap, nor shoes. And the Armenians, and Barbary Jews, who are chiefly pedlars and porters, forming the lowest grade in the scale of this mixed multitude, and treated with indignity on all sides, are glad to cover their nakedness with any garment their precarious gains will allow them to procure, reserving to themselves no other distinction than that of shaving their heads, and wearing short beards, rigidly adhering to all the mortifications imposed by their creed.

After the conquest of Gibraltar from the Moors, it remained in the hands of the Spaniards until the year 1704, when it was taken by the English. The circumstance is thus related by Smollett, in his *Continuation of Hume's History*:

"On the 16th day of June, Sir George Rooke being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the 17th day of July, the Admirals called a council of war, in the road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garrison. Thither they sailed; and on the 21st day of the same month, the Prince of Hesse landed on the Isthmus with 1800 marines. On summoning the Governor to surrender, he was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Next day the Admiral gave orders for cannonading the town. Perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the South Mole Head, he commanded Captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The Captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the Mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about a hundred men were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two Captains took possession of the platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by Captain Whitaker and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt

betwixt the Mole and the town. The Governor then capitulated, and the Prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army."

By the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain, it was ceded by Philip to Queen Anne, with the island of Minorca, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy their estates, and the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.

In 1727 it was besieged. The trenches were opened before this fortress on the 11th day of February, by the Condé de las Torres, at the head of 20,000 men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old Earl of Portmore, who was at that time Governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops with ammunition and stores. At the same time 500 men arrived from Minorca, making the garrison 6000, who, being plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, treated their besiegers with contempt.

In 1779, immediately succeeding the Spanish declaration of war, it was again closely invested; and though the Spanish batteries were not in a sufficient state of forwardness to annoy the garrison to any extent, they suffered much from a dreadful scarcity, the daily food of many being thistles, dandelion, &c. Admiral Rodney was, therefore, sent with a fleet of transports to its relief, and had been but a few days at sea before he captured a large fleet of frigates and transports, bound with supplies from St. Sebastian to Cadiz; and had scarcely adjusted the distribution of his prizes, when, off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in with a Spanish squadron, consisting of eleven sail of the line, and, after a brilliant action, captured three of seventy guns, and the Admiral's ship of eighty, the whole of which he took to Gibraltar, and thus afforded them a seasonable relief. After his departure for the West Indies, the blockade was again renewed; but the Spaniards, under Don Barcelo, were defeated in an attempt to burn the English shipping in the harbour, and their plans, for the moment, rendered quite abortive.

In the mean time, the court of Spain, mortified at their repeated disappointments, determined to make still greater exertions for the reduction of Gibraltar. Their works were carried on with more vigour than ever; and having by experiment found the inefficacy of a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimensions. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow isthmus; and it seemed, says Barlow, as if not only the works, but the rock itself, must have been overwhelmed, for all distinctions of parts were lost in flames and smoke. This cannonade continued day and night, almost incessantly, for three weeks, in every twenty-four hours of which, 100,000 lbs. of gunpowder were used, and between four and five thousand shot and shells went through the town. It then slackened, but was not intermitted for one whole day for upwards of twelve months. The fatigues of the garrison were extreme. The town itself was nearly destroyed; and such of the inhabitants as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the most remote parts of the rock; but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed

secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children, clasped in each other's arms, were so completely torn to pieces; that it seemed more like an annihilation of their shattered fragments, than a dispersion of them; and even ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate constitutions, deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repose in the barracks, amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded and dying. At the first onset, General Elliott, the Governor, retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire; but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched, and received, with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of the year, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with sanguine expectations of success. In this juncture, when all Europe was in suspense concerning the fate of the garrison, and when, from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was projected and executed, which, in about two hours, destroyed those works that had required so much time, labour, and skill to accomplish. A body of 2000 men, under General Ross, made an attack, under cover of the night, on the exterior front of their lines, when the Spaniards gave way on every side. Their magazines and works were blown up, their cannon spiked, and all demolished, with an inconsiderable loss in the detachment who accomplished it. This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers; but they soon recovered from their alarm, and, with a perseverance peculiar to their nation, determined to prosecute the siege, more particularly as the reduction of Minorca had inspired them with fresh motives to exercise their indefatigable ardour and perseverance.

The Duke de Crillon, who had been recently successful in the siege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar; and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations. No means were neglected, or expense spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. From the failure of all the plans hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to adopt new ones; and among the various projects for this purpose, one, which had been formed by the Chevalier d'Arcon, was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was, to construct such floating batteries as could neither be sunk nor fired; with this view their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a large layer of wet sand between. To prevent the effect of red-hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope-netting, which was made sloping, and overlaid with wet hides. These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the keels of large vessels cut down for the purpose, and carried from ten to twenty-eight guns each, and were seconded by eighty large boats, mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a host of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared against him, but he knew

nothing of their construction. He, nevertheless, provided for every circumstance of danger, that could be foreseen or imagined. The day was fixed and publicly known when this grand attack was to be made; and the new-invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in the highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay, amounted to about fifty sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy brass cannon, and the numbers employed by land and sea against this fortress were estimated at 100,000 men! With this force, and by the fire of 300 heavy pieces of cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent shore, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment was tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land-batteries and ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene! Four hundred of the heaviest pieces of artillery were playing at the same moment, and the whole Peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire that were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating-batteries, for some time, answered the expectations of their framers; for the heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two-pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours the attack and defence were so well conducted and equally supported, as to admit no appearance of superiority on either side. The construction of the battering-ships was so well calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they seemed for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon, however, the effects of red-hot shot became visible. At first there was only an appearance of smoke; but in the course of the night, after the garrison had continued firing fifteen hours, two of the floating-batteries were in flames, and several more were beginning to kindle. The opening of daylight disclosed a most dreadful spectacle! Many were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element; but the generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honourable, as the exertions of it exposed them to no less danger than those of active hostility. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, Captain Curtis nearly lost his own: while, for the most benevolent purpose, he was alongside the floating-batteries, one of them blew up, and sunk his own boat; but he fortunately escaped to land upon some fragments of the wreck. By similar perilous exertions, nearly 400 men were saved from destruction. The exercise of humanity to an enemy under such circumstances of immediate action and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It, in some measure, obscured the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other in wasteful wars!

The whole of the Spanish flotilla were thus destroyed; and very soon afterwards, Lord Howe, with thirty-five sail of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing they needed, either for their support or their defence; since which, they have remained in undisturbed possession of the Rock which their valour so ably defended.

THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN.

From The Bhagvatgeeta.

A FRAGMENT.

WHERE are the Dios and the Assoors all ?
 They have met upon Meru mountain,
 And council hold in the Emerald hall
 Of Bramah, by the Amber fountain,
 Where pearls and rubies ever fall
 With a heavenly murmur musical :
 Each on a cloud is resting there,
 Floating about on the rosy air,
 With a gentle motion here and there ;
 And they debate how they may gain
 The blest Amreeta, which shall be
 A draught of immortality :
 But they shall win it with toil and pain.

"Hear me," said Bramah, "Dios and Assoors,
 Spirits who sport on the Dog Star's ray,
 Spirits who float in the frost mist gray,
 Over the haunted Himalay ;
 Attend my counsel, and I shall say
 How to make the Amreeta yours.
 Kinnuras, ye whose song can arrest
 Bright Surja's course from east to west,
 Can make the stars of Heaven stand still,
 And fix the breeze on the moonlight hill ;
 Upsaras, ye whose shining feet
 Twinkle like waves of my sacred river
 When on its tide the sun beams quiver ;
 Glendarrahs, who live on the sweet
 And delicate Parijata's bloom,
 Sporting about in its rich perfume,
 Hear me !—thus I do advise :
 Ye shall the Mountain Mandar take,
 Plunge it into the flashing Ocean,
 And whirl it round with a furious motion,
 Till the solid Earth doth reel and shake ;
 Whirl it about, as the peasants turn
 With rapid hands the smoking churn ;
 Whirl it about, and your toil shall earn
 The Amreeta Cup—the glorious prize."

Away went the Dios and the Assoors all,—
 They have rush'd to Earth like a waterfall :
 Some have shot to the world upon
 A thunderbolt, and some have gone
 Wrapt in showers and falling hail ;
 And some have rode on the lightnings pale,
 Others have sunk like evening dew
 Upon Earth's tender buds, and given
 To each the sweets and the tints of Heaven,
 A richer balm, a brighter hue,
 Than ever earthly airs and showers
 Shed upon India's countless flowers ;

Though they have caught, from Orient skies,
Each brilliant gleam of their sunset dyes.
Bramah the Holy is left alone
Upon his Lotus throne ;
Reposing in the Emerald hall,
Reposing in the cool green light,
Which fills that silent palace bright ;
And there is no sound on the Meru mountain
But the gurgling splash, and musical fall,
The soothing gush of the Amber fountain.
Where are the Dios and the Assoors now ?
They have all plung'd down from Meru's brow,
And think upon the Earth they be,
Hard by the strand of the trembling Sea !
The flap of their wings makes the Ocean roar,
And the hum of their voices shakes its shore ;
Some are dashing over its waves,
And some are diving into its caves,
To pluck the corals and gems that grow
Down in the crystal halls below,
Or chase the mighty snakes which coil
Their length round many an Indian isle ;
And some are lying at length on the billows,
Rock'd by their heavings to and fro,
And those have taken the clouds that fly
Like veils of pearl o'er a sapphire sky
And made of them their pillows.
But the boldest are gone upon rapid wing
To that dim realm where thunders are jarring,
And clouds and tempests ever are warring,
And all the elements furiously toiling
Like a boundless cauldron seething and boiling,—
There have they sped for the Serpent King :
They have baffled the snow,
And the fiery glow
Of the thunderbolt red hot ;
They have baffled the hail,
And like meteors pale,
Through the whirlwind they have shot ;
Like molten lead,
A comet shed
Its vapour on their track,
But they all shot through
The withering dew
As eagles pierce the rack.—
On, on they sped until they came
Where the molten sea and the veils of flame
Surrounded that undiscover'd throne
On which the Snake King dwells alone.
“ Ho ! ” said the King, and his deep voice past
O'er the burning waves like a mountain blast ;
“ Ho, ” said Ananta, the Serpent King,
“ What would the Dios and Assoors with me ? ”
“ We would that you Mount Mander bring
Down to the strand of the foamy Sea,
That we for the Amreeta Cup,
May churn the Ocean furiously. ”—
“ So, ” said Ananta, “ let it be. ”

The Churning of the Ocean.

Then was Mount Mandar lifted up,
 Mandar the cloud-crown'd King of Hills,
 With its waving flowers, and silver rills;
 Its shaggy rocks, and groaning woods,
 Its snowy peaks, and rushing floods;
 And plung'd into the shrinking main,
 Which flash'd and roar'd and smoked again.
 And round it, round it, nine times round,
 Vasooakee, the sacred snake, was bound;
 Whilst his diamond scales did crack and rattle
 Like the sound of armies joining battle.
 But he must be the rope to turn
 Mount Mandar in its mighty churn.
 Then seized the Dios the head of the snake;
 Hold of his tail, which was whirling and lashing,
 With a noise like the sound of a cataract dashing,
 The Assoors, one and all, did take,—
 And they whirl'd Mount Mandar round and round,
 Whilst the hot Sea groan'd with a dreadful sound:
 Away from the Mountain—away—away—
 Flew rivers and lakes in mist and spray,
 Which, roll'd in many a thunder-cloud,
 Cast o'er the sky a murky shroud,
 Through which the sun peer'd dark and red,
 As the blood that is newly shed.—
 Round went the Mountain whirling fast,
 The huge grey rocks away were cast,
 As sparks before the midnight blast,
 And shot through the air with a lurid light,
 Like the track of a burning arrow's flight:—
 Round went the Mountain with furious whirl,
 Away shot the Palm and the Babul trees,
 As feathers fly on the southern breeze;
 Away flew the Pepul, the forest King,
 Away it flew, as when warriors hurl
 The pebble from the whirling sling;
 And then a mighty thundering
 Over the Mountain Mandar came.
 It was wrapp'd in a shroud of dusky flame;
 The Storm King from his burning bow
 Shot the blue lightnings; from the brow
 Of Mandar roll'd its snowy crown,
 And many a vast peak, icy crested,
 On which no shade had ever rested,
 Came crashing, toppling down.
 Red meteors darted to and fro,
 The sky was wrapp'd in a pitchy shroud,
 And the tempest fiends howl'd long and loud
 To the sea—which, like a watery hell.
 In boiling billows rose and fell,
 And roar'd and toss'd below.
 Round went the Mountain still,
 With a dull and terrible noise,
 Like the roar of Elora's Hill,
 When it echoes the thunder-cloud's voice.
 The Gods toil'd on for a year and a day,
 The Dios and Assoors all toil'd on,
 Nor wist when their labours should be done;

Faint and languid waxed they,
As passage birds that o'er the Sea
Have all day long sped wearily,
Nor yet, when Surja's coursers lave
Their nostrils in the western wave,
See ocean reef, or island height,
On which to rest their flight.
Slower and slower Mount Mandar spun,
As the rock, which rolls from a green hill's brow
Down to the grassy vale below,
When its course is well nigh done.
The Dios and Assoors all toil'd on,
Faint and weary waxed they :
Slower and slower Mount Mandar spun,
Till all around the labourers lay
A sea of milk—the boundless main,
Channel and harbour, port and bay,
As still, and dim, and ghastly white,
As the fog that sleeps on a marshy plain,
When the moon shines cold and bright ;
And Ocean was dead as a stagnate lake ;
Nor could the whirl of the hill
That leaden stillness break :
Slower, slower, turn'd Mandar still,
Heavily, heavily, moved the hill.

Then up sprung Narrian—"Ho !" cried he,
" Dios and Assoor, why look ye pale ?
Have we ceaseless toil'd at the conquer'd Sea
For a year and a day—and now to fail ?—
What ! are your arms more feeble grown ?
What ! are your sinews more unstrung
Than when at ancient Indra's throne
Mountain on mountain quick ye flung,
Till they flew through Heaven thick as bees
Swarm clustering round the wild date trees ?
Are your high god-like hearts less bold,
Or your minds less firm than in times of old ?
Up then, ho !—again, again
Let us whirl Mount Mandar furiously,
And wring from the reluctant main
This draught of Immortality."

The Dios and Assoors utter'd a shout,
By which the clouds from their course were driven
And scatter'd o'er the face of Heaven,
That shook the Sun, and made Earth quiver
Like a Lotus reed in a running river,
Then again they whirl'd Mount Mandar about.
Suddenly from the East arose,
Like the sound of the breeze that creeps
O'er newly frozen snows,
When the summer sunshine sleeps
In Himalaya's dells ;
And sweet as ever was the tone,
To some poor Pilgrim, sad and lone,
Of the Jeshoo Lama's bells,—
A silver voice. * * * * *

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

ON THE EXISTING DISCONTENTS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

Observations on some of the causes which have tended to create a disinclination in the Natives under the Bengal Presidency to enter the regular regiments; and to produce discontent and mutiny in the Native Army on that establishment.

(Written in India.)

THE recent and extensive mutiny in the Native regiments stationed at Barrackpore, is, in itself, so alarming, and in its consequences so pregnant with ruin to the stability of our Eastern Empire, that attempts to investigate its causes must be anxiously looked for in England; and are demanded as an act of duty and justice at the hands of all who may have opportunities of acquiring information necessary to the discussion of a question of such magnitude. With these impressions, the following observations are offered to the notice of those who are bound to provide a remedy for the existing evil; as well as to all who may feel an interest in the great stake at issue, from a wise or mal-administration of our Indian Government.

That the writer is deeply attached to the army, of which he is a member, need not be dissembled, as the scope and tenor of these observations betray thus much; but being alone influenced by this attachment, and an ardent desire to preserve to India the benefits of British rule, the conviction of error would be a source more of pleasure than of pain; nor shall due acknowledgment be withheld from the writer, who can prove that our military administration is clear of defects laid to its charge, and that the Native army has fewer germs of decay than was discoverable by one, who has passed the largest portion of life in constant intercourse with the native soldier of Bengal.

No description of the scenes, which were exhibited at Barrackpore on the 31st of October, and the two following days, is intended: their narration is left to eye-witnesses, or at least to persons much nearer the theatre of action. The decisive and energetic measures taken, under the personal direction of the Commander-in-Chief of the army, speedily crushed the mutiny, and brought the actors in it to condign punishment. The insulted authority of the state has been amply vindicated by the sacrifice of from 150 to 200 mutineers on the 2d inst., and by the subsequent trial and punishment of about 300 sepoys who were taken: of these fourteen have been executed, the sentence of death passed on the rest was commuted to hard labour in irons for various terms. The discharge from the service of the whole of the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the 47th regiment of Native Infantry, has also been directed by the Government; a measure of the soundest policy, calculated as it is to engender a feeling and stimulus to exertion too seldom acted on in the Native service—a due sense of personal responsibility for the actions and conduct of the private soldier is the desideratum alluded to.

Extensive combinations can never be formed without their coming under the knowledge of the Native officers; a fact admitted by all who

are acquainted with the organisation of the Indian army. It is equally true, that no early intimation of the state of the corps was given by the Native officers of the 47th Nat. Inf.; their separation, therefore, from the sepoys on the day of open mutiny, was the least part of their duty; while it was a base desertion of the men, at a crisis which their *apathy*, if not *participation*, had produced. It was behaving little better than the mutineers themselves; who never did more than doggedly refuse to listen to reason, or to lay down their arms, unless certain preposterous demands were previously complied with: such as, the removal of Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright, and the Sergeant-Major, and a grant of double full batta.

The severe punishment which has been so deservedly inflicted on the mutineers, will not, ALONE, work any extensive improvement in our Native army; although shooting, dragooning, hanging, dismissal, and confinement with hard labour, may produce a salutary fear and respect for authority, they can operate NO ATTACHMENT TO THE SERVICE; and it is this most essential quality which the Native army now requires. — The loss of attachment in the military population of India to the regular service, is neither to be attributed to the administration of Lord Amherst, nor to any single administration since Lord Cornwallis's first sway in India: but it has grown out of the course of events, and out of the general policy adopted by the local governments under the orders or with the sanction of the Court of Directors. That it is equally the object of all parties to provide an efficient remedy for the growing evil, will not be denied; and that a perfect knowledge of the disease must precede a cure, will be as readily admitted: if, therefore, by an attempt to trace and elucidate the baneful effects of our military system, with regard to the treatment of the Native army, some rays of truth are elicited, the task will not have been undertaken in vain.

The immediate causes of the discontents at Barrackpore cannot, for a moment, be assigned to the mere dread of service on the Eastern frontier against the Burmese; for, although a most injudicious parade and exposure of the troops, at the worst season, and in the worst of climates, have worn down to skeletons many of the finest European, as well as Native regiments, yet the creeds, both Hindoo and Mohammedan, are preventives to any general feeling of dread in *distant* corps to stations of sickness or privation. "Nuseeb," (fate or destiny,) is the Native's cry on all occasions, whether of prosperity or adversity; and as fatalists, they are not likely to be greatly influenced by rumours of such distant evils, however liable they may be to take a desponding view of their situation in the hour of trial. Should this reasoning not appear conclusive, and thus protect the soldier from a taint of even a deeper die than mutiny, the alacrity with which the Native soldier has so frequently embarked on the most distant and hazardous warfare, should at least protect him from a suspicion so opprobrious.

Having stated what are not deemed the immediate causes, it remains to supply some proximate and probable cause for an explosion, which has spread alarm from Cape Comorin to the Himalayah Mountains, and apparently paralysed the measures of Government. This proximate cause ~~will, it is affirmed, be found in the absence from the regiments of a due proportion of European officers, who were personally known to and re-~~

spotted by the men; an evil augmented by the sweeping system of unposting European officers, which formed part of the plan for officering the regiments raised in 1823. The thread of attachment between the Native soldier and his European officer had, for years past, been gradually weakening, by the abstraction of officers from regiments for staff and detached duties; an arrangement, therefore, which removed every Ensign, and some two or three Lieutenants, from each corps, must greatly increase the evil. Officers removed in September and October 1823, had barely time to join their regiments, when the new organization of the army, directed by the Court of Directors, was promulgated on the 6th May following. The local Government, obedient to the mandate of its superiors, hesitated not to give effect to the most questionable part of the new system, viz.—the regimenting of battalions; by this step, removing nearly all the few remaining officers from men with whom they had long served, to new men and new regiments; necessarily leaving, during the operation of removal, (with one exception, the old 17th Nat. Infantry, both battalions of which happened to be at the same station,) every corps in the service without officers, or with so few, that the term is fairly applicable.

To have given effect to such an arrangement in times of profound peace, would have hazarded the frail thread of attachment that still existed between the Native soldier and his European officer. What, therefore, can be thought of the policy of such a step, at a moment when the state had embarked in a war, that required the application of all its resources; and which drew corps from the very western frontier (the 47th Nat. Inf. came from Muttrah on the Jumnah) to meet an enemy in Arracan or Ava?

In these measures, if individual judgment may be trusted, is to be found, not only a proximate, but most probable cause for the explosion at Barrackpore. The desecrated number in the Army List, was a regiment with only its commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright, and one other officer, Captain Frith, who had served with the corps, or been attached to it, beyond a period of a few months: the 26th regiment, from which a few men, it appears, joined the mutineers, had also only its commandant and one subaltern, who had served with it for any time. In short, the separation of officers from the men, with whom they had served, was very general throughout the infantry branch of the army. The most cursory examination of the regimental system, must prove that every advantage, which the orders of the Court of Directors held up to the army, might have been secured without the removal of a single officer, by the addition of one Colonel and two Captains to each of the old regiments; leaving the number of battalions, regiments, and order of promotion undisturbed. There would have remained this peculiar advantage from such a procedure, that when the abstraction of officers from the two battalions of a regiment for staff and detached duties fell on

Many instances could be quoted, of officers removed under the orders of 1823, having to repair from the very western bounds of Rajpootana to the eastern extreme of Bengal; and the same officers, under the new organization, had to retrace their steps to the western frontier.

equally; an equalization might be obtained by drawing one or more officers from the corps most efficient. The number of Colonels to a regiment is arbitrary; there would consequently not even be novelty in the appointment of two Colonels in this case. Had technical correctness been required, the first Colonel might have been denominated "Colonel-in-Chief," and the second "Colonel Commandant;" But this is too trifling a point to be thrown into the scale, against the object of retaining officers in the regiments they had long served with. The hour for such consideration to be useful may have passed away;² but an exposure of the want of judgment, evinced in the introduction of what was intended by the Court of Directors to benefit and improve their army, may serve as a warning in times to come.

The next proximate cause for discontent (mutiny is alone attributable to the absence of European officers, known to and respected by the men) was the difficulty and great expense to which the corps, under marching orders, were liable in procuring carriage,³ indispensably requisite to their efficiency, as well as to the comfort of the soldier. It may be feared that European officers, who neither knew nor were known to the soldier, were wanting in exertions to aid the men in their distress; but it is questionable how far their most strenuous exertions might have done more than contribute to conciliate the soldier, as the whole resources of the surrounding country had been placed in requisition by the Government for the several Commissariats of the army. The tender of a loan of money by Government, at a *late period*, was calculated to operate unfavourably with men, who were not ignorant that the country was

² The system may be deserving a reconsideration; the more so, as the change back to the two-battalion regiments would not necessarily occasion the removal of a single officer, while, by reverting to the old organization, lost advantages are restored.

³ Extra batta, or one rupee eight annas per mensem to the private soldier, (at par three shillings and two-pence,) is compensation for every additional expense incidental to field-service. The state provides camp equipage, but carriage for the soldier's baggage and cooking utensils he is himself to find out of the extra batta. The fixed monthly allowance of a sepoy is, pay 5r. 8a. and half batta 1r. 8a.; there is a further sum of eight annas included in his allowances, but not drawn in abstract, being transferred to the off-reckoning fund, for the provision of a woollen cloth coat, or pair of pantaloons. In times of peace, therefore, the state, for the yearly sum of ninety rupees, or, at the present rate of exchange, barely 9l. sterling, obtains the services of its Native regular infantry soldier, including therein his clothing, food, and barracks. So tenacious is the Government of additional expense on the latter account, that remuneration is denied for the loss of soldier's huts and officer's bungalows, (cottages,) even when this is occasioned by the abandonment of cantonments for a new disposition of their stations. Losses from this cause have not unfrequently happened more than once in a year. The grievance under this head has been most oppressive both to officers and sepoys; the general reply obtained to representations is, that men draw batta, and European officers batta and tentage; the latter are not unfrequently reminded that they should not build expensive bungalows. Applied as this remark has been to thatched cottages, which do not average 1000 rupees, or about 100l. sterling in value, it is too frequently viewed as an unfeeling taunt, uttered by an official organ, who is himself magnificently housed in the "City of Palaces," and has no sympathy for the privations of poor subalterns or their sufferings; if they abstain from the luxury of a thatched roof, and put up with the shelter of a tent, under which the mercury often rises to 120°.

either drained, or its resources held in requisition. ~~Carrage was the~~
~~want, and money on loan was tendered for acceptance; a gift might~~
~~have worked well, but a loan was at best an ill-timed expedient.~~

Having enumerated the circumstances which may have operated as the immediately exciting causes to the recent mutiny, a wider field of discussion has now to be entered. Laying it down as a position, that those causes are *alone* insufficient to work so great evils as extensive discontents and partial mutiny in an army, whose fidelity to the state, and devoted attachment to their European officers, were wont to be themes of just eulogium; it remains to trace such measures in our military economy, as may have a tendency to estrange the Natives generally from a relish for our regular military service; and to produce that difficulty in recruiting, which has become a source of much complaint, besides giving rise to that inflammable temperament, which so predisposes the soldier to discontent, that the least breeze shall be capable of fanning the embers into a flame.

All the circumstances about to be noticed may, assuredly, not yet be appreciated by Native soldiers as points of deterioration in their servitude; disease may long prey on the vitals before the cause of decay be duly appreciated; and uneducated and ignorant men, *feeling* the disadvantages of their situation, will give vent to this feeling in discontent and even mutiny, although unable to define all the sources from whence the disadvantages arise. The first and mildest indication that a service is deteriorating, as well as a test that the disadvantages are real, will be a disinclination to embark in such service. That this disinclination has in Bengal been increasing for some years past, is too evident; and that it has attained a great height, witness the late novel regulations for the apprehension of deserters; and if a more imposing witness were wanted, look to the regimental returns, and see how few corps there are complete. The population of the provinces under British dominion has certainly increased; and the long tide of success against the Native powers has forced out of employment a military body, amounting in numbers to tenfold the extent of augmentation given to the regular army. How then does it happen, that, whereas regiments of yore had their ranks *filled, and candidates waiting enrolment*; now, by every exertion of recruiting levies, and other expedients, the very wear and tear of the army cannot be repaired? The correct answer would strike even those who might not understand the details of such a question, viz.—*The service must have become less advantageous and less tempting than formerly.*

This is the true solution; and a remedy to be efficient must be directed to a removal of the disabilities under which the Native soldier now labours, and to the increase of his advantages.

However unwarrantable the novel demand for double full batta, when made by mutineers, there is no doubt that one source of discontent has arisen from the privations occasioned by depreciation in the current value of the rupee, in which the soldier is paid; or, as it may be more properly expressed, by the rise in the price of articles of consumption, in the hire of labour, and of cattle. This change, while it may fairly indicate improvement in the condition of the country, and has assuredly augmented

greatly the revenue drawn from it, has at the same time necessarily reduced the *FIXED RAY* of the soldier very far below the standard which was contemplated when his pay was originally defined. The exact period at which the Native soldier began to receive the allowances now enjoyed, is not easily traced, but it is believed to be co-existent with the formation of a regular Native army in Bengal.

The wages of hired servants and cattle have, within the last twenty-five or thirty years, advanced one-third, when employed by persons at fixed stations; and even more when hired by soldiers, who may have to march from one end of our possessions to the other. In addition to this disadvantage, all the late regulations of Government have, very properly, tended to secure its subjects from *impressed service*; but, while such regulations promote the freedom and comfort of the inhabitants of the country, they have either augmented the difficulty of the soldier in procuring servants or carriage, or have greatly enhanced their cost. On such grounds, it may, after the season of ferment has passed away, be matter for deliberation, how far it has become not only an expedient act, but one rather of strict justice, so to enhance the pay or allowances of the soldier, as shall restore the military service to the standard originally assigned, or to what it was so late as the year 1800; about which period the depreciation in the value of the currency commenced.

The soldiers employed in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa are subjected to a deduction of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, from being there paid in the *sicca* rupee. This cannot but be felt as a grievance, for a *sicca* rupee will not go one jot further in the retail markets, or payment of servants, &c., than a Benares, Furruckabad, or Lucknow sonat rupee, all of which are paid the soldier at par. There is also something very invidious in the distinction between the civil and military branches of the service, the former being paid in the *sicca* rupee, from the chief magistrate down to the lowest Native police or revenue officer.

The second cause of discontent, and actual deterioration in the Native military service in Bengal, arises out of an extension of empire from the banks of the Ganges to the Sutledge, the province of Guzerat, and the line of the Nerbuddah river. The deterioration, in this instance, is produced by more frequent movement, longer marches,³ and a constant residence at stations very remote from the home of the soldier. The abridgment of furlough, an indulgence most highly prized, is a consequence; furlough is always granted in years of peace, during those months when the drill and discipline of corps is not in active operation, or from March to October. It must be evident that regiments stationed on and to the westward of the line of the Jumnah, with those at the opposite extreme of

² This ignorance may be readily conceded, since, in a code of pay-regulations, compiled by the late Military Auditor-General, Major Greene, it is observed on this subject, viz.—“The old reckoning, as well as pay and batta of Natives, have been passed according to these rates ever since the existence of the Auditor-General's office, but no authority is to be found for them.”

³ The removal to the interior, far from the line of the Ganges, renders imperative a resort to the more expensive transport of land-carriage. This, in a country without roads, is seriously felt in marches, not unfrequently, of 500, 700, and even 1,000 miles.

Cuttack and Chittagong, can only send one set of men on leave in a season; and as a set does not exceed 100 sepoys, a regiment of 1,000 men would only enjoy the indulgence once in eight or ten years, and not so often if wars should intervene. To those unacquainted with the habits and customs of the natives of India, it is not easy to comprehend the extent of privation that the abridgment of furlough occasions, or the effect it produces in loosening attachment to the service.

A third cause of deterioration arises out of a system of substituting local and provincial corps within our old provinces. The deterioration under this head has operated by *dislodging* the regular army from cantonments, at stations near the recruiting districts. These may generally be described as commencing at Mongheer, extending on each side of the Ganges from thirty to seventy miles, and terminating at Futtehgurk. A reference to the East India Register will exhibit sixteen local, and fourteen provincial battalions; nearly three-fourths of which occupy stations prized by the regular army, as either affording contact with the districts from whence the great body of sepoys are drawn, or such vicinity as may be deemed equal to contact.

By reducing the number of the regular troops at such stations, the furlough indulgence is not only abridged, but the chance of the course of service taking any regiment to the recruiting district,⁶ has fallen away from one year in six, to one in twenty years. This fact will be established by the annexed Disposition Table, which embraces a period of thirty-four years; the current year being omitted, as the Burmese war has drawn a very unusual force into Bengal:—

An examination of the opposite Table will show, that the middle, or recruiting districts which, from 1790 to 1803, cantoned an average of twenty-one out of thirty-six battalions, or nearly two-thirds of the regular army of that period, in 1823, only cantoned thirteen out of sixty battalions, while forty battalions, or two-thirds of the army, were pushed forward to new, distant, and expensive stations; the greater part of which would formerly have been considered FOREIGN SERVICE DUTY.⁷

⁶ Although the infantry arm of the service has been more particularly adverted to, these reasonings and facts apply to the other branches of the Native army. The cavalry-recruiting districts vary somewhat from those of the infantry, from the greater proportion of Mohammedans in those regiments; but the effects of the system of local corps, and consequent dislodgment from old stations, apply with equal force to this arm.

⁷ The consideration and indulgences that have been granted the Native soldier for foreign service duties, may be estimated from the following statement:—

1. General Goddard's army, which left the Bengal provinces in 1778-9, and returned in 1784, after services principally from Oujain to Surat and Guzerat, was rewarded with gold and silver medals; while every sepoy received, for life, in addition to his pay of one rupee per mensem. Honorary standards were given to each regiment.

2. On Colonel Pearse's detachment, which both went and returned by land from the Carnatic, about the same period, similar honours and rewards were conferred.

3. Lieutenant-Colonel Cockerell's detachment, which went by land to the coast in 1790, and returned in 1793, received, with the approbation of the Court of Directors, a donation of six months' batta.

4. The army engaged in the Rohilla war, in 1794, received from the Vizier of

and have entitled corps so employed to advantages, and peculiar indulgences granted to troops detached under that plea. Ejectment from old stations is a point not unfrequently alluded to with regret, by the most respectable Native officers, when they discourse on the golden era of their service. Had it been possible, with our present widely-dispersed army, to extend the furlough indulgence, or to have secured to regiments a return, at short intervals, to stations within the old line of service, depreciation of allowances would have been long borne in silence, although it must gradually engender discontent.

The military service may also be now less esteemed by the Natives, from the great extension of our civil establishments giving to a large class of Natives posts of great influence and responsibility, which they are not a little inclined to exercise and display, to the chagrin of the military class, which was heretofore more highly esteemed than any other. Sir John Malcolm, in his 'Sketch of the Political History of India,' adverts at large to the feeling of the military in this respect; and suggests plans for elevating the Native soldier, by promoting the most deserving members in the highest rank to special commands, to civil offices, and by conferring honorary posts and distinctions. The sixth and last chapter of this work* is worthy of a careful perusal at the present crisis, as it indicates a course well calculated to regain and secure the fidelity and attachment of the Native soldier. A worn-out soldier might not, perhaps, be easily moulded into a Native man of business; and, in upholding the consequence of the military class by attentions, or privileges, when its members appear in civil courts as plaintiff or defendant, care would, of course, be taken that a privilege of priority of hearing to their causes, should not be extended to the general detriment of the larger classes of applicants for justice.

Should the foregoing observations contain unpalatable truths, let it be remembered, that the sole aim in undertaking such a task, (neither light nor agreeable to a writer sincerely attached to the service of which he is

Oude a donation of eleven lacs of rupees; which were distributed under the sanction and orders of the Bengal Government.

5. Three volunteer battalions, called out in Sept. 1798, for service in the Carnatic, received a bounty of one month's allowances, besides advance of pay and bounty-clothing. On their return, in 1800, they were formed into the 18th and 19th Regiments of Native Infantry; when medals were distributed, and other peculiar distinctions were conferred.

6. The 10th Regiment of Native Infantry, which was detached from Barrackpore to Hyderabad in 1798, and was absent above three years, returned to Cawnpore via the Nerbudah in 1800. Honorary medals were then conferred on the regiment for its employment on such foreign service.

These distinctions and indulgences, with Malirra allowances to troops serving under that presidency, with furlough on their return, rendered absence on such duties rather sought than avoided. But of late years, equally distant duties, with equal privation, are exacted, as a matter of course, on the mere pay and batta of the soldier, without a shadow of advantages real or honorary.

*This paper was intended to embrace many of the points noticed by Sir John Malcolm; but on further reference to the 'Sketch,' the writer finds the ground already so ably and completely occupied, while the shades of variation from the views taken by that distinguished individual are so slight,—that deference to such high authority as Sir John Malcolm would alone deter from attempts to discuss them; if not more forcibly withheld by a conviction that the parade of trivial objections would be justly scorned as hypercritical.

member,) as an exposure of the wounds which are festering in the Bengal Native army, was to indicate thereby a safe and permanent remedy. The leading causes of deterioration, and their effects on the Native army, have been now adverted to: should the correctness of the opinions advanced be questioned and disproved, it will remain to account for changes not less apparent than lamentable. The question to be solved is, how to secure the attachment and allegiance of the Native soldier? That these essentials to a permanency of our Indian empire are not to be attained without a greater military expenditure, the past will testify, and the future will verify the test.

To the policy⁹ of keeping up a system of local and provincial corps, as a *saving*, there are many obvious objections: they aid little in times of pressure from general war and commotion, for they cannot be called to a distance without breach of faith; and the provincials are so lightly esteemed by the civil authorities, that they are constantly striving to draw on the regular army for the performance of duties expressly assigned to the irregulars. A consequence, too, of keeping up so large a body of irregulars, is the drain on the regular army for European officers to command and discipline them. It is, indeed, this begging of the most expensive class from the regulars, that constitutes the cheapness of irregular troops.

There can be little doubt that the system of fixed, or local corps, has greatly aggravated the difficulty in recruiting regiments of the line; yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the increase to the regular army, the military still bear so small a proportion to the whole population, that the ranks of regiments would now be as complete, and the soldiers as faithful, as at any period of our history, unless the regular service had fallen into disrepute.

The system of local and provincial regiments is exclusively confined to Bengal, so that any evil arising from this source is not equally applicable

⁹ This policy has, it is believed, obtained the countenance of several military officers of rank, experience, and reputation, as well as some Commanders-in-Chief.

The relief of regular soldiers from duties either degrading, or, from their scattered nature, incompatible with the discipline and efficiency of the troops, are the great objects which its military supporters contend for.

On the first point, it might be observed, that a greater evil is produced, in a country filled with the prejudice of caste, by keeping an inferior and degraded class of soldiers, as it naturally tends to sink the profession of arms in general estimation; while the duties which could be exacted of a nature reputed or actually degrading, ought always to be performed by the civil police establishment; of which a very large body is kept up.

On the second point, the dispersion of the regular troops, by taking civil duties, the evil could scarcely be felt, if a strict application were made of the rules in the military department regarding escorts for show, or for purposes virtually private: The treasure-escort system, for sums under 25,000 rupees, should also be abolished. In a country possessing an efficient civil establishment, both criminal and revenue, it can surely not require a guard of military every time such a sum, and less, (as low as 3000 rupees,) is sent from twenty to one hundred miles. One thing is certain, that the military commissariats and contractors contrive to manage these matters without escorts, or loss from their absence.

Were civil guards and escorts limited within the bounds they might and ought to be; there would be neither detriment nor degradation arising from the employment of regular troops; their augmentation, too, from an abolition of the present system, would more than compensate for increased demands.

to the other presidencies; at which, also, the Native soldier has long enjoyed higher rates of pay and allowances. The policy of a local Native militia establishment, if it did not originate with the Marquis of Wellesley, dates its extension from that administration; and it is from about the same era that the attachment of the Bengal native soldier to the service has gradually declined.

The novelty now introduced, of raising regiments for general service, (meaning liability to sea-voyages and foreign stations,) is one, the advantages of which are highly problematical. When a single marine, or general service regiment of two battalions existed, it was with difficulty kept complete. Now that there are seven such battalions, filling their ranks will either be still more difficult, or men will enter on the lottery, in the hope they may escape embarkation on shipboard; but were the whole of their corps, after the lapse of a few years, ordered on board of transports, it remains to be proved with what alacrity they will obey. The past system of raising volunteer corps, has none of the objections that apply to "general service regiments;" for, in that case, men who stepped forward as volunteers, did so with some advantages in promotion, &c., and with a view to immediate embarkation for foreign service. No battalions ever raised in India surpassed the Isle of France, Java,¹⁰ and Ceylon Volunteers; why then depart from a system of tried advantages, to one of speculative result?

By the plan of giving additional European officers to each regiment of the line, when volunteers are called for, (as in the Ceylon instance,) home corps are not stripped of their officers,—all parties are gratified, and no unnecessary expense incurred; for when volunteers fall again into the line, the additional officers of all ranks die off to the fixed establishment. If the Native army were kept up on a maximum, there might be cause for having a portion of the regiments raised for general service; but as the Indian establishments are notoriously kept up on the opposite principle, or minimum, no regiment can be detached for a foreign and unprovided service, without its absence being felt as an inconvenience, if not dangerous.

The whole of the evils which threaten our empire in India, as far as its preservation depends on military occupation and force, arise out of a determination to have the cheapest, and consequently worst military establishment possible. Here lies the rock on which our dominion will split, if not speedily guarded against by improved pilotage.

There is a fine display of European officers to each regiment, on paper; and were the compliment assigned, *bona fide* regimentally employed, the Native Indian army would, in discipline and efficiency, rival any army in the world. But while the Court of Directors only pay for one set of

¹⁰ The old Pergunnah battalions were possibly the origin. These were, however, so frequently thrown into the line, and their organization so similar to the regular corps, that the distinction was rather nominal than real.

¹¹ This predicted refusal of the troops in question to embark, has since taken place to such an extent, as to render it necessary for the Commander-in-Chief to have the refusing men tried and severely punished.

¹² It is not a little in favour of the arguments advanced in these observations, that in the last mutiny that happened at Java, in a regiment of Bengal Native soldiers, there were only two European officers, very young subalterns present; all the older officers were drawn away from regimental duty.

regimental officers, they make that get answer for a staff, necessarily extensive, to an army of 150,000 men, (European and Native soldiers in the Bengal establishment alone, all arms and classes included,) for the supply of officers to drill, discipline, and command an irregular force of about 40,000 men; and, lastly, to supply officers to fill various important, half military, half civil, situations, for which a military officer is either found the best fitted in talent and experience, or is the cheapest person to be so employed. None of these drains, which divert so many officers from the performance of regimental duty, will ever close; for if stopped one day, the necessity soon becomes apparent for again creating the appointments.

The only remedy is, either to make all absentees from regiments (save from sickness or furlough) non-effective, and to supply their places by the promotion of others; or to make such general addition to the number of officers of each grade in every regiment as shall afford a supply fully equal to the demand for staff and detached duties. The latter is the more feasible plan, on the present organization of the army.

Add to such measures the substitution of regular regiments for the local and provincial establishment; some improvement to the condition of the Native soldier in pay and indulgences; not omitting that of cantoning him for a reasonable length of time, once in six or eight years, at what may justly be termed *home stations*; and show more attention to his prejudices and comforts than of late years: you will then go far to restore the Native army to its pristine reputation for discipline, and for fidelity and attachment to the state.

East Indian governors and legislators, abroad and at home, might confer the most extensive obligations on the vast empire committed to their charge, by a careful consideration and constant recollection of Sir John Malcolm's memorable words, *viz.*: that "it is the great and sole art of government to adapt principles to the continual changes of human affairs, not to force human affairs into a shape that suits principles." Applied as this axiom was to political relations, it is pregnant with instruction to those who may have to devise a remedy for the defects in our present military system.

ENJOYMENT.—A SONNET.

How oft in thickest crowds we feel alone,
 When every face that passes, like a mask,
 Or pleasant bower beneath whose fragrance bask
 The toad and serpent: 'tis with some loved one
 That the heart spreads, like blossoms to the sun,
 And drinks the dew of social being sweet,
 When streams of honied words in converse run,
 And from opposing eyes soft glances meet;
 While thoughts and wishes still keep struggling on
 To break through the soul's chambers evermore,
 As the waves ripple toward the pebbly shore
 For ages, and their race have never done;
 For wish on wish, as wave on wave, will press,
 And leave the heart's wild craving ne'er the less.

Bliss.

SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND'S RESEARCHES ON THE ORIGIN OF
EMPIRES, STATES, AND CITIES.

SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND is a curious writer. Theology, Poetry, Metaphysics, Etymology, Antiquities; such are the subjects he has chosen to illustrate or embellish. But whatever may have been his aim in the greater number of his works, it is very plain it was not popularity; for he considered the open expression of truth as almost incompatible with it. "Of the prejudices," says he, "which now exist in this country against philosophical speculations, every writer who indulges himself in them ought to be aware. He must expect to find his principles misrepresented by some, his reasonings mistaken, and his studies and his labours contemned by others. He ought not to look for celebrity, still less for popularity."¹ This was very true at that time; but matters have since then taken a rather more favourable turn. Philosophical writers, proceeding in their speculations with more reserve, and turning much of their attention to matters of utility, are once more becoming popular; and the celebrity they now acquire is likely to be real and lasting, as they are read rather for instruction than for parade. If Sir William, therefore, exchanged his philosophical for his etymological speculations, with any eye to celebrity, we think he has acted inconsiderately; as, since the sixteenth century, there never was a time in which philosophy was not in better reputation than etymology. The former, however extravagant, has always some relation to the individual or social happiness of mankind; either promotes their tranquillity, or fortifies, or enlarges, the domain of their intellect. Etymological speculations, especially when connected with the unfolding of ancient fables, or with uncertain gropings among the historical rubbish of antiquity, are both useless and mischievous; building a show of certainty where there is nothing but illusion: teaching nothing, illustrating nothing, unless it be the melancholy fact, that learning is no guarantee whatever that the mind of its possessor shall be able to discern the trifling from the useful. Were it possible, by the most patient industry, to increase researches into antiquity, by our materials of knowledge, were they capable of being brought to any test, of being judged by any standard, there might be some use in prosecuting such studies. But it is really ludicrous to see the spruce antiquarian, with his little line of conjecture, sailing boldly out to fathom abysses that border on eternity. It is the misfortune of learned men to think that their particular studies can be properly estimated by none but themselves. To an antiquarian, for instance, every man but an antiquarian is an ignorant man; and wherefore? Simply because he is apt to undervalue antiquarianism.

The origins of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, &c., have already exercised the patience and ingenuity of a host of learned men, who, by all their researches, have proved but one thing,—their utter ignorance of the matter. What has particularly tended to puzzle them in their reasonings, has been their desire to reconcile the accounts of those nations themselves

¹ Origines; or Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities. By the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond.—2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1824.

² Academical Questions.

with the relations given by the Jewish Scriptures of these ancient matters, and the preference which most of them have been inclined to give to these latter. It seems never to have occurred to them, that for learned men of the present day to pretend, by the assistance of a few words of a forgotten language, to controvert the decisions of those who understood that language thoroughly, is highly arrogant and presumptuous. Europeans have laughed at the Chinese for speaking of themselves metaphorically as the only people in the world possessing two eyes, and, in their learned disquisitions, have outdone the Chinese themselves in arrogance. The Chaldeans of the times of Alexander the Great, say one thing of their own origin; an European of the present day, who, by the help of conjectures and etymologies, has discovered that they knew nothing at all about the matter, says another.

Who shall decide, when doctors disagree?

And all this is looked upon by learned men as a very rational proceeding.

They know exactly the day of the month and week in which Noah came out of the ark; they can put their finger upon the identical spot on Mount Ararat where the ark rested; and by the help of "probably," and "perhaps," and "I firmly believe," &c., can establish to a little any point they please. They know as well what language was spoken at the creation as if they had been present; and relate circumstantially the wanderings of the posterity of Noah, as if they had served them for guides. For instance: Sir William informs us that the children of Ham, being then fair, took the route of Egypt from Shinar, got into Ethiopia, became black; crossed the Red Sea, peopled Arabia, became brown; travelled on to Persia, India, &c. &c. What does any man propose to himself in telling such stories as these? Better, a good deal, write 'Academical Questions.' We are really sorry to see Sir William Drummond employing his learning and talents on such subjects as the following: 'Of the Mountain of Ararat—Of the Building of the Tower of Babel—Of Nimrod—Of the Identity of Nimrod with Belus and Zohak—Of the Land of Shinar, and of the Position of the City and Tower of Babel, or Babylon,' &c. What, in the name of wonder, has all this to do with the interests or pleasure of any human being?

Thus much we felt compelled to say on the nature of such studies. The execution is another thing. Here we really admire Sir William's ingenuity: he appears to twist and wind Chaldaic, Persian, Hebrew, and Pehlavi, or any other language, into the most accommodating shapes; and to educe something resembling light out of darkness with a very masterly hand. One of his discoveries is extremely good: he tells us that Nimrod, who has hitherto passed for a "mighty hunter," was only "a mighty robber before the Lord;" and drops many hints that he considers the new appellation as much more monarchical. This we are quite disposed to grant Sir William.

Were it possible for us to follow our author through his labyrinth of learning and antiquities, the reader would gain very little, at a considerable expense of patience; we were almost tempted, therefore, to pass over entirely the first part of the book, making only a few extracts, and to take it up where, in the words of an ancient philosopher, we think we can see land. But we shall proceed regularly. In justification of the very slight opinion we entertain of the greater portion of this kind of learn-

ing, we shall lay before our readers a pretty long passage from Sir William's own pen; after reading which, there are few, we think, who would choose to "linger over the dark legends of antiquity," or "delight to wander with the historians of old in the paths of wonder!" This discomfiture, this lingering and wandering must end in utter perplexity and uncertainty:

Immense learning has been displayed in investigating this subject. M. Anquetil du Perron, in the Memoir which he read before the French Academy in 1778, has given an analysis of the opinions of almost all the modern chronologists, who have endeavoured to ascertain the duration of the Assyrian empire. Among the most distinguished writers whom he cites, not one agrees with another. Calvisius differs from Usher, Marsham from Helvicus, Petavius from Scaliger, Riccioli from Conringius, Freret from Newton, Desvignoles from Freret, and each from all the rest. M. Anquetil himself agrees with none of these authors; and endeavours to reconcile the Greek with the Oriental chronographers. This writer has been sneered at by Larcher, who might have refuted him, had the translator of Herodotus possessed only a competent knowledge of the learning and languages of the East. His own Memoir, published in 1782, *Sur quelques époques des Assyriens*, though containing many just remarks, and much acute criticism, throws no new light upon the origin and duration of the Assyrian empire.

With all due deference to the illustrious men, whose names I have mentioned, they seem to have too eagerly sought for certainty, where it cannot be found. Instead of endeavouring to obtain some general results, which might approximate to the truth, they have tried to reach the truth itself; and instead of arguing from the whole collective evidence before them, they have insisted upon the existence of particular facts, and formed their conclusions from the testimony of particular writers. Helvicus believes Ctesias and Justin; Marsham trusts to Herodotus; Scaliger adopts the canon of Julius Africanus, which is rejected by Petavius; Conringius treats Ctesias as a fabulist, and yet he frequently supports the testimony of that historian, who, with Julius Africanus, is defended by Riccioli and Strauchius; the Jesuit Tournemine and Biddens fight under the banners of Herodotus; and Perizonius thinks he has removed all objections to the canon of Julius Africanus, in admitting the chronology of the LXX, while he forgets that the testimony of the sacred historian clearly supposes Ninus to have been contemporary with Nimrod. A momentary shock was given to all these systems by the great Newton, who however cannot be admired for his skill in chronology. This celebrated philosopher, founding his opinion on a few insulated facts, believed the duration of the Assyrian monarchy to have been limited to less than two centuries; and he tried in vain to amalgamate the traditions of the Greeks with those of the Persians, and to reconcile the accounts of sacred with those of profane historians. The learned Freret, who has successfully refuted Newton, has endeavoured to establish an agreement between the contradictory accounts of Ctesias, Castor, and Velleius Paterculus, by maintaining that there were three different Assyrian monarchs of the name of Sardanapalus. This opinion has been attacked by Larcher; and has not, as far as I know, been defended by any succeeding chronologist.

From all this it appears pretty plainly, that whoever bestows his time and learning in adjusting the shifting particles of chronology, bestows them very ill, and should expect neglect and oblivion for his pains. No man, not a member of the antiquarian brotherhood, passes from the pages of the Marshams, the Ushers, the Petavi, and the Newtons, to those of Tacitus, or Machiavelli, or Gibbon, and he will seem to be lifted out of the damp air of some dungeon into the pure atmosphere of no fiction, and stupifying is chronology.

That we may show at once what sad stuff Sir William has condemned himself to wade through, in his attempts to throw light on the hopeless obscurity of Babylonian antiquities, we shall copy his account of the manner in which he studied the fragments of Berosus :

Most of those who have looked into the fragments of Berosus, which were collected by Polyhistor, and which have been preserved by Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus, have turned away from them, disgusted with their absurdity and extravagance. If, indeed, we could give faith for a moment to the account of the Babylonian historian, we should believe, that Chaldea, in the first ages of the world, had been peopled by a race of monsters—hermaphrodites, centaurs, and satyrs—men with the tails of fishes, and the heads of dogs. In short, Berosus seems to have placed before us a picture filled with all the monstrous and chimerical forms which can be supposed to haunt the dreams of a disordered imagination.

The task which I have undertaken has obliged me to examine with attention, not always unwearied, the statements contained in this fabulous history; and I am induced to think, after removing the rubbish under which they are hidden, that some objects worthy of notice may be discovered in the midst of this apparent chaos.

The author seems to have intended to describe the state of the world, or at least of his own country, in the first stages of its existence. But in order to excite the attention, or perhaps to meet the notions, of his contemporaries, he has adopted the language of allegory, and has left his readers to seek for the truth amidst the enigmas and metaphors, which crowd his narrative, and obscure his meaning.

In considering, therefore, the account of the antediluvian world, as given by Berosus, to be generally allegorical, we shall probably see all the difficulties disappear, which had before encountered us at every line. I am well aware that there are some persons, who love not to hear, that even the most fabulous histories can be explained, when understood as allegories; but upon this occasion, at least, let those persons recollect the words of Polyhistor, to which I have already alluded—*ἀλληγορικῶς δὲ φησὶν τοῦτα μὲν φυσιολογεῖσθαι*. If this remark be well applied to one part of this history, it may be justly concluded, that all the fabulous parts of the same narrative may also have been intended for allegories. Thus the centaurs of Berosus may represent the first men who mounted and subdued the wild steeds of the desert. In the satyrs of the same fabulist we may recognise the mountain tribes, that drank the milk, and clothed themselves with the shaggy ludes, of their goats. The monsters, who with the bodies of men had the heads of bulls, may have been the symbols of the herdsmen who defended their cattle against the attacks of beasts of prey. Those who dwell on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and who gained their livelihood by fishing, may have been represented under the forms of men with the tails of fishes; and the dog-headed monsters may have typified the hunters of the forest, who shared with their dogs the dangers and the pleasures of the chase. Considered under this point of view, the language of Berosus becomes intelligible; and the author, ceasing to be a fabulist, rises to the rank of an historian.

The manner in which *Dagon* and *Euedokos* are proved to be the same name, is lamentably trifling, but is a genuine specimen of the general practice of etymologists :

The name of *Euedokos*, in the Armenian translation of Eusebius, is written *Idagui*; and Eusebius himself writes it in one instance *Udakos*. There can be little doubt, then, that the name is the same with that of *Dagon*; and here there is ample room for imagining the form of a fish, since *דג*, *deg*, in Hebrew; and Chaldaic, signified a fish.

It is easy to believe, then, [no doubt it is,] that the heliolators of Babylon had a

similar idol of the sun; and that they gave to this idol the form of a fish as a symbol of the generating power of their deity. But Euedokos of Tarsus, or Odakon, as he is variously called, was probably the same with Oadokos, for Dannes was represented with the body of a man, and with the tail of a fish. Now Euedokos, or Odakon, may be easily traced to the words *אדוק*, *huh-dug*, this fish, or *אדן*, *adug*, the fish, in the original Chaldaic.

Very early in his disquisitions, Sir William comes to the confusion of tongues, which took place, we are told, on the plains of Shinar, while the descendants of Noah were endeavouring to build a tower "whose top might reach unto heaven." On this subject, he considers the vulgar opinions as entirely erroneous, and proceeds to give his own version of the story. But he is aware that he is touching on forbidden ground; and, therefore, prefaces his observations by the following note, which certainly is not a little singular from the pen of the author of the 'Œdipus Judaicus,' and 'Academical Questions':

I cannot think that these remarks require any apology. Without adverting to changes which may have taken place, within the last few years, in my own opinions, I am certain that I have said nothing here in the spirit of scepticism.

Having thus thrown a sop to Cerberus, he considers himself quite safe in proceeding, and, therefore, goes on to explain his notions, in which, of course, there "is nothing of the spirit of scepticism:"

Various considerations induce me to believe, that the general dispersion of the descendants of Noah took place ages before the building of the tower of Babel; and that the contrary opinion is not supported by the authority of the sacred historian. I shall submit the following remarks to the judgment of the reader:

It cannot, I think, be asserted upon the authority of Scripture, that the general dispersion of mankind took place after the building of the tower of Babel; because the sacred historian first states the dispersion of the families of Japhet, Ham, and Shem; mentions the colonies which they planted, and the cities which they built; and then, in a succeeding chapter, records the attempt to build the tower. If this undertaking had been the cause of the dispersion, it would have been natural for the historian to have mentioned it as such, before he introduced his account of the Noachic families, which is really the account of the peopling of the globe of the earth after the deluge.

Those who began to build the tower, had been journeying from the East; and we may thence conclude, that this could not have been the first migration from the mountains of Ararat, which, as I shall have occasion to show, are nearly due north of the plain of Shinar.

We are told in the English version of the Bible, that God confounded the language of *all the earth*, and scattered the builders of the tower upon the face of *all the earth*. Now the words *כל הארץ* appear to me wrongly translated; and I would rather render them, *all the land*; because I think it clear, that the sacred writer only meant the country in which the plain of Shinar was situated. It can be shown from the Bible itself, that the language spoken by mankind before the flood was Hebrew; and as that language was the very one in which Moses wrote, it seems improbable that he should say, that the language of *the whole earth* was confounded.

When it is said in the English version of the Bible, that God confounded the language of *all the earth*, there is and can be no exception. How is it possible to suppose, that after this period the language of the antediluvians could have been preserved? But since it was preserved, why should we not translate *כל הארץ* the *land*, in this example, as we do in a hundred others? This simple and obvious change removes the whole difficulty.

Had the mad attempt to build a tower, which should reach to heaven, been

made within a century after the deluge, can it be imagined, that no allusion would have been made to that awful event? The wandering herds, that stopped on the plain of Shinar, seem to have been only afraid of losing their way, and of being dispersed, which indicates that this had happened to them before. "Let us make a name," (a signal) said they, lest we be scattered over the face of the whole earth (land)." But had the terrible catastrophe of the deluge been recent; had its history been familiar to these roving tribes; or had the fearful devastation caused by it been present to their eyes; would they not have reckoned it among the advantages of their tower, that it would preserve them from the danger of a second inundation? If we adopt the common opinion upon this subject, an opinion not sufficiently considered by those who formed it, we must suppose, that mankind, a century after the deluge, had forgotten its moral cause, and had become indifferent to its physical effects. The moral cause was, apparently at least, the alienation of the whole human race from the worship of the true God, with the exception of Noah and his family; and can it be really and seriously believed, that Noah, who was still alive, and his virtuous sons, Shem and Japhet, would have sanctioned by their presence an undertaking as impious as it was foolish?—an attempt to build a tower which should reach to heaven!

When the deluge ceased, there were but eight persons, who had survived it. And what was the situation of these four men, and four women, who were thus left desolate and alone? The whole earth had been submerged; every part of its surface must have borne the marks of its having been overwhelmed by the mighty tide; and it must have been long before the face of Nature, torn and lacerated by the domineering waters, could have recovered its pristine beauty. Long must it have been, before the valleys were habitable; before the fields were cultivated; and before the flocks and herds could graze in safety on the marshy plains. Vast depositions must have been left by the retiring waves; and the rivers, in finding new ways to the sea, must have laid waste and inundated many a realm, ere their channels became either fixed or known. The powers of nature, as they recovered, would only tend to impede the progress of human exertion. The heat of the sun would cause the exhalation of unwholesome vapours from the stagnant waters; and the gradual excruciation of the soil would be attended with the unceasing evaporation of pestilential effluvia. Forests would rise to cover the face of the earth; these forests would afford protection to beasts of prey; and men, before they could labour the ground, or find safe pasture for their cattle, must have disputed the possession of the soil with the savage tenants of the woods. Fifty years after the flood, the world must have been a mighty wilderness—the plains full of marshes, and the hills covered with forests. Noah may have cleared a few fields, where he planted his vines; his sons may have done the same; but the progress of cultivation must have been gradual; and, under such circumstances, the increase of population must have been slow. It is then rather difficult to believe, upon the authority of the chronologers and commentators, for the Bible says no such thing, that about *one century after the flood*, the descendants of Noah not only built the cities of Erech, Accad, Calneh, Nineveh, Rithoboth, Calah, and the great city of Resen; but began to construct a tower of such vast dimensions, that they proposed it should reach to heaven. The sacred historian tells us, that the descendants of Noah built all these cities, and that Babel was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom; but he assigns no date to the foundation either of the kingdom, or of the cities.

The following observations from book i. chap. xiii., on certain "institutions which may be traced to the reign of Belus," are worth extracting:

The first form of government after the deluge was the patriarchal. While a few families only existed in the world, the father of each was its monarch and its legislator. As disputes, however, soon take place among different families, the weaker parties naturally sought to form alliances, which might enable them

to resist the aggressions of more powerful neighbours. These associations necessarily led to the establishment of monarchies.—The head of the most powerful family became the chief of a tribe; and coalescing tribes were formed into kingdoms, of which the leaders of the strongest and most warlike tribes became the sovereigns.

The power of the first kings was, however, extremely limited; and the head of each tribe retained his authority in all cases, where the general interests of all the tribes were not immediately concerned. . . . Despotism has never been an attribute of monarchy among nations not yet civilized.

Belus instituted the order of priests called Chasidim. These were the instructors of the people, and formed a class by themselves. Established on the same footing as the priests of Egypt, they were exempt from the payment of all public taxes, and from every species of service. As the priesthood could not go out of their families, fathers were the teachers of sons, and education commenced from infancy. (*Diod Sic. L. 2.*) Man, who is the creature of habit, becomes what education makes him; always indeed in proportion to the capacity and vigour of his mind; but without education he remains a savage, be the strength of his intellect what it may. The first impressions are the strongest; and men in general carry to the tomb the notions which were instilled into them on quitting their cradles. He, who has many teachers, will sometimes be puzzled to reconcile discordant sentiments. Among the Babylonians, learning was confined to one class of men; and among these a son had no other preceptor than his father, except perhaps some of those who were associated with the latter, by having common interests, and by holding common opinions. Thus the principles imbibed in youth were retained in age. The Chaldeans appear to have made great advances in the study of natural philosophy, of mathematics, and of astronomy. Separated from the rest of society, over which they had obtained that influence which superior knowledge always gives to its possessors, they lived by themselves, and for themselves.—Religion was their profession, science their amusement, and government their occupation.

As is also his account of Semiramis, grounded on the relation of Diodorus Siculus:

'There was at this time in the camp of the Assyrians a chief of the name of Menones, who, during the still protracted siege of Bactra, impatiently regretted the absence of his wife, who was equally distinguished by the accomplishments of her mind, and by the beauty of her person. This woman, in order to comply with the wishes of her husband, who had found means to soften her of his sentiments, quitted Nineveh, and arrived in safety in the Assyrian camp. When she appeared before Menones, she was attired in a loose and flowing robe, which, while it concealed her sex, added grace and dignity to her appearance; and such was the admiration excited by this vestment, that it was considered for many ages as the model of dress in the capital of the Oriental world. But objects of more importance than the elegance of her attire occupied the attention of the consort of Menones. Immediately after her arrival before the walls of Bactra, she proceeded to examine the state of the siege, and soon perceived, with the eye of an experienced warrior, the faults which had been committed in conducting it. Aided, no doubt, by the authority of her husband, she directed a chosen body of men to scale the rock on which the citadel was built; and when she saw that they had reached the summit, and had obtained possession of a part of the citadel, she gave the signal to the troops on the plain to storm the wall at the foot of the rock. Thus was the citadel taken by assault; and the Bactrians, seized with a sudden panic, abandoned the defence of the city. Ninus, admiring the extraordinary talent and valour displayed by this female warrior, presented her with magnificent gifts; but the admiration of a man for a beautiful woman is easily changed into a more tender sentiment; and the Assyrian monarch endeavoured to persuade Menones to cede to him his wife, and even promised to give him his own

daughter in marriage, as the reward of his complaisance. The tyrant, finding his offer rejected, threatened to put out the eyes of his victim; and the unhappy husband, driven to madness between love and terror, hung himself in a fit of despair.

Every obstacle being removed by the death of Menones, Ninus espoused his widow, the celebrated Semiramis, who has been the heroine of history and of fable for nearly four thousand years. Whether she sprang from the unchaste loves of the son of Apollo and of the Goddess Derceto, or whether she were the daughter of the shepherd Simma, her beauty and her talents sufficiently account for the good fortune which attended her. Menones, the Governor of Syria, smitten with the charms of her person, had not disdained to espouse an humble shepherdess; and, soon convinced of the superiority of her judgment to his own, he asked and followed her advice upon every occasion. After his death, when seated on the first throne of the world, she knew how to divide with Ninus the admiration of mankind, and to share the glory of the greatest monarch of the age. In her the King of Assyria found a spirit as lofty, a genius as vast, and an ambition as inordinate as his own; and this haughty Prince probably soon discovered with regret, that he had met with an equal in a wife, and had given to himself a rival in a woman. Uninfluenced by any of the gentler feelings of her sex, Semiramis imitated the manners and even the dress of a man, and, accustomed to hardships, and inured to fatigue, led the life of a soldier at the head of an army. This mighty-minded female seemed indeed to have been born to govern mankind. Her dauntless courage was alarmed at no danger, and perhaps her daring spirit shrunk from no crime. Ambition was her passion, war her occupation, and power her object.

By the fall of Bactra, called Balkh by the Persians, the whole kingdom of Iran was annexed to the Assyrian empire. But Ninus appears not to have long enjoyed the fruits of his success; and his death has been attributed, probably with truth, to the perfidious ambition of the ungrateful Semiramis. This Princess immediately seized the reins of government, which she continued to hold with a steady hand during the remainder of her life.

His "Observations on the Reign of Ninyas" are extremely good;⁴ but they more than ever make us regret that their author did not choose a subject, in the treating of which his acute understanding might have been of use to mankind:

Ninyas reigned, from the Nile to the Indus, over the fairest portion of Asia. This Prince, as I have already remarked, has been represented as weak and effeminate, as the votary of pleasure, and as the slave of his passions; but the monarch, who first organized a regular system of despotism, which subsisted for many centuries, and which has been, more or less, the model of almost all the Oriental governments since his time, could hardly have passed his life in sloth and inaction. However we may hate his principles, we can scarcely deny that he possessed considerable energy of character, and much skill in the art of governing mankind. The more indeed we consider the institutions of Ninyas, the more we shall be convinced of the crafty policy of this sovereign, in combining the means by which a hundred provinces became devoted to the will, and obedient to the authority, of a single individual. His predecessors had conquered thrones, and subdued nations, but the successor of Semiramis knew how to wield the sceptre of the despot, without unsheathing the sword of the warrior.

Despotism is founded upon fear. The fear with which a tyrant inspires his subjects, can only be long maintained by keeping them in a state of ignorance and disunion. Ninyas was the first monarch who reduced this system into practice.

⁴ But see Goguet, *Orig. des. Loix*, B. i. art. 3.

In Assyria, as well as in other Oriental countries, the sacerdotal and military classes were entirely separated in ancient times from the rest of the community. Professions were hereditary. The son of the agriculturist, of the merchant, or of the artisan, had no choice but to follow the profession, to learn the occupation, of his father; nor was it in the power of any one to change the condition of life to which fortune had destined him from his birth.

The priests were paid by the people, and were protected by the monarch. They owed the institution of their order to Belus; and they trusted to his successors for its maintenance. Exempt from all taxes; free from every public burthen; and living, by the will of the prince, at the expense of his subjects, they naturally considered the priesthood as dependent on the monarchy, and the interests of the altar as inseparably connected with those of the throne. The cultivation of letters was permitted to their order alone; they only might dwell within the sacred precincts of their temples; and they lived in the recesses of their colleges, secluded from the rest of mankind, except when, in the exercise of their functions, they declared the will of the Gods to the credulous multitude.

Thus separated from the rest of the Assyrians by education, and by interest, the priests of Belus had no feelings in common with their countrymen. It appears from the Book of Daniel, that at Babylon they even depended on the monarch for their daily nourishment. They no doubt possessed great influence in the state, and were the usual advisers of the king; but they were, not less than the meanest slaves of the palace, exposed to suffer from the cruel and capricious vengeance of their master. Nebuchadnezzar menaced the *Khasadin* with total destruction, because they could not recall to the recollection of the tyrant the dream which he had forgotten.

If the priests obtained power, they acquired it by their influence with the sovereign, and not with the people. No despot, however ferocious, would have ventured to order the destruction of a whole race of men, who were not generally feared and detested as the instruments of his tyranny, and as the slaves of his will.

It has been always chiefly by their military power, that monarchs have established and maintained the absolute authority which they have often abused. But an army, the most terrible instrument of despotism, when employed by a prince against his people, sometimes avenges the cause of justice and humanity on the tyrant, who has been enabled by its means to outrage both.

The military arrangements, which were made by Ninias, evince his cautious and artful policy. Each province furnished every year a fresh body of troops, which remained encamped round the capital, until the expiration of the year. The camp was then broken up; and the troops, who made room for their successors, were marched back into the provinces. Thus a double object was obtained. The monarch had always a numerous army at his command, and under his immediate inspection; and it was scarcely possible for the military chiefs, who were brought together from different regions, and who spoke different languages, to form, in the short period of a year, any secret combination, much less any open conspiracy, against the interests of the government. The army round the capital kept the whole empire in awe. Detachments from this army might always be sent to the most distant provinces to quell rebellion, or to punish sedition; nor was the will of the monarch likely to be disputed in a camp, where strangers still met strangers, and where rank and promotion could only be obtained by the favour of the prince. The greatest danger to be apprehended for the safety of the throne, could alone arise from the combination of the military commanders. This danger might still be considered as distant, while the army was composed of many different nations, and was annually dissolved, and annually renewed. The crafty despot was well aware, that little union or confidence was likely to exist between the Median and the Babylonian, or between the polished Syrian and the barbarian of Mount Cau-

casus. But even the possibility of combination was to be avoided; and when the services of the year were terminated, the military chiefs separated, probably to meet no more.

If mankind be easily dazzled by glory, they are not less easily duped by mystery. The life and actions of Ninus were enveloped in obscurity. Inaccessible to strangers; communicating only in private with the chiefs of the state and of the army; and surrounded during his hours of relaxation by eunuchs and concubines; the great monarch of Assyria seldom, or perhaps never, showed himself in public. The fears, the ignorance, and the superstition of the people, probably guided by the artifices of the priests, soon elevated the invisible prince to the rank of a god; and we find few of the successors of Ninus, whose names do not import that those who had borne them had been admitted to the honours of the apotheosis.

But while, as the friends of rational liberty, we must detest the monstrous system of government, which puts the lives and fortunes of many millions of individuals in the power of one, we must be careful not to deviate from the strictness of truth, nor to exaggerate even the evils which result from despotism. The religion taught in the Koran prevents the Mohammedan monarchs of the East from now usurping the titles and honours of divinities; but in other respects the governments of modern Asia sufficiently resemble that which was established in Assyria by the son of Ninus and Semiramis. In examining these governments with attention, we shall probably find, that the arbitrary power of the princes of Asia has been exaggerated beyond the truth in most of the books of travellers and strangers.

Two strong feelings have always agitated, in a greater or less degree, the state of human society—the desire to possess power, and the desire to resist it. The struggle between these feelings necessarily exists under every form of government; nor can the most imperious despotism, though it may intimidate and subdue, ever entirely eradicate and destroy the spirit of opposition. We hear of Asiatic despots, who, in the mere wantonness of their moody cruelty, command human beings to be butchered before them; and we are thence apt to infer, that there is no restraint on their will, and no limit to their power. But this is an error into which Europeans have generally fallen, from their imperfect acquaintance with the laws, usages, and manners of eastern nations. It is generally among his ministers, his slaves, and his favourites, that the Asiatic tyrant seeks for his victims. He seldom ventures beyond the sphere of his court to murder or to spoliat; and while the floors of the imperial residence are purpled with the blood of his officers, his vizirs, and his concubines, he would pause ere he unjustly deprived the meanest citizen of his property, or of his life. The man who passes within the gates of the palace, leaves behind him the sympathy of his fellow-subjects. They know that ambition has guided his steps to the foot of the throne; and that he has bound himself to obey the will, in order to share the power, of his master. They, therefore, bear with indifference of his disgrace, his exile, or his death; but let a sovereign violate the laws of justice, in depriving a private and unoffending citizen of his liberty, or of his life, and he will learn to his perit in the East, as well as in the West, that no king can be secure on his throne, where no subject is safe in his house. The power of the most despotic monarch must always find its limit at last in public opinion.

The third Book, containing an inquiry into the origin of the Iranian (Persian) Empire, is, if possible, more full of Oriental learning than the preceding two, but is less interesting. It will afford no extract; a great portion of it being taken up in geographical discussions, and in settling the merits of the monstrous chronology of Mohammed Mohsin Phani, in his *Dabistan*. Of course, we are not able to say what light these discussions may carry to other minds; but for ourselves we can safely aver,

that after having read and weighed the arguments of Sir William Drummond, we know as little as ever of the origin of the empires in question. We cannot help saying, also, that we observe, with considerable surprise, the extreme credulity, in some respects, of the learned inquirer, and, in others, his ill-founded scepticism. Infected, we fancy, with the notions of Voltaire, he calls in question the testimony of Herodotus, in a well-known passage, after building whole theories on the evidence of such writers as Eusebius; and the mob of obscure scribblers whom he copied. We allude to the superstition of the Babylonian women, by which, once in their lives, all the ladies of that great city submitted to the embraces of a stranger in the temple of Venus. Sir William, on this occasion, conjures up his notions of modern delicacy, and asks, if such a thing be at all probable? We think nothing can be more so. The practice was a part of their religion; and he himself tells us, that "men in general carry to the tomb the notions which were instilled into them on quitting their cradles." It is, therefore, preposterous to inquire, "How can it be imagined that such a practice could exist in one of the greatest cities of the world?" We think that, with all his learning, Sir William must be a careless observer, or he would know that the practice which he thinks impossible, is now prevalent in a country bordering on Persia, in Tartary. It was observed by Marco Polo, and modern travellers have confirmed his relation. But the rites of Isis, introduced into Rome from Egypt; the Festival of Adonis, in Syria, the mysteries of which Ezekiel saw, and many other similar rites of paganism, should have taught our author to suspect the foundation of his scepticism in this particular. Antiquarians are not the persons best acquainted with antiquity. Yet who would have expected to find a great scholar, overlooking all the testimony afforded by ancient writers in proof of an ancient rite, and listening in preference to the doubts of a modern, (for we must suppose Sir William to have been guided by Voltaire,) who could know no more about the matter than himself? Herodotus tells us, that after the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, the inhabitants were so poor and profligate, that fathers were in the habit of prostituting their daughters for a livelihood; and Quintus Curtius adds their wives. But if the reader will turn to book vi. art. 2, of Goguet's *Origin of Laws*, he will see this matter set in a clear light; and in book i. art. 3, of the same work, he will also find the *original* of some of Sir William's observations on the character and policy of Ninus. We intend, on a future occasion, to make a few remarks on Vol. II. of this Work, which treats of the antiquities of Egypt.

^a Vol. I. p. 138.

^a *Ibid.* p. 146.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BRITISH INDIA
WITH THE STATE OF THE KING'S COURTS
AND JURIES THERE.

IN the session of Parliament which has just closed, the Ministers of the British cabinet have avowed their intention to take into immediate consideration the expediency of improving the English Courts of Justice established in British India, by placing the jury system on a more extended and liberal basis. An analysis of the composition of these Courts, as they now exist, and a sketch of their mode of operation, may therefore be useful at the present time, to guide the inquiries of those who desire to form a just opinion on a subject of so much importance.

It is now fifty years and upwards since a Supreme Court of Judicature, under the royal commission, was erected in Bengal, to protect the natives of India against the injustice and oppression of the servants of the East India Company. This was its avowed object; the sufferings of India having then reached a height which the British Government considered loudly to demand some legislative measure. "It was thought," says Mr. Mill, "that the terrors of the law brought nearer home to the inferior servants of the Company, and those who enjoyed their protection, might have restrained, in some degree, their subordinate oppressions." That this salutary check upon the spot has done immense good, no one who fully considers the subject can doubt. Nor must the amount be estimated by the distinct items of benefit visibly produced, which may be collected, and, as it were, arithmetically summed up. The salutary effects of law are not to be judged of after this manner; it has a silent and invisible operation extending through the whole of the community, as a check deterring from crime. The just measure of its value is not the number of delinquents punished, but the amount of delinquency prevented. The former, however, though the index, is at the same time the cause of the latter; so that without the one we cannot expect the other. Experience of what others have suffered must first have impressed on the mind of the intending transgressor the danger which would await him from the arm of justice; if he should commit the meditated transgression, before we can expect him to refrain. The power of this check over his conduct will be in proportion to the certainty he feels of justice reaching him. In so far, then, as the judicial tribunal succeeds in creating such an opinion of the uniform sequence of crime and punishment, in so far it approximates towards perfection, exerts a salutary moral influence over the public mind, and is proportionally beneficial to society.

That the King's Courts established in India have come very far short of what was desired of them, is but too well known. Only ten years after the experiment was first tried, the following opinion on the subject was pronounced by Mr. Burke in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1783:—

The defect in the institution seemed to be this,—that no rule was laid down, either in the act or in the charter (creating it) by which the Court was to judge. No descriptions of offenders or species of delinquency were properly

ascertained, according to the nature of the place or the prevalent mode of abuse. Provision was made for the administration of justice in the remotest part of Hindoostan as if it were a province in Great Britain. Your Committee have long had the constitution and conduct of this Court before them, and they have as yet been able to discover very few instances (*not one* that appears to them of leading importance) of relief given to the Natives against the corruptions or oppressions of British subjects in power.

This account, too, applies to the period when the Court was in the vigour of its youth, and exercised the plenitude of its authority to curb and restrain the servants of the Company. But very soon after, so great was the clamour they raised against it, (like the outcry now made against the Press,) that the Government at home curtailed its powers in the most important points, exempting from its jurisdiction the Governor-General and Council, all matters of revenue, and all *zameendars* and other Native farmers and collectors of the revenue. What it has done since it was thus humbled into subserviency, and crippled in its powers, it were needless to inquire very minutely, even if an exact record of its proceedings were accessible. The only thing of importance to be known at present is, whether or not the Court, as now constituted, is adapted to the purpose for which it was intended,—that of dispensing justice to the natives of India, and especially of protecting them against the oppressions of the Company and its servants.

We begin with the Judges, as by far the most important element which enters into the composition of the judicial tribunal. Nor shall we be deterred by the usual declamation about the honour and independence of such high personages, from viewing them simply as men, subject to the influence of human frailties and affections, and not exempt from error more than other mortals. Granting Indian Judges to average the ordinary standard of judicial excellence, which we freely do; yet if we find them exposed to biasing causes so strong, that if they existed in this country they would destroy, or greatly weaken, public confidence in a British court of justice, shall these causes be supposed quite inoperative in India, and neglected as harmless? In the first place, the Judges there are of the same *caste* with the Company's servants, whom it is their duty to control. They are allied with them by national feeling, and by the ties of domestic connexion, or social intercourse, so as to have a common interest and sympathy with that class, distinct from the great mass of the people who need protection against it. The people, on the other hand, are cut off from the kindly operation of such sympathy, by a wide gulph arising from difference of creed, of manners and habits; and even their appearance, their dusky complexion and strange speech, are calculated to excite some degree of prejudice against them. Besides, it will usually happen, as is now the case, that Indian Judges have their sons, sons-in-law, brothers, &c. in the service of the Company; by which they are identified still more closely with the ruling body. In such a case, over and above the natural influence of these domestic ties in giving a bias to the mind, the Judge is not, in point of fact, independent of this all-powerful class. For if he were with a resolute mind to curb the tyranny of the ruling body, might he not be retaliated upon in the persons of his relatives and connexions, whose fortunes and prospects may be blasted at the will and pleasure of the Company and its servants? This is not merely a possible occurrence, although the bare

possibility of it is sufficient to create suspicion, and do incalculable mischief; we have a notorious example of it before our eyes:—In one part of India, the Judges having avowed their determination to protect the Natives from extortion and oppression, a strong combination is formed to oppose, and, if possible, to degrade the Court; in which scheme not only that all-powerful body, the Civil Service, but even some members of the Government, are found to join. In another part, a Judge, guilty of deciding a political case against the powers that be, has his son suspended from the service on the most paltry pretext. Such evils are partly inseparable from our Indian system of government; but they have been unnecessarily increased by rendering the Judges removable at the pleasure of Ministers. For this is placing them still more under the influence of the Company and its servants; who, if umbrage be given to them by an upright Judge, may have sufficient interest with a bad ministry to get him removed with disgrace. Judges so situated, exposed to so many kinds of sinister influence, have in their hands the sole disposal of men's property in all civil actions, and the guidance of juries in criminal ones. Their subserviency to the views of the governing body, is exempt from the check of public opinion; its organ, the press, being also completely in the hands of the Company's servants, who can and do employ it to laud every obsequious decision, and to condemn those of a contrary character. It will at least be admitted, that Judges so placed stand in need of some check: namely, that of a jury perfectly pure and above all suspicion of any undue bias in the same direction.

In considering next the jurors who are called upon to aid the Court with their judgment in criminal trials, we shall in like manner view them merely as men possessing the ordinary standard of wisdom and integrity, but liable to human errors and frailties like those in other parts of the world. We shall admit, for instance, the British jurors of Calcutta to be, generally speaking, on a par with the same class in their native country as to judgment and probity. We shall suppose that the change of climate and country, the pursuit of wealth, or the luxuries of the East, have not in the least blunted their sense of moral duty; and that their virtue never flags, although deprived of the stimulus of public opinion boldly uttered by an unfettered press. But we must, on every principle of reason, take into account those peculiar local influences operating upon them, to which jurors in this part of the British empire are not exposed.

First, with regard to the grand jurors, who have the power of stopping *in limine* all criminal prosecutions: They are composed, for the most part, of servants of the East India Company, who are actually in their service, or have resigned it for other lucrative employments, but, in either case, necessarily imbued with a strong *esprit de corps*, and leaning towards the members of the body to which they belong. The few individuals not actually of the service, are yet so closely connected with those who are, that on every grand jury in India it is impossible but the spirit of the Civil Service should predominate. Undoubtedly this body contains as upright and honourable men as are to be found in any service in the world; but it is not the less true, that the leaning of which we speak must exist, because it is inseparable from human nature; nor do we condemn judges and jurors for having the feelings and frailties common to men; we only regret when they are thrown into situations where those feelings, if not corrected, must operate perniciously to the public welfare.

They form an aristocracy of rank, and colour, and power, intimately linked and interwoven together, by blood, and community of feeling and interest. And the question is, whether they can be a fair and impartial tribunal for the trial of complaints preferred against their own body by the despised and oppressed Natives of the country whom the Courts were established to protect? Those who maintain the affirmative, may as well contend that the Company's servants are so pure and immaculate a body that they do not require any restraint of law at all. They are, in fact, members of a huge corporation, and therefore, according to the law as laid down by Blackstone, unfit to sit in judgment on a case affecting the interests of their own body. If all the bills thrown out by the grand juries in India, with the evidence adduced, could be laid before Parliament and the public, a correct opinion might be formed on this important subject, which is now involved in utter darkness, without one ray of light to enable us to discover how often prejudice and partiality may have shielded the oppressor, by shutting the doors of justice against complaints.

The composition of petty juries falls next to be considered. It is first to be observed, that the present system of excluding, or licensing and transporting at pleasure, all British-born subjects from the Company's territories, while it necessarily prevents or discourages many respectable persons from settling in a country where they are liable to such treatment, leaves the field more open to European adventurers of all descriptions, who, having little or no property or prospect any where else, are willing to run all risks. Frenchmen, Americans, and other foreigners, are peculiarly favoured and benefitted by this state of things; because, although his Britannic Majesty has given the Company power to crush and trample upon his own subjects, however innocent, as much as it pleases, he cannot give it the same right over foreigners. The Company dare not transport them unless it be able to assign some cause that would satisfy their respective Governments. Although they are not legally entitled to sit upon juries, yet in this point also they have obtained a preference over Englishmen. The system of excluding British-born subjects from the country, and British subjects born in India from the office of juror, reduces the number eligible within so narrow a compass, that the sheriffs have often been glad, it appears, to lay hold of any stragglers who will do the duty, provided they have the qualification of a white face! Constables sally forth into the streets and public auction-rooms, or wherever crowds are expected to assemble, to press into the service of the law the first Europeans they can find; although these may probably be just landed from Amsterdam or New York, as likely as from London or Liverpool.

In this state of things, discharging the office of juror is felt to be a burden upon the community. First, because it falls heavily on the limited society of Europeans in India. Secondly, because respectable persons consider themselves degraded in being compelled to associate in that duty with the disreputable characters which are brought together on juries, under the Company's exclusive system, which does not admit of the British population becoming so numerous that the duty would fall lightly upon those who are properly qualified to discharge it. They have many reasons also for wishing to avoid this laborious duty, which calls them away from their own occupations; and it consequently devolves upon

persons of another description. This, after having been long a subject of complaint, was formally brought to the notice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, in January 1822, by some of the most respectable and intelligent of those individuals usually called to serve on the petit jury. On the 7th of January, one of those we refer to, Mr. Drummond, a teacher in Calcutta, having been fined for non-attendance in the sum of two hundred rupees, or about twenty pounds sterling, presented a memorial to the Court, which had for its object to have all this duty equally divided among all, within the Court's jurisdiction, who were liable to serve, so that it might be more easily borne. The following are extracts from the representation laid by him before the honourable Chief Justice East:

The same persons, my Lord, with very few exceptions, are summoned (as jurymen) on every alternate sessions, which would imply that the eligible population of the Presidency amounts to only 144; while there are four times that number who never serve on any jury, and who would consider it the highest insult to be classed with the low and illiterate men (as they are all conceived to be) who constitute the petty jury. It may surprise your Lordship to be told that the term petty jurymen is, in Calcutta, synonymous with every thing mean and vulgar; but when your Lordship is informed that very few who are called respectable are ever seen there; and that *boys, foreigners, convicts, lunatics, drunkards*, and men who cannot decipher the alphabet, have been frequently placed in the chair of deliberative justice, that surprise will cease!

Besides the extreme hardship of being compelled to attend two sessions in every year, when four-fifths of the population are never required to attend at all, it may be extremely painful for an educated man to be compelled to associate in the jury-box of this honourable court with such characters as I have already described; and I leave it to your superior understanding how far the ends of justice can be accomplished by such amalgamation.

My Lord, I claim no exception from the office of a petty jury: to be clothed in that character is the proudest attribute of a Briton; and if the duty were impartially distributed, he is unworthy of that name who would not cheerfully sacrifice much convenience for its sake; but, conducted as it is, the task is, indeed, my Lord, most painful and humiliating.

I assure your Lordship I speak the sentiments of all the jurymen I have ever conversed with on the subject; and for the truth of this I may appeal to those who are now present. Complaints "not loud but deep" have been long accumulating.

He concluded by offering to substantiate the whole of what he had asserted by evidence, whenever his Lordship might think proper to afford him an opportunity. The Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, expressed his concurrence in the justice of Mr. Drummond's complaint, and requested the gentlemen of the jury generally to lend their aid in rectifying the evil. Now a very easy remedy presented itself, if the court had had the liberality and justice to adopt it: namely, that of summoning all British subjects within its jurisdiction, qualified to serve; since to be born within the British dominions ought to dignify with all the privileges of a freeman, "whatever complexion hostile to liberty an Indian sun may have burned upon their visage."

The subject of summoning East Indians on juries was actually moved in court by Mr. Fergusson; who stated, that a number of persons, born of Indian mothers, whose fathers were British subjects, had made an application to the sheriff, claiming to be summoned on juries; and felt aggrieved at the invidious distinction which excluded them from exercising the rights of British subjects. The court, however, showed much aver-

sion to entertaining the question, objecting to express any opinion at all on the subject, if it could possibly be avoided. The Chief Justice thought the question was more of a political or legislative nature than a fit topic for their consideration. Mr. Fergusson, considering it to depend on the construction of the charter of the court, thought it one for the court's decision. There was, he observed, a distinction made by the legislature, according to the words of the charter, between the class of persons who made this application and the natives of the country; and the obvious intention of the legislature seemed to be, that the children born in this country of British fathers, though of Native mothers, were to be considered as British subjects. The hon. Chief Justice asked, how persons born in India of Native mothers, and not in lawful wedlock, could be said to be born of a British father? Mr. Fergusson replied, that natural children were in England British subjects, or the King would lose many a subject. The Chief Justice observed, that natural children born in England were differently situated, because born within the allegiance of the King. Mr. Fergusson contended that persons born in India were also born within the allegiance of the King, and as much British subjects as if born within the sound of Bow-bell. All the explanation that could be obtained from the court was, that (according to the Chief Justice) it depended on the discretion of the sheriff, whether he would summon those persons born in India to serve on juries or not. And on its being then urged, that the court might instruct the sheriff how to act in this affair, the Chief Justice still replied, that no doubt the court might inform him who they thought fit persons to serve on juries; but this would not alter his power of summoning whom he chose! Mr. Reed, one of the parties complaining, afterwards attempted to elicit a more definite opinion from the court on the subject, but without success; the Chief Justice declaring, that the Judges were not there for the purpose of solving doubts, or answering questions on subjects not regularly before them.

Next day, Mr. Draper, another jurymen, brought the same subject to the notice of Sir Francis Macnaghten, who happened to be the only Judge that day on the bench; expressing a hope that this grievance, complained of by the petty jurors, would be mitigated, by allowing that class of persons, commonly called country-borns, to sit as jurors. Sir Francis replied, that he had been consulting on the subject, and assured him that he was ready to do every thing in his power at all times to facilitate the object in question, but he was afraid no specific remedy could be had until the matter was decided by the proper authorities at home.

This is the last time, we believe, the subject was agitated in the court, and we cannot help thinking the manner in which the question was evaded exceedingly disgraceful. They were told that they had delegated the important functions of a British juror to "boys, foreigners, convicts, lunatics, drunkards," and men wholly ignorant of letters. A large class of British subjects were pointed out to them, containing many individuals infinitely better qualified than such persons to discharge that duty; and the Judges reply, that they are not there, forsooth, as omnes to solve doubts and answer questions! No; but they were there sworn to see justice done, and not to commit it to the hands of convicts, drunkards, idiots, and children, as Sir E. Hyde East, Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten, and Sir Anthony Buller, are declared to have done in India, and as it was offered to be proved at their bar. The former of these worthies

notwithstanding his promise to assist in rectifying the evil, did not think it worth while to attend in his place in the House of Commons, when the subject of East Indian juries was lately discussed; but we hope he will soon have another opportunity of justifying these circumstances, which, if they had happened in Great Britain, would have excited the loudest indignation from one end of the kingdom to the other.

We shall now make a short extract from a Calcutta paper of December last, to show that the evil has not yet been remedied; which is a pregnant illustration of the zeal of Indian Judges to remove abuses in their courts. The writer says:—

It cannot be denied that there are some people among the European part of the community whose professions are not considered as very respectable, and with whom tradesmen, whose professions are considered more respectable, do not like to be associated. Again, there are others whose education has been so extremely defective, that they are not fit to sit on a jury. Among the first I would place livery-stable keepers, grooms, punch-house keepers, scavengers, and coastables; and yet I have seen people of all these descriptions, except the last, on the petty jury, and I have even seen these on coroner's juries.

This is attributed to the difficulty of assembling juries composed, as the law directs, of good and sufficient men, under the present exclusive system, which rejects persons of Indian birth. It is no doubt true, that in such a city as Calcutta, there may be found many respectable and worthy men of European birth to discharge that duty. But unfortunately we find that little anxiety has been displayed to secure the attendance of such persons, and such only. The Judges are contented, it appears, if they see the jury-box filled with white faces; a sufficient guarantee for European notions and prejudices, although by no means so for respectability or intelligence. The reverse is so often the case, that respectable men shun it as a disgrace; the most unequivocal of all proofs that petty juries are generally composed in a manner far from reputable. On strict analysis they will be found to consist—1st, Of persons *all* liable to be banished at the mere will and pleasure of the Company's servants, on whom they were intended by law to be a check.—2d, Many of them, as uncovenanted assistants, holding situations under these Company's servants, and accordingly depending on them for their daily bread and future prospects.—3d, Tradesmen, whose income almost wholly depends upon the custom or patronage of the Company's servants. Considering all these things, it is really surprising that Indian juries have, on some important occasions, displayed so much virtue; but in others, when the protection of the Native population was concerned, they have been found miserably wanting; this more frequently, however, owing to error and prejudice, than to want of principle. Notwithstanding, there is, of the latter, one flagrant example, which deserves to be recorded here as a beacon to warn the well-wishers of India of the pernicious consequences of the present system. Although we have often heard the case mentioned in India, we prefer quoting the account of it given in the Calcutta paper, before quoted, of December last, to which we have referred, as it shows it to be matter of public notoriety:—

As to the ignorant part of the community, (says the writer,) I need not point them out; nor need I expatiate on the ill effects of admitting them (upon juries) so long as it is confessed that ignorance and prejudice go hand in hand, and as follows are the following anecdote is in the recollection (which it must be) of many

old petty jurors:—An European was tried for the murder of a Native; the jury retired to consider of the verdict. On entering the room, to which they thus retired, one of the jurymen, still living in Calcutta, took a seat, spread his legs on the table, told the jury “he was going to sleep; *his mind was made up*; HE WOULD NEVER CONSENT TO AN ENGLISHMAN BEING HUNG FOR MURDERING A BLACK RASCAL! but when the jury had agreed to acquit the prisoner they might awaken him.” The prisoner was acquitted accordingly; and this true narrative is, I am told, a boast to this day in the mouth of the *hero* of it. I have heard it from good authority, and I give implicit credit to every tittle of it.

Such is a specimen of the men preferred by his Majesty's Judges in India, to the sacred office of shielding the Natives of that country from oppression; and when humbly asked to express their opinion, whether persons of another class may not be admitted to aid them or supply their place, they haughtily reply, that they do not sit there to solve doubts and answer questions! We believe it will be found on inquiry, that the person so screened from justice was a civil servant of the Company, and that the circumstance was well known to the Judges presiding at the trial. They could not possibly remain ignorant of a thing so notorious; but although they make their friends in power bestir themselves to reform their courts, by giving them *an increase of salary*, such glaring defects, leaving the lives of millions without efficient protection, may remain long enough unremedied. The remarks of the writer just quoted, are so just and so important, as the opinions of a person on the spot, that we shall give them at length:—

These (he adds) are the effects of the indiscriminate admission, not of country-borns, (or persons of Indian birth,) but of Europeans to the exercise of the duties of jurymen; and I do not think that worse effects could have arisen from the indiscriminate admission of persons of every class, not excepting the lowest *Feringhy*¹ that can be found. Until it can be shown, then, that the generality of the country-borns are less capable of exercising a dispassionate judgment than the man I have now mentioned, it appears to me that there can be no good reason why they should not be admitted to the exercise of it in this particular manner. Independent of this, although it is rather a privilege than otherwise to sit on a jury, yet the frequent recurrence of this duty among the part of the European community, who, according to my notions, are fitted to exercise it, is sometimes burthensome, and always troublesome. There are men of intelligence, of good sound sense, of discernment, and of uprightness, among this class as well as among others; and these are the qualities which are required to constitute an able jurymen. Were this class of persons to be admitted to exercise this important office, it would not only ease the European part of the community from part of the onerous duty which at present devolves upon them, but it would raise the country-borns a step in respectability, by making them participators in one, at least, of the many privileges from which they are excluded, without any earthly reason that will bear examination. This unfortunate race of men—a race, too, so fast rising into respectability—seem to have been precluded, with extraordinary severity, from any of the privileges of British subjects; and I believe that nothing would tend so much to the wide spread of that intellectual improvement which has already made so much progress among them, as the breaking down of those barriers which, like those of *caste*, are considered to be insuperable, although they rest upon no better foundation than those of prejudice and error. They are fast becoming an important part of the population of the country: they will be a powerful part of it; and

¹ This is a term of opprobrium (corrupted from *Frank*) applicable in the East to all Christians; but when used by Europeans especially, signifying more particularly those of Indian parentage, Indo-Britons, Native Portuguese, &c.

the connecting link they form between the European and Native, renders it a matter of no trifling consideration to the Government to study the feelings and conciliate the affections of a body of men, who may in time become so mischievous, or so useful, to the British power in India as these are likely to be.

The claims of the Indo-Britons to this privilege are of the very strongest kind ; but there is a much larger class, the Natives of the country, whose interests claim the attention of the British legislature. When a court is established to dispense justice to a mixed race of men, consisting of Hindoos, Mohammedans, Armenians, Europeans, Indo-Britons, &c., there is a fundamental objection to the jurors being chosen exclusively from one class, and that, perhaps, among the smallest in number, of all the various tribes over which the court exercises its jurisdiction. Such a practice is altogether repugnant to the nature of trial by jury ; the very essence of which consists in its affording the accused a trial by his peers : "*legale judicium parium suorum*." In fact, it is thus only that justice can be secured ; for who is so capable of entering into the feelings, and comprehending the motives of the culprit, of weighing and pronouncing upon his conduct and actions, as his neighbours and countrymen,—those of the same situation and rank in life with himself ? This cannot be done satisfactorily nor well by foreigners and strangers ; and it must not be overlooked, that European sojourners in India are, therefore, in many respects, extremely unfit to sit in judgment on our Indian subjects ; both from being often insufficiently acquainted with their character, and having too frequently a most unjust and invincible prejudice against them. This antipathy arises, in a great measure, from the absence of all free communication or social intercourse between the two races ; and the Europeans coming in contact, in the way of business, almost solely with the worst part of the Native population, from which they form a most injurious opinion of the rest.

The evil is vastly increased by the extensive jurisdiction of the Indian courts, which, in respect to Europeans, includes the large tracts of country attached to the several presidencies. Hence causes and witnesses are brought from many hundreds of miles distant, to be submitted to the judgment of persons whose constant residence is at the Presidency, and who can, therefore, know little or nothing of the real state of society in the interior of the country, into which the Company's system prohibits them from penetrating beyond ten miles, without express permission being granted by Government. Besides this restriction, in that country, there are neither facilities nor inducements for travelling, which, if it were permitted, would enable the British inhabitants of the capital to become acquainted with the condition of the mass of the population. Of this the policy of Government, and the circumstances of the country, both conspire to keep them ignorant. From the difference of manners, language, and habits, there is little or no intercourse between the white and black population to create a good understanding and mutual sympathy between them. They stand generally in the relation only of masters and servants ; and the European jurymen are, for the most part, only acquainted with the lowest classes of the Natives inhabiting the capital and its environs, whom they employ as menial servants, workmen, or labourers, and from these (probably as bad and faithless a race as infects any large capital), they form their estimate of the whole population, high and low. With this impression on their minds they enter the jury-box, and

sit in judgment on causes brought from the most remote parts of the country, where the people are living under a totally different system of laws, of which the jury has no knowledge or experience, and in a state of society of which it can hardly form any conception. Is such a jury capable of fairly weighing the evidence brought before it; of holding the balance of justice impartially between the powerful European and the despised "black fellow"² who is opposed to him, without being biassed by the strong prejudice attaching to the one, and the national feelings pleading for the other? To hope for such a thing, would be to expect of human nature what has never yet been experienced.

In India, therefore, trial by jury is now robbed of its most precious attribute, that of affording the accused a trial by his peers. The British subject born in India is tried by men brought from the most distant quarter of the globe—strangers to his language, his feelings, and habits; from whose sympathies he is cut off by the difference of manners, creed, and colour. Yet he is invariably asked, according to the solemn formalities of English law, which will not dispense with its verbal technicalities, whatever may become of the essentials of justice, How he will be tried? and is made to answer, "By God and my country!" But, in fact, the poor culprit neither understands the question, nor the answer put into his mouth, in its genuine sense; and the interpreter of the court (who is sworn to interpret truly) manages the matter by an official subterfuge, which satisfies the ear of the judge. He simply asks the prisoner if he is willing to be tried by "these gentlemen?" (meaning by the phrase, that portion of the white rulers of India which composes the court;) to which the culprit answers in the affirmative, usually by a submissive obeisance or *salaam*. This is invariably interpreted to mean "By God and my country," which is re-echoed as his response to the court. If the judges then admit, in words, that the Native of India has a right to be tried by *his country*, (for it must be matter of right when they uniformly declare, in the most solemn manner, that he is actually so tried,) how comes it that they pertinaciously exclude all his countrymen from forming any part of his jury? Is not this a solemn mockery of justice, to parade its forms in empty words, while its substance is destroyed? Is it not a gross cheat and delusion to say, that he is tried by his country, or by his peers,—as much so as it would be to use these phrases in England, if the people of this country were robbed of their birthright, and uniformly tried by juries composed of Sandwich islanders? Common sense and common justice would dictate to Judges in India, that they should impanel on juries the most intelligent and respectable British subjects within their jurisdiction, without distinction of creed or colour, or place of nativity, if they think it a duty to dispense even-handed justice to all, without partiality or favour to any particular class. But we have already explained the numerous circumstances calculated to bias our Indian Judges; and their conduct in this important affair shows how far their impartiality can be trusted. They pertinaciously exclude Natives

² This is the contemptuous epithet usually employed by the lower class of Europeans in India, when speaking of the Natives, whom they regard as little better than beasts of burden, only fit to be worked and beaten. Whether this be the reason the Judges there have shown such a determined predilection for having such persons as jurors, the reader may form his own opinion.

of India from the exercise of their just rights, in a manner contrary to reason, and, according to the opinion expressed in Parliament, contrary to law.

It is too obvious to require mention, that Indo-Britons, and those more strictly called Natives of India, must be much better qualified to discharge the functions of jurors, from their more perfect knowledge of the people, of their language, and of the circumstances of the country, so totally different from that of which we have any experience, that the European, on landing there, finds himself in a new world, in which he cannot with safety pronounce an opinion on any intricate case of evidence. It can easily be shown, that even the Judges themselves, with all their judicial experience, and their professional acuteness sharpened by, perhaps, twenty or thirty years' practice, are often, almost daily, totally at a loss what judgment to form, after hearing all the evidence on both sides. They are, in fact, continually complaining, that it is almost impossible to discriminate true testimony from false, so very ingeniously are they imposed upon; and justice is thereby necessarily rendered a kind of lottery. But to enter upon the proofs of this at present, would, we find, extend the subject to too great a length. If there be any individual, who, after considering attentively the composition of these Indian courts, thinks them capable of protecting the Native population, or even of dispensing justice between the Natives themselves with a tolerable degree of accuracy, —we shall convince him of the contrary by the declarations of the Judges themselves, the character of their proceedings, and notorious facts that cannot be denied; which show that our judicial administration does not possess the confidence of the natives of India, and can never possibly acquire it, unless very considerable reforms take place in the mode of impannelling juries.

HEART'S-EASE.

THERE is a power in softly charming word,
To calm the trouble of the pained heart,
And music, with its many-voiced chords,
Can bid the sullen gloom of grief depart;
And sculpture, and the rainbow-embowered art
Of painting, can the soul with rapture fill;
But there is in the bosom something still,
Some fragment of our being thrown apart,
Beyond Art's mighty influence removed,
And nothing, save the fiery pointed dart
Of Eros, can the remedy approved
Administer; but that, like magic wand,
Swaying the heart, can make e'en pain be loved,
If coming from the dear disturber's hand.

THE ARABS. A TALE.¹

We had some intention of giving, upon this occasion, our general opinion of Anglo-oriental poetry; but we found that to give any thing like an adequate description of it, would have carried us beyond the limits of an article, and have been, after all, somewhat of a superegregatory labour; for the public have come to a kind of conclusion about it, and, bad or good, have driven it out of fashion.

We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to Mr. Driver's production. He in a manner disclaims all intention of transporting his readers into the East, though he has entitled his work 'The Arabs,' for he commences his preface by observing,—“Although the scene of the following poem is laid in Arabia, I have not, therefore, called it an 'Arabian tale,' for the incidents are not such as might be recounted in a circle of Bedouins; nor have I touched upon local circumstances any further than where they seemed incidentally and necessarily connected with the subject.” He really has not touched upon many local circumstances, nor has he thought much of what might and what might not be properly attributed to an Arab; but the reader, we fancy, will question the wisdom and taste of the proceeding, and be apt to inquire why he has been taken into the desert of Tehama to meet with characters that are never met there, and to witness events that never occur any where. So true is the author's confession respecting his guiltlessness of Orientalism, that, with the exception of the mirage, the palm tree, the simoom, and the gazelle, mentioned casually *en passant*, we meet with almost nothing to remind us that we are on Asiatic ground, unless, indeed, that we hear the names of the nondescript heroes of the poem repeated now and then. There appears to be an amiableness in the author's turn of mind, that has not much affinity with horror and desperate deeds; so that we conjecture his muse, if it were not the fashion to deal in monsters and shocking catastrophes, would have chosen a more pleasing theme. At all events, it is by no means suited to grapple with energetic characters, whether good or bad, and is especially at fault in the pathetic that is allied to energy. He might, perhaps, be able to construct a tale, the interest of which should hinge on the incidents, not on the character; but, in 'The Arabs,' he has attempted character, and has not been fortunate. Neither are the events themselves at all probable. What, for instance, can be more improbable than that a prince, who has been dethroned, should lurk about in dens and caverns eighteen years, without trying the only means in his power to recover his dominions; and, at the expiration of that term, move heaven and earth, as it were, to rescue a niece whom he has never seen since infancy, if ever, and a young man whose difference of faith must make him an object at least of dislike? Yet this is the main incident of the story. To give the author fair play, however, we will conduct the reader *gradatim* through the tale, letting the Sheikhs and Emirs speak when there is room for them.

The first canto, for we shall say nothing of the Scotch novel senti-

¹ The Arabs : a Tale, in four Cantos. By Henry Austen Driver.

ment versified, which forms what is called the "Introduction"; the first canto, we say, begins with describing *one* of the heroes of the poem making the best of his way over the desert of Tehama. He thinks he has reached the spot where the earth and sky are not an ell asunder, the situation of which, in Virgil's days, was looked upon as a kind of riddle, and is exceedingly disappointed when he finds the horizon receding before him as he goes along:—

And yet—like that false, phantom-lake, which gleams
Beneath the Desert's unrelenting beams,
Luring the pilgrim, but to leave his tongue
To curse the baffled hope to which he clung—
The far horizon, as he onward sped,
Enticed him still;—sull mocked his gaze, and fled.

A little further on, there occurs a passage of considerable beauty, which, although it does not help the story forward, we extract, because it has merit:—

Blot of Creation! when the world was reft
From Chaos' grasp, wert thou, drear Desert! left,
A blemish-spot upon its form, to give
The rest more beauty; as the skies receive
A rosier tint when clouds bespeck the morn?
Or is it that from realms—once fresh and fair—
The devastating hand of Time hath torn
The Earth's green robe, and laid her bosom bare?

As also the following simile:—

As the tired sea-bird, in its lonely flight
O'er the far waters, pauses on the height
Of some mid rock, and scans the distant shore
To which its wing may scarcely waft it o'er;
So, lingering, wistfully did he survey
Those hills remote.

The wanderer is not left to indulge his meditations in solitude for any great length of time, for, towards evening, he falls in with a troop of Bedouins, who are described as shockingly ferocious. Indeed, the author begins in this place to evince his small acquaintance with the Arab character and manners; for, although he might have learned a very different story from Niebuhr and D'Arvieux, the authors to which he refers his readers for information on the subject; and from Volney, Bois-Aymé, and other modern travellers, to whom he himself should have referred sometimes; in spite, we say, of what he might have learned from these travellers, he describes the desert as the habitation of mere lawless savages, who do nothing but plunder and commit violence, or, as he himself expresses it, "raven on their kind." Now, whoever knows any thing of the Bedouins, knows that this is a mere vulgar notion: for, in fact, the far greater portion of the desert Arabs lead a peaceable shepherd's life, never disturbed except by accidental feuds between the tribes. In reality, the author himself mentions a circumstance in his account of the Bedouin *profession*, which, we fancy, would soon put a stop to it; for he observes, that

Man doth rarely stray
In such a track, but, like the beast of prey,
To raven on his kind.

Then, who have they to rob? Can a whole nation submit upon the plunder of a "rare passenger?" Velney tells us; indeed, that the Bedouins live on a very spare regimen, but, in Mr. Driver's view of the case, we apprehend they would be compelled to be much more abstemious. That this is not a mere casual expression, but the settled opinion of our poet, is proved by the following metaphors, which, if they were at all correct, would be very beautiful:—

A Bedouin horde——

———— whose sickles are their swords;

Whose only harvest is the traveller's store.

But to proceed: the Bedouin Sheikh recognizes in the wanderer the Prince of Yemen, under whom he had served in his youth; and, on this account, he protects him from the rapacity of his followers, and takes him to his camp. The description of the scenery they pass through in their way has merit, as have also the passages in which he speaks of the appearance of the camp:—

He gave the signal, and again to horse
The Arabs sprang, and, bounding o'er their course,
In silence with the Emir journeyed on,
With unremitted speed, till set of sun.
They entered, then, upon a rugged scene,
Whose windings, centering in a deep ravine,
Piled with huge rocks, with echoing voice opposed
The venturous hoof: 'twas there the Desert closed!
Impending crags hung darkling from on high
Across their path—a hideous canopy!
But, having traced the devious avenue,
With wary step, as still it darker grew,
They suddenly emerged; when, broad and bright,
A scene of glory burst upon their sight!
Evening had dipped her pencil in the skies,
To paint on earth another Paradise,
Like that which smiled in young Creation's bloom:
Though brief, so beautiful to eyes athirst
For Nature's freshness, that lost Eden's doom
Seemed, for a golden moment, there reverst.

Beneath them, at the base of that vast pale
Of cheerless rocks, appeared a spacious vale,
Within whose depths, now purpling into shade,
The swart adherents of the Sheikh had spread
Their pastoral camp. Skirting the nearest hill,
Their russet tents might be distinguished still,
Warm in the twilight gleam.

As they descended, on their ear arose

The light-toned tinklings of the camel's bell,
The drowsy bleat of flocks that sought repose,
The shout of mirth, and music's martial swell.

Slow traversing the camp, they reached a group
Of stately palms;—there paused the weary troop;
Joying to find, in many a heart-warm smile
From kindred lips, the guardon of their toil.
Friend welcomes friend, and comrades, as they meet,
Th' accustomed gratulations oft repeat;

And all salute the Stranger who became
Their Guest ;—to Arab ears a sacred name.

The steed is stalled ; and now, with lance at hand,
The lion-limbed and tawny-visaged band,
Outworn with travel, stretch themselves around,
In scattered groups, upon the mossy ground,
Their unquenched thirst, and long unbroken fast,
Made doubly sweet the evening's cool repast ;
A frugal banquet, such as they must share
Whose chiefest food is Nature's wildest fare.

The last faint vestige of the day was gone ;
And deeper, yet not dark, th' ethereal blue
O'erarched the valley, round whose bosom, soon,
Repose, with silent hand, her mantle drew.

It was a lovely night : its stillness even
Had something social in its power : all heaven
Was full of beauty ; and the cloudless Moon,
In Orient splendour, from her starry throne,
Watched o'er the sleep of Nature, as she lay,
Curtained in silver light, beneath her ray.
How mild, how renovating was that sleep !
Not like the Desert's slumber—dull as deep :
There was a pulse, a breath in every thing,
Betokening life ; the light wind's noiseless wing
Stirred midst the leaves ; each floweret that unfurls
Its blossoms to the stars, now gemmed with pearls,
Gave forth its sweets, and mirrored on its breast
The twinkling lights by which it was cared ;
And many a waving bough in silence fanned
The rich aroma of the shrubs that grew
Profusely sweet beneath, and softly threw
To heaven the grateful incense of the land.

After they have partaken of the fare of the desert, the Emir and the Sheikh, with a few select followers, withdraw from the camp to a cliff overlooking the valley in which it lies ; and in describing their going forth, the author takes occasion to embody some of his notions of a true chieftain, and of the respect due to him from his followers, which, however, he has assuredly not gathered from any account of the Bedouins, but may have found in the Corsair, Don Juan, and other poems of Lord Byron, in which such buskined heroes and abject followers are very common :—

Their stately Chieftain, with a chosen few,
Joined by the Stranger, from the camp withdrew.
As he passed by, all bent to that stern lord,
Whose look alone was sovereignty ; whose word
Their only law : yet his no despot's sway ;
Too well he veiled his power, and knew the way
With their own thoughts to rule the slaves he led.

All this might, for ought we know, be spoken well enough of a pirate of the Mediterranean's followers ; but, applied to the Bedouins and their Sheikhs, there is not one word of truth in it. The Arabs of the desert are not slaves, and no Sheikh possesses any thing like sovereignty. In fact, a Sheikh who should affect to treat his brethren as his inferiors and subjects, would be very quickly reduced to parade his dignity alone, for

not an Arab would be found in his tent, or in his company. We criticise the poem in this point of view, as, if an author is incapable of preserving some kind of verisimilitude in the manners and character of the people he attempts to describe, it is impossible he should properly interest a critical reader, or preserve any lasting sympathy for his *dramatis personæ*. For as manners are much more easy to be described than character, whoever fails in any great degree in the former, will never, can never, succeed in painting the latter.

At the end of the first canto, the Emir prepares to relate his story, with which the second commences. In the beginning of his narration, the worthy Emir commits a great mistake in grammar, and by that means utters a contradiction. He observes,—

Tis now the eighteenth summer since the voice
Of Peace *hath bid* my native vales rejoice.—&c. &c.

Now, from the context, it is quite evident that he means to say the very reverse; that is, that for eighteen years peace *had not* “bid his native vales rejoice,” but that, on the contrary, oppression had held sway. This confusion arises from his using the *perfect* for the *imperfect* tense. He should have said,—It is now eighteen years, or summers, since peace *bade*, &c. or *did bid*, and made poetry of it as well as he could.

However, he informs the Sheikh, who, he it remembered, knew the whole matter well enough before, since he was engaged in the transactions, that the Ottomans had dispossessed him of his dominions; that he himself had lived a retired life in the neighbourhood of his palace, without attempting to recover his sceptre; but that about three months before, an event had happened, likely in its effects to restore him to his kingdom. Morad, the Turkish Pacha who holds Yemen in subjection, had a son who used to accompany him in his plundering excursions; in one of these they encountered a young Frank who was coming to the Pacha himself with a *letter of recommendation* from the Sultan. Without waiting to know his business, the Pacha's ferocious followers attack him at once; he and his companions resist, and, in the skirmish, Malec, the Pacha's son, falls by the hand of the Frank, who is immediately surrounded by the Pacha's band, and on the point of being cut to pieces. Morad, however, has no inclination for so natural a catastrophe, but, growing all mildness in a moment, orders the young man, who only killed his son, to be spared, treated very kindly, and conveyed to his own palace. Being arrived there, Morad contrives to get him cured of his wounds, and to plunge him up to the ears in love! The fact is, Ben Azra, the Emir's brother, who was killed in the Turkish invasion, had left behind him a lovely daughter, born of an Ionian mother, together with whom she fell into the hands of the Pacha. The old gentleman had brought her up as his own child, and she was accustomed to consider Malec as her brother. But faith being an hereditary thing, it seems, she inherited, from her father, a portion of Islamism—from her mother, a portion of Christianity; which latter she has nearly lost when the young Frank, who killed her brother, as she supposed, is brought to the palace. His being in the neighbourhood awakens the Christian part of her faith, though she sheds a tear over Malec, who, if the author's account of him be true, most certainly did not deserve it. We will give our reasons:—

Stern though of nature, Malec had been dear;
 Nay—she had fondly loved him, even while
 His coldness pained her heart; and he, who ne'er
 Bestowed, whilst living, one fraternal smile,
 Received, in death, a sister's tenderest tear.

Nevertheless, her love for Malec does not prevent her falling in love with his murderer, as he must have appeared to her. But there is some difficulty in the passage which relates the "story of her love," and, therefore, we shall lay it before the reader, and trust to his sagacity:

Oft did she pray her maidens to relate
 The melancholy story of his fate:
 They knew it not, or, knowing, feared to tell
 Who did the deed, or in what cause he fell.
 If vague surmises reached her ear at times,
 Such found no credence if they spake of crimes:
 But when in part she learnt the piteous tale
 Of him who lingered still, who, though so pale,
 Still beautiful appeared, and that he came
 From a far clime, and held strange faith—the same
 Her mother taught, she felt within her breast,
 At every word, a deepening interest,
 As though her heart fore-loved him, and did sigh,
 And wish that she could soothe his destiny.

The following is the author's own account of the "rise and progress" of this disastrous passion in the hearts of his hero and heroine; in which, it will be observed, he attributes to the lady her full share in the adventure:

When woman's heart, in pity, turns to save,
 Few are the perils which she will not brave.
 Zobeidé knew each avenue was barred;
 Yet hoping, still, to move the sable guard,
 She tried the magic of that gentle key,
 Her lips' sweet smile;—the way at once was free:
 And, like a Peri, wandering from her sphere
 To whisper comfort in the dying ear,
 She passed to where the wounded Stranger lay,
 In outward seeming, still as lifeless clay.

Alas! she knew not, then, that aught could move
 Save Pity's voice—a stranger yet to love.
 She saw that form reeking in the gloom,
 Pale as a recent inmate of the tomb;
 Yet did its moveless lip and bloomless cheek
 Speak more than all that living love could speak.
 Her heart had listened, and long mute she clung
 Around his couch, and o'er his features hung,
 As she would look him back to life, and give
 Him sighs for breath, so he for her might live.

The poet, it will be perceived, has some singular notions about the incentives to love; he must have others, equally singular, of the Emirs and Sheikhs of Arabia, or he never could have put such rant as the following into the mouth of an old prince, speaking to an old Sheikh, in a moment of imminent peril, when every thing depended on despatch:

When stretched upon his field the warrior lies,
 Silent and cold, in death's unconscious sleep;
 The glistening night-stars from the plying skies
 Look down, and seem in dewy light to weep;
 So, whilst he slumbered, mildly beamed, above,
 Her orbs of beauty, dewy-bright with love.

Then comes the usual engine of modern poetry, a traitor who kindly informs the Emir, at full length, of the whole particulars of the love affair, which he relates so minutely to the Sheikh. This traitor is an old slave of the Emir, who, in the relation of *slave*, must have loved him dearly, to venture for eighteen years to hazard his neck daily for his sake. He betrays to his old *master* the whole designs of Morad, which tend to nothing more or less than the destruction of the young Frank and Zobeidé, the daughter of Ben Azra, the Emir's brother. As to the Frank, it is unlikely that the Emir had ever seen him; he had positively never seen his niece; yet for these two young persons, *lovers*, if that will mend the matter, does he now drop a life of inaction, and, at the hazard of his life, attempt to incite the Bedouins against the Pacha; he, who for eighteen years, had never once attempted to procure the assistance of these same brave men to recover his kingdom. To us, we must confess, this appears very absurd, but of course the author thought it rational; for the whole story hinges upon it. This is the Emir's account of the affair:—

I could not see *her* perish: I have known
 Her hapless lot—have loved her as my own;
 And, through my trusty Arab, long have been
 Her guardian genius—watchful, but unseen.
 Though I have known the frailties of her heart,
 Though I have found her from our faith depart,
 And though I scarce could brook th' unholy eye
 Of him who wooes her to apostasy,
 My hatred of the Pacha will impel
 The Faithful to protect the Infidel.
 They must be saved! the foe on whom shall fall
 The blow of vengeance, is the foe of all.
 And soon the hour will come—the destined hour—
 When from the purple cup of wrath shall pour
 Upon his head the retributive flood
 Himself hath drained from Araby's best blood.

In the third canto, we have the following very pretty description of Zobeidé herself:—

But thoughts of Innocence, in darkest night,
 Like fire-flies sparkling in an Indian grove,
 Will court the gloom, and with their own pure light
 Illuminate the solitude they love:
 Such were the thoughts that cheered Zobeidé's bowers;
 Radiant and lovely, in the loneliest hour.
 But O! how weak, how vain were words to trace
 Th' unfolding charms—the ever-varying grace—
 Which brightened o'er that more than mortal face!
 He who beheld her, dropped his dazzled eyes,
 As if some being of celestial birth
 Had passed the golden threshold of the skies,
 To wander, planetless, midst the scenes of Earth.

From the deep darkness of her glance there beamed
That heavenly light by Painims fondly dreamed;
Such as 'tis said the *Hagiris* orbs possess—
Fire, tempered by the dews of tenderness.
On her small lips a silent sweetness hung,
Like ambient perfume on th' unshaken rose;
And, ere ye listened to her dulcet tongue,
Ye knew each sound which broke their soft repose
Must be all music; as ye know—though mute—
How sweet would be the accents of the lute.
If her fair hand a flowery garland wreathed,
In rival sweetness o'er the rose she breathed;
And not a lily there had aught to show
Which were its blossoms, which the hand of snow,
Save that her slender nails, with henna dyed,
Looked more like little rose-buds by their side.
Dim on such skin were Oman's purest pearls
As cloudy streaks upon the virgin moon;
And not a gem that lit her night-dark curls,
Not all the lustres of her starry zone,
Gave forth one ray to equal that soft charm,
That native elegance, which, like the beam
That glances o'er the surface of a stream,
Played round her at each movement of her form.

In the account of the young Frank, from the former part of which one might conclude him a deist, there occurs the following passage, in which there are some very fine lines:—

He loved not temples foul with bigotry;
His was the vast cathedral of the sky,
'Neath whose blue arch the mountain altars stand—
The noblest, being raised by God's own hand!
For him the pictured walls—the windows, bright
With legends and gay blazonries—possest
No tints, no glories like that holy light
Which streams at evening through the gorgeous west:
And fairer did he deem the lustres hung
In night's still vault, than golden censers, swung
By priestly hands, or all the lamps that shine
O'er tawdry relics, or by saintly shrine.

The following also is very good:—

'Tis not in climes, 'tis not in creeds to bind
The heart's affections, as they sway the mind:
But O! 'tis sweet when, like th' ethereal bow,
Two souls in Love's congenial hues arise,
And, though they spring from distant points below,
Unite, and melt together in the skies!
So did the spirit of Zobeidé soar
To his—the idol of her virgin heart:
So rose the arc of their affections o'er
Their creeds—though far as were their climes apart.

But we must be brief; the Bedouins are roused by the Emir's tale, and readily join in his enterprise against Morad. They arrive at the Pacha's palace just time enough to rescue Otho from the hands of his

murderers; but, meanwhile, the young lady has been conveyed by Morad's order to the sea-shore, to be drowned in the sight of her lover. Otho flies after her, reaches the spot on which she stands, calmly awaiting the approach of the waves, and is about to return with her to the land, when the Pacha, escaped, God knows how, from all his enemies, pierces him to the heart with an arrow. Otho dies in his mistress's arms, and she expires after him. They are buried in a little isle in the Red Sea; and Morad is killed and thrown without burial into the deep: and this is all the difference in this tale between the end of virtue and vice, except that, as we are told, the lovers are lamented with "pearly tears," while no one wets his eye-lids for the inhuman Pacha. The old Emir is restored to his dominions—but the reader cares very little about him. The whole interest of the story hinges on the unfortunate lovers, and even this the author has contrived to render as weak as possible by substituting the *horrible* for the *pathetic*.

In style, sentiments, and imagery, the author is a true *modern*; that is, he is *superfine* throughout. He is familiar enough with the poetical phraseology of the day, but he is entirely destitute of that original metaphorical language which is the very soul of poetry. Such is our opinion of 'The Arabs.'

WOMAN'S LOVE.

WHEREFORE do we toil in youth?—
 Wisdom gray, confess the truth,—
 Wherefore dare the battle-strife,
 Deeming light of death and life?
 Wherefore haunt the Muses' spring,
 Or touch Apollo's golden string;
 Or in some ancient turret gray
 Charm the drowsy hours away,
 By the spell of learned page,
 Full of precepts quaint and sage?
 Wherefore watch the golden fires
 Wherewith Night her head attires,
 When in silent state she lies
 Above the cloudy fretted skies?
 Wherefore in the crowded hall
 With hured fury loudly bawl?
 Wherefore in the senate sit,
 And brandish eloquence and wit,
 Fire the breast with patriot zeal,
 To struggle for the commonweal?
 Wherefore thus in youth and age
 Toil we o'er this weary stage,
 But that, by the sacred hearth,
 The loveliest, holiest spot on earth,
 Woman's smile should meet our eyes,
 And gild with love our energies?
 This, this is all the golden spoil
 We seek in life's Olympic toil;
 And this, through wavering good and ill,
 The central power, attracts us still.
 We think, we toil, we war, we rove,—
 And all we ask is—woman's love!

BROW.

**EVILS TO BRITISH COMMERCE PRODUCED BY THE EAST
INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.**

Letter VI.

SIR,—As many persons in this country are possessed with the idea that our trade with India depends, in a great measure, upon the continuance of the East India Company's charter, it may not be wholly useless to enter more into detail on this point than I did in my last Letter,¹ in order to show the fallacy of this opinion:—

Declared Value of EXPORTS to India and China :

Years ending 5th Jan.	By the E. I. C.	Free Trade.
1821	£1,721,114	
Deduct to China	747,036	
	£974,078	£2,308,681
1822	1,754,652	
	864,160	
	890,492	2,836,007
1823	1,279,021	
	669,489	
	609,532	2,867,056

EXPORTS.

	Years ending 5th Jan. 1820—1821.		Years ending 5th Jan. 1821—1822.		Years ending 5th Jan. 1822—1823.	
	Free Trade.	E. I. C.	Free Trade.	E. I. C.	Free Trade.	E. I. C.
Calicoes, &c. plain yds.	3,837,792	140,156	5,626,013	176,640	5,661,424	384
— printed . . .	7,512,767	30,918	9,779,539	105,300	8,858,313	60,470
Muslins, plain . . .	2,746,083	nil	4,116,483	nil	6,006,983	43,848
— printed . . .	13,461	nil	33,058	nil	5,910	nil
Earthenware, pieces	613,071	17,000	1,129,220	44,700	972,707	47,000
Quicksilver . . lbs.	252,176	3,500	215,446	1,960	nil	4,200
Spelter tons	21	nil	1,322	nil.	1,670	nil

IMPORTS (exclusive of Tea).

Total, ending 5th Jan. 1821	£ 4,792,578	1,847,155	3,219,504	1,734,371	2,802,806	1,189,035
Cotton lbs.	19,130,899	4,232,823	4,198,693	4,633,013	3,377,579	1,413,448
Indigo	4,806,832	119,979	3,925,526	19,104	2,449,702	100,904
Silk	434,815	914,971	391,699	934,654	271,672	825,229
Sugar cwt.	257,929	19,298	229,178	39,983	215,099	11,376

These extracts from Parliamentary documents show clearly enough, that, for all purposes of trade, the East India Company's charter is altogether unnecessary; and no one, I presume, will venture to assert that it can be good for any thing else. My more immediate purpose is directed to the commerce with India, and I shall, therefore, trouble your readers with a short commentary. I have selected particular articles of manufacture, and those of the most importance, that I might not occupy too large a space in the *Oriental Herald*.

¹ See *Oriental Herald*, Vol. V. (No. 16.) p. 65.

It will be perceived, that in the staple manufactures of this country, the exports of the Company may be characterized: ~~as nil; and that the free traders we were exclusively indebted for the Indian market, when our manufacturers were most in want of one. In the imports also, those articles, (with the exception of silk,) upon an adequate supply of which our manufacturers are most dependent, are almost exclusively imported by the free traders. To them we are indebted for the introduction of East India cotton, which so materially tended to reduce the price of American. Of indigo, the forty-fifth part only was furnished by the East India Company, on the average of the three years.~~

Of silk, the Company supplied considerably more than one-half in the same period; for which I am at a loss to assign a reason: but some of your readers may furnish us with a clue to unravel the mystery. Can the Company monopolize this article on the other side? or do they throw such impediments in the way of the private merchant that he cannot obtain a supply? These are important questions at this moment, as the increase of our silk manufactures, consequent upon the reduction of the duty, must require an increased supply of raw silk; and it behoves us to remove every impediment in the way of the private trade; for if the manufacturers are to depend upon the Court of Directors for the importation, the Minister might as well have retained the duty. If there be no impediments to the extension of the supply, I will venture to predict, that in three years from this time, the importation by private traders will as far exceed that of the Company as theirs at present does the private traders. Had the resort of our countrymen to India been free, there is little doubt that long ere this the silk of Bengal would have been equally well prepared with the Italian; but, although the Company have for years been the chief importers, little improvement has taken place. Indigo, in the hands of private traders, has become the best in the world, and why might not silk?

The resources of India are still in their infancy, and must remain so whilst Englishmen are excluded from settling and possessing property in the soil. The bigotry of the Government of Spain is proverbial, and yet her colonial policy is infinitely superior to ours. Compare the European residents in any of the foreign colonies with our own, and you will find their numbers greatly exceed ours. To what is this attributable but that every Englishman knows that in quitting his own country, for any one of our possessions, he loses his birthright, and becomes virtually a subject to the most despotic exercise of power. Is it then to be wondered at that he is only a bird of passage; that his return to his native country is always uppermost in his thoughts; and that he will make almost any sacrifice of his interests, and sometimes of his principles, to attain this darling object?

Before I close this Letter, allow me to revert once more to the East India Company's monopoly of tea, and to congratulate your readers on the reduction of prices in the sale which is just passed. The saving to the public I estimate at about *one hundred thousand pounds* on the quarter's consumption, with every prospect of a still greater in the succeeding, as the prices of tea are even now twenty per cent. above what they must ultimately be. The fall on Congou tea is 3d. per lb. including duty, and on Bohea and Twankay 6d. per lb.; but each description is still much above the putting-up price, and not so low as it has been.

This partial decline may be attributed, in a slight degree, to the Company's having put up about half a million pounds more in the two last sales,—on the first of which it had no effect; but the principal cause to be assigned, is the wise policy of the Minister in reducing the duty on coffee from 1s. to 6d. per lb., which has doubled the average consumption in the short space of two months, at a period of the year when it has always been the smallest.

In my first Letter, I pointed this out as one means by which the prices of tea might be brought down, independent of the East India Company; for if they attempt to bolster them up by a short declaration for the next sale, the consumption of coffee will be increased in proportion; and let the Company beware how they encourage its more general use; for they may find, when too late, that the people will not revert to tea. If they are wise, they will at once reduce the price of tea still further, by increasing the supply, as they will have more moderate profit upon larger sales, instead of the same profit upon smaller. They have no reason to complain of the duty not being taken off tea, as that on coffee is even now very nearly equal. When the prices of tea yield them only a fair mercantile profit, there may be some plea for a reduction of its duty, but not till then.

It is gratifying that so powerful a monopoly as that of the East India Company has been compelled to yield to the public voice in this their strongest hold; and not doubting that it will be equally effectual in wresting from them the privilege for every Englishman to be free to settle in India, and retain his birthright there, I remain, &c.

P. B. P.

June, 1825.

P.S.—Your not having inserted the foregoing letter in the last *Oriental Herald*, enables me to add some remarks on the East India Company's declaration of Tea for next quarter, which has this day appeared. Contrary to the wishes of the trade, they have diminished the quantity 100,000 lbs. in the total, and have substituted 250,000 lbs. more of Bohea, for 300,000 lbs. less of Congou, although the fall in the price of the latter, at the last sale, was only half that of the former. The only motive for thus palming upon the public such trash as the Bohea, must be to allow the dealers the opportunity of mixing it with Congou, for which they can afford to give higher prices; the quantity of Congou being about seven times greater than of Bohea, the Company will gain 1875*l.* by a fall of three-pence per lb. on Bohea, against a rise of one halfpenny per lb. on Congou.

The only remedy for the public against the extortion of the Company, is to substitute coffee and cocoa for tea; one pound of tea costing as much as three pounds of coffee.

July 13, 1825.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We beg to assure our Correspondent, P. B. P., that few communications are of higher value in our estimation than those which we have received from his pen. Let him but persevere in his exposure of facts like these, and the end which we both have in view is certain of being speedily attained.

DOCTOR GILCHRIST'S UNIVERSAL CHARACTER

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*,

SIR,

11, Charges-street, 10th June, 1825.

MY *omnilingual* Diorama having recently appeared in your useful publication, unconnected with some of the proofs that it has a *just claim* to such a *comprehensive* title, I shall now, with your permission, submit a prospectus of my universal characters contrasted with those which are most current over the Asiatic Peninsula, to the inspection of many Orientalists among your readers, very well qualified to decide impartially on the comparative merits of my scheme, at least in its application to the two indispensable languages for British India: namely, the Hindoostanee and Persian tongues. The heavy expense of new types, and other graphic devices, constrain me, as an *unsupported individual*, to be more economical in this department of my labours than I could otherwise wish; whence the Dictionary copper-plate exhibited here has been converted, by a little management and contrivance through Mr. Macdowall's press, into a species of literal compendium, that blends the whole system perspicuously together, and enables the attentive scholar to comprehend its various contents at once. A prize-medal of gold was some years ago devised by the celebrated Volney as a suitable reward for the least exceptionable method of transcribing Asiatic writings into modified Roman symbols, on certain principles laid down by that accomplished Orientalist; all of which are, in my humble opinion, embraced completely by the new view of literal economy contained in the Diorama, and the annexed plate. Previous to their formation, I laid before the Institute at Paris a competitionary diagram and essay, to gain, if possible, the medal in question; but a *royal* Librarian triumphantly carried off the prize; for which, had the mere existence of this rival been seasonably known to me, I never would have entered the lists against him, with such fearful odds at the very starting-post of so equivocal a race.

A similar disappointment might have terrified most men from a second attempt, while it rather stimulates my ambition to throw the gauntlet on this theme alone boldly before the universal French nation, in the sight of the whole world; and let him take it up, whatever his country may be, who feels indeed that his method is really superior to mine in utility, facility, practicability, and other requisites so essential to every innovation that ultimately should succeed.

Volney's gold, I want not—still my spirit pants after a small share in his immortal fame and good name, not only over France, but every where under the sun, as a labourer in the vineyard of literature, who aspires to be a sincere friend and efficient benefactor of man.

Thus animated, it is my intention immediately to furnish the French Institute with all my late orthoepigraphical lacubrations *pro bono communis rei publicæ literarum*, should so *illegitimate* an idea yet exist in the bosoms of a gallant people, again hoodwinked and harnessed to the *retropulsive* wheels of a jesuitical church and state.

That Volney's benevolent object falls practically within the compass of my literary designs, I am equally convinced as of my own existence; and whatever prejudices his ingenious countrymen may naturally indulge

at my expense, on the first blush of this enterprize, I shall hail with inexpressible delight every future improvement on their parts, should it even terminate in perfection sufficient to obliterate my own from the face of the earth by super-excellence in all respects for opening at last the eyes of mankind to reason, truth, and common sense, whereon they have been most unaccountably kept shut during myriads of ages that have past; and were the art of printing now quite defunct, the two grand crafts would speedily, by the hands of the Holy Alliance, rock both civil and religious liberty for ever fast asleep. The short Hindoostanee quotation on the back of the plate, in the Persi-Arabic Naguree, and *universal character*, conjoined with the Lord's prayer *so printed*, and followed by a congesial script or running hand, must put the entire project immediately to the full proof of standing or falling on its own intrinsic deserts, besides affording a fine opportunity for every ambitious youth to acquire those various modes of *writing*, in the same breath, even during the passage to British India, where, at last, this local *accomplishment* has become a *sine qua non* in every public examination, at each of the Presidencies. If the space should be ample enough, I mean to insert the three sets of numerals likewise, that nothing may be omitted which can elucidate a theme of growing importance to those who are more immediately connected with our boundless empire in the East.

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

PROGRESS OF THE MACASSAR WAR.

By late and well authenticated accounts, it appears that the town of Supo had been captured by the Dutch troops in a third assault. The Queen of Boni then finally declared war against the Dutch, which was a signal for a general rising of all the nations bearing the Bugis name, which embraces nine-tenths of the most civilized portion of Celebes. Col. De Steurs, of the Governor-General's body guard, next attacked a fortified position of the Queen of Boni, and was repulsed. In another quarter, a Dutch officer and 25 men were put to the sword by the Bugis. In this state of things, the Dutch, from the very small number of their troops, have been compelled to abandon their recent acquisitions, and to concentrate themselves at the town of Macassar. A reinforcement of 100 men has sailed from Batavia, which it is expected would reach Macassar about the beginning of the present month.

The Native accounts state, that the places captured by the Dutch have not only been retaken, but that the Bugis have possessed themselves of the Dutch provinces of Bouthain, Bolicombo, and Marus, while they have extended their incursions to the very suburbs of Macassar itself.

The causes of the war, after all our inquiries, remain still in considerable obscurity. A tone and attitude of independence is said to have been displayed by several of the native chiefs on the arrival of his Excellency the Governor-General at Macassar. The petty Prince of Ternate, who ought by custom to have sent a mission to Macassar to meet the Governor-General, was foremost in this conduct, to which he was encouraged by some of the superior chiefs. A remonstrance was followed by an *outrage of defiance*, in which the Governor-General was informed, that if

he had any specific message to deliver to his Majesty of Ternate from his brother of the Netherlands, he might repair in person to Ternate, and there make it known. This was followed by an immediate declaration of hostilities against him, and he was driven out of his kingdom.

The Natives assert, that the Netherlands Government proposed to the Bugis tribes a new treaty, containing such stipulations as the following :—That the whole of the Bugis nations should acknowledge themselves to be no more than vassals to the European Government. That no sentence of death should be carried into effect without the confirmation of the Dutch authorities. That no appeal to arms should be made without the sanction of the European authorities. That all quarrels arising among the Bugis nations should be submitted to the arbitration of the Dutch, whose award should be final. That the feudatories of the state of Boni should communicate directly with the European Government, and not, as heretofore, through the mediation of their acknowledged liege ; and finally, that the Dutch fiscal regulations, as far as concerned matters of trade, should be in full force and operation along the whole of the Bugis coasts ; and especially, that no Bugis prahu or vessel should quit a port of Celebes, without being furnished with a Dutch register and passport.

It is probable there is some exaggeration in these statements ; but it may be safely averred, that if one half of the demands in question were made, the treaty could not have been construed by the Bugis into any other meaning than a total and virtual relinquishment of sovereignty, though it was scarcely reasonable to expect, that a people long accustomed to the enjoyment of independence—always pertinacious to maintain it—and ever the most impatient of restraint of all the inhabitants of the Archipelago, should have quietly submitted to the proffered yoke.

To render the operation of a treaty founded on such principles practicable, it appears to us that the training and discipline of a seven year's war would, in the first instance, have been requisite, and then a standing force of perhaps 10,000 men to maintain the new order of things. The waste and folly of such a project would be obvious ; and it would require considerable ingenuity to hazard even a conjecture respecting its possible benefits.

It has always appeared to us that no European Government, whether Dutch or English, can maintain its dominion advantageously in Celebes, while it aims at exercising a sovereign and general control, to which, from the very nature of things, its power is utterly inadequate. Over a large and dense population, and a fertile land like that of Java, the benefits of a regular government are more readily secured to the community ; because the submissiveness of the people, and the productiveness of the country, afford the ready means of supporting the civil and military establishments, by which European governments are maintained and properly secured ; an advantage which is some compensation at least for the domination of strangers, and the forfeiture of national independence. The case is widely different with the Celebes, where the land is of inferior fertility, the industry of the country unavailable for taxation, and the people untractable. Here no great establishment can by possibility be maintained by an European power. The military force can never be such, from its numbers or respectability, as either to save the people from aggression from abroad, or protect them from anarchy at home. Nor can the civil establishments in any manner be competent to

secure even so skilful and efficient an administration of justice, as is enjoyed by people through the natural operation of their own rude laws.

The nominal domination of a few hundred strangers (for the European masters of Celebes, of whatever nation, have never exceeded this amount,) must have a very opposite effect to that of benefiting a population, said to exceed a million in number. Its evident tendency must be to enfeeble, embarrass, and irritate the native administration, and thus to weaken the laws, to impede the course of social improvement, and to stir up perpetual anarchy and warfare. In proof of all this, it is only necessary to challenge the advocates of interference to show a single benefit which the natives of Celebes have gained from their connexion with Europeans. The political relations which have subsisted between them and the Dutch, or the English acting in the place of the Dutch, have now subsisted for 170 years, out of which, 40 years, or one-fourth of the whole time, have been spent in actual warfare!!

The manners of the people, who, by the way, had made a remarkable advance in civilization not long before the commencement of the era in question, have since continued strictly stationary. Assassination and slavery are as prevalent as they were in the beginning of their connexion with the Dutch. European science and civilization have not thrown one ray of light over the Island of Celebes; and, in a word, the effectual protection which the institutions of Europe afford on that island, extend to the range of the guns of Fort Rotterdam, but not one yard further.

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, AND THE KING'S JUDGES
OF THAT ISLAND.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Bath, June 18, 1825.

IT appears by the letter of A. B., published in the *Oriental Herald* of April last, that the Judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay had adopted the only feasible mode of putting a stop to the gross misrepresentations of the Court's proceedings, which the *Gazette* newspaper at that Presidency was in the constant practice of sending forth to the public, by an application to Government, with whom alone the control of the press rested.

I certainly thought, when I first read that letter, that the Court might have proceeded against the editor or proprietors of the *Gazette* as for a contempt, although, as A. B. justly observes, such a mode might have been considered arbitrary, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. But there was another and more conclusive reason which appears to have operated on that occasion, and which is stated in a private letter from a most respectable individual in Bombay, of the 15th January last; and it is this: that although it was known to all the settlement that Mr. Warden was the proprietor, and Mr. Fair the editor of the *Gazette*, yet the Court did not know it *judicially*, nor could they have obtained *judicial* knowledge of it, there being no regulation at Bombay, such as there is in England, that the names of the editors, proprietors, &c., shall be inserted in an affidavit to be filed at the stamp-office; nor would any one at Bombay have dared to make the necessary affidavit to enable

the Court to proceed against the parties in question; for whoever has done so, would no doubt have incurred the highest displeasure of the Governor and Mr. Warden, who would have soon found an opportunity of ridding the settlement of any officious individual that might presume to come forward in support of the dignity of his Majesty's Court, which, it is but too evident, these official personages have done every thing in their power to lower.

Why Mr. Elphinstone should have preferred sending the unfortunate editor home, to the obvious mode of requiring Mr. Warden to dismiss him, it is difficult to understand; for it is certain that Sir Charles Chambers never suggested any measures for the adoption of Government on that occasion. He merely stated the fact of the misrepresentation to the Governor, who, of his own accord, adopted the measure of sending Mr. Fair home.

AN OLD INDIA

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

The facts above stated very materially alter the complexion of this case, and respects the Bombay Government and his Majesty's Judges there; and go as much to inculpate the former more deeply, as to absolve the latter from the degree of blame that was supposed to attach to them. There might have been cruelty and injustice in punishing Mr. Fair for contempt of Court, when he was known to be merely the instrument of others, who could not be judicially called to account. And it might have appeared to Sir Charles Chambers both more merciful and equitable, to direct the attention of those who had the real control over the press to the abuse of it complained of, that it might not occur in future. That the Government, without whose sanction the press would not have dared to beard the Judges as it had done, should, when thus appealed to, make Mr. Fair the scapegoat, is a thing that could not have been imagined or credited by any one whose mind was tinged with the least sense of justice or generosity. If any one was to be transported, it should have been Mr. Warden, the proprietor of the *Gazette*, who was justly responsible, having the power of moulding it to his will, and who had supported it in that contumacious line of conduct which gave just offence. This magnanimous Council, after deciding the fate of this editor, who was in fact, its own instrument in the attacks on the Court, may be supposed to have addressed him as the Sempronius of Addison's Cato did his accomplices in treason, concluding with, "Seize this factious monster! Drag him to sudden banishment! Despatch him quick, lest with his parting breath he sow sedition!"

But monstrous as all this seems, it is quite worthy of the present system of ruling the press established in India. At another Presidency, they banish the proprietor of a newspaper for jesting at a parson's incongruous eullogies; or banish him, they alter the laws affecting his property, and then totally destroy it, because those he left behind him in its management could not keep these new laws, which is assigned as a reason for robbing him in his absence of many thousand pounds sterling. Long after they have thus annihilated his country, they banish another individual, with the declared object of saving it from injury! In order to preserve the "harmony of society," they patronize a publication teeming with libels, so atrocious, that a Judge declares he cannot think of them without horror; and then another, vying in personal scurrility with the vilest part of the London press, and, to quote the words repeatedly used by the editor, "driving its victims to the field of blood!" Such are the fruits of the banishment of Serjeant Spankie, Sir F. Macnaghten, and Governor-General Adam.

SERVICES OF THE LATE COLONEL COWPER, OF THE BOMBAY ARMY,

[From a Correspondent.]

COLONEL WILLIAM COWPER, of the Bombay Engineers, whose death has been recently announced, was one of the most able and scientific officers that ever did honour to that distinguished corps. He entered the service in 1791, with the advantage of an education at the Military Academy at Woolwich, the doors of which had previously been closed against young men destined for the East India Company's service; and soon attracted the notice of Government by the earnest he then gave of the talent which afterwards placed him, unaided by interest, in those situations which it can hardly again fall to the lot of one individual to fill. He was in consequence appointed Assistant to Captain, now Colonel Johnson, C.B., who was employed in surveying the coast and interior of Malabar, an object of high importance, with whom he continued for several years, till obliged to relinquish the situation from ill health. He then took the usual routine of duty, always distinguished by the correctness and highly-finished style of his plans and surveys, and particularly by the accuracy of his estimates, till 1804, when he was called to the post as Chief Engineer to the army, which, under the command of Sir Richard Jones, effected a junction with the Bengal army before Bhurtpore. A complete survey of that portion of Hindoostan Proper, which was for the first time traversed by a British army, was the recreation of his active mind; and was gratuitously presented to the Government, as he could neither the establishment nor the allowances usually granted to officers employed in the Survey Department.

It was soon after the return of this force to garrison, that he was selected for the national work which will perpetuate his fame with that of the naval glory of Great Britain, with which it is so intimately connected. The commanding sea-force, which it was deemed necessary to keep afloat during the late apparently interminable war, naturally turned the serious attention of Government to the means of securing an adequate supply of timber for the enormous expenditure which threatened to desolate our forests, whilst the paramount influence of the French Emperor deprived us of the usual resources on the Continent. In this dilemma, the extensive regions of our Indian Empire, with its inexhaustible stores of durable teak-wood, appeared to provide an ample remedy against the approaching evil; and to avail ourselves of its magazines with the fullest effect, it was determined to have docks constructed in India capable of building vessels of eighty guns.

The local advantages of the island of Bombay, at once pointed it out as the best adapted for launching forth the contributions of the East to the exigencies of the parent state; but the difficulties which attended the commencement of the undertaking had nearly caused its abandonment, when Colonel Cowper was requested by the Government to superintend the construction. After a short deliberation he accepted the charge, and pledged himself for the completion; but it was not till after he had commenced this stupendous work, that he was himself aware of the numerous and unexpected difficulties with which he had to contend.

To the world they will remain unknown; but it must be permitted us to observe, that the ordinary studies of a military engineer make no provision for such structures; and that without the means of reference to scientific experience or books, and wholly dependent on untutored artificers, whom he was obliged personally to instruct,—it is solely to the resources of his own powerful mind that the British Empire is indebted for one of her most durable and magnificent monuments, and which stands unrivalled in the four quarters of the globe.

After the completion of this splendid achievement, he was selected by the Commander-in-Chief (Sir John Abercromby) to organize and consolidate the Commissariat Department of the army, the duties of which had, previously been dispersed in a variety of confused channels, naturally producing disorder and inefficiency, the ill consequences of which were seriously felt in all military equipments. The success which attended his arrangements as Commissary-in-Chief, which was the designation of his new office, was as complete as that which attended every measure intrusted to his judgment and abilities.

He returned to his native country, with an impaired constitution, in 1817, and retired from the service in the following year. Respected by the whole army, esteemed by his numerous acquaintance, and loved by the few who enjoyed his intimacy, and who alone could fully appreciate the unassuming virtues, honourable feelings, and zealous friendship which distinguished him through life,—he finished his career at the early age of fifty, leaving a widow, and three young children, too young, alas! to be sensible of their irreparable loss.

BLESSINGS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT AT NAGPORE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Central India, Jan. 5, 1824.

THE British Resident at Nagpore has a table-allowance, said to be 5000 rupees per month; yet, from the middle of March to the 15th Oct. 1824, he did not give, on a fair calculation, more than six parties,—certainly not exceeding seven or eight, many of them very small; and I believe the first calculation to be the most correct. On the 15th of October, Mr. Jenkins proceeded to Bombay, leaving the duties of his highly-responsible situation to be conducted by two assistants, (with a reference to himself at the distance of 560 miles,) who are neither of them benefited a rupee by his absence, as Mr. Jenkins has thought it equitable to draw the residency *table-allowance* whilst at Bombay, although the hospitality expected by Government is of course never exercised.

The Resident, together with Mr. Gordon, his surgeon, thought proper to take away nearly the whole of the Rajah's elephants, camels, &c. &c., leaving his Highness hardly any carriage for his own use, should he be inclined to move out into the country, as at one time he was known to have intended.

Contrary to particular orders, Mr. Jenkins has degraded the Nagpore service into a mere system of pluralities in the higher branches. Not to

mention the double appointments held by Lieut.-Colonel Agnew, C.B., of commandant of the Rajah's forces, and superintendent of civil affairs in Chutturgur; Captain Sandys is Brigade-Major to the horse at Hingerah, and superintendent of military buildings at Nagpore: the first appointment is worth full 1500 rupees, the latter 600; and both allowances are drawn in full.

Captain Jonkins, a Major in the Rajah's service, and commanding the brigade of infantry, is Acting-Collector in the Bundera district during Lieutenant Wilkinson's absence at the Cape. His emoluments cannot well be calculated; in civil allowances, however, he draws 600 rupees monthly.

Captain Cameron commands a rissala of horse, which is worth 1500 rupees, and is besides a permanent assistant-collector on 300 rupees a month; and has likewise, for a very considerable time, been acting as a collector, which gives 300 more:—total civil allowances, 600 rupees.

Lieutenant Wilkinson commands a rissala of horse, at 1500 rupees per month, and is permanent collector at Bundera. During his absence at the Cape, however, his allowances are greatly reduced.

Captain W. Gordon is now a commandant of a rissala, with about 1500 rupees a month; has the charge, as senior officer, of a body of about 2000 horse; draws the emoluments of the Hingerah Bazaar (very lucrative); and, besides all this, has been lately appointed to succeed his brother as treasurer to the Rajah, on a salary of 800 rupees, an appointment which requires almost constant residence at Nagpore, distant nine miles from the cantonment of the irregular horse, now greatly reduced, in point of officers, by Captain Pedler and Lieutenant Wilkinson being at the Cape; Captain Cameron being wholly, and Captain Sandys partly, employed on other duties.

Captain M'Kinnon having gone to the eastward, and Lieutenant Stock being acting-collector at Sindewarrah, the latter officer was formerly appointed an extra-assistant to the Resident with a salary of 500 sicca rupees, and his cavalry subsistence; he was subsequently removed to the horse, which gave him, with cavalry pay and allowances, and 600 rupees from the Rajah, 1000 rupees per month; he was, notwithstanding, allowed to remain as an acting extra-assistant, and draw all allowances, so that his emoluments amounted to between 1500 and 1600 rupees monthly. He has never yet joined the horse, and merely does that branch the honour of drawing largely from it.

These pluralities are so grossly partial, that I am induced to expose them, and must not forget that of Captain Bagley, who is military-assistant to the Resident, and paymaster to the Rajah's forces; his emoluments cannot well be estimated.

DETECTOR.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

As the efficiency of any body of men must depend more on the contentment with their several stations in it, than on the amount of their pay, this system of pluralities cannot but be highly injurious; because, for every one man who is satisfied in holding four or five appointments in his own person, there will be at least twenty disappointed expectants.

OPINIONS ENTERTAINED IN INDIA AS TO THE PRESENT
STATE OF AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,

Paris, June 23, 1820.

As one who is perfectly sensible of the extreme mutual importance of the preservation of the existing relations between Great Britain and India, and fearing that the measures of late pursued by the Court of Directors and their governments abroad are calculated to destroy them, I would earnestly warn them against the serious consequences which must ensue from a continuance of the present narrow and offensive system, disgusting and alienating every individual in their service, especially the military, whose chances of independence they really seem to think cannot be reduced too low.

To prove what the common feeling is at this moment in India, I shall subjoin extracts from letters of November and December, which have very recently come to hand from Bengal :

Hitherto the war has been tardy and unfortunate, owing entirely to the want of arrangement and foresight on our part. It is quite melancholy to reflect on such occurrences; and if the Court of Directors will not be instructed by such dear-bought lessons, assuredly India will slip from them ere they know what they are about.

The new arrangements have been partially carried into effect; but the threatened reductions are kept back in consequence, it is thought, of the Burmese war. Almost all staff situations have suffered much, however; in short, the heart sickens on hearing of such proceedings, and still more for being subject to them. No one knows what his next month's receipts will be, and people are disgusted towards a service in which there appears so little stability. Such is the general sentiment as far as I can judge.

The following is from another correspondent in another quarter :

You will have seen the new regulations about deserters, and the search our men are now to be liable to when going on leave. It is quite shocking and degrading to our army that they should be subjected to be dragged off the road by any Chinprassees they meet, to have their certificate read at the next thannah to see they are not deserters. In this way the men cannot be expected to go their fifteen and twenty coss a-day; and what is worse, constant affrays will happen, in which the poor soldier will assuredly go to the wall. This is the most unpopular war we ever had, and desertions very great. The Europeans at Rangoon have died in great numbers. The feeling in our army, indeed in the colony, is quite changed and unsettled; and, in my opinion, they must in future keep up such a force as will enable the annual leave being granted to the Sepoys, whether in peace or war; for you know what sacrifices must be made by the Hindoos when disappointed of leave at the auspicious season for *Synges* and *Cromes*. Corps must be better officered: the scarcity is such, that I could point to many battalions with not more than five or six officers present, including the commanding officer and the surgeon. A wing of the 12th Native Regiment marched lately from Meerut to Ludianah with only one officer of a year's standing, who was necessarily appointed acting-adjutant, besides the commanding officer and the assistant-surgeon. The other wing was left to follow, with none off, viz. with but one officer.

Now, Mr. Editor, Ludianah is a frontier post, between the Company's and the British Marriage. A religious ceremony, and

dominions and those of the Seiks, from whom we have, perhaps, more to apprehend than any other Native power. Were Runjeet Sing to make a sudden irruption into the British territories, what might not be the consequences if he found our army thus naked of European officers, who, as every one knows, are the life and strength of the Sepoy troops?

I shall only further trouble you with a brief extract from another letter on the distressing subject of the late mutiny in Bengal:—

You will have heard of the unfortunate mutiny of our 47th regiment, &c. at Barrackpore. Government has now issued ration-money to the Sepoys crossing the Burrampooter; had some arrangement of this kind been earlier made, and more attention and liberality shown to the comforts of the troops suddenly embarked at various places on the Ganges for the seat of an unpopular war, leaving their wives and families, tattoos, and bullocks, &c. &c. all adrift in the height of the rains, I am inclined to think the melancholy catastrophe at Barrackpore never would have happened.

In my humble opinion, the foregoing fact accounts for the dissatisfaction of the Sepoys, who ought to have experienced, when ordered upon such an arduous service, the utmost conciliation and generosity.

MILES.

LETTER OF MUNSHI.—OPINIONS OF MESSRS. SAY, SISMONDI
AND TUCKER.

To the Editor of the Asiatic Journal.

SIR,—Pardon my addressing you from a place in which you condemn me to seek an asylum. I find, from the notice with which you honour me in page 826 of your Number for June, that before I can appear in your Journal, I must adopt a more temperate style, my present tone being unsuitable to your publication. You pay no attention to a request—rather an informal request of mine—that if you rejected me, you would consign me to the *Oriental Herald*. You are pleased to say, that you will receive me under one condition,—that I transmit to you a defence of my view of the question; for you are earnest after truth, and have no patrons to conciliate, nor friends to gratify. Defence, indeed! Would you put me on my defence already, before you know what I am to defend? If I have advanced absurd propositions, and in uncivil terms, then I humbly submit that public exposure, *Tushheer*, the exhibition of MUNSHI in all his deformity, would be the fit punishment for him. As to your earnestness in pursuit of truth, and your having no patrons to conciliate, nor friends to gratify, these, Sir, are fine things, the signs of which have not appeared to me very clear in perusing your Journal. I defer my remarks on this point till you shall transmit me your defence. I know not how to deal seriously with this matter, and I will not laugh; so, Sir, I make you a *salam*.

The accusations and insults to which I alluded, I found in your Numbers for December last, page 545, January, page 43, and April, page 425. But you defy me to point out the insults: you have only exposed the mistakes of Messrs. Say and Sismondi. Well! you know your own meaning—you intended no insult; and, as far as regards the word insult, I withdraw my complaint.

But, sweet Sir, smooth your brow a little. What shall be said for one

who, when told by a correspondent of his faults, (faults well known and seen by all,) bristles up like a wild hog in a jungle, and bids his correspondent go about his business, and learn better manners. *Munsif* endeavoured to expose a few of your mistakes. He meant no insult—no incivility; and you would send him to Coventry for his pains. He did mean, and from this seat of the scorners to which you have driven him, he does re-assert, that “the errors enumerated by you in the *Essays* of Messrs. Say and Sismondi are not very material; they do not affect the correctness of any important fact or leading principle.” And he still suspects that “you would find difficulty in pointing out, through the whole space of your nineteen volumes, twenty pages of so much useful and accurate information, and impartial discussion, as are contained in the two *Essays* which you hold so cheap.”

“You bid me read Mr. Tucker’s work attentively. I have read it attentively; and I have read your review of it attentively. Mr. Tucker, though one of the Indian body, and a candidate for the Direction, has touched, tenderly indeed, but he has touched upon one or two of those subjects which reflect infinite discredit upon the Government of India. Let me recommend you to read attentively, not only what Mr. Tucker says, but the authorities to which he refers, on the subject of the *ryot-warry* system, and of the *permanent settlement*. Examine those authorities—investigate the subjects; then favour us with your judgment. Show yourself a true *Munsif*. Abate some little matter of that overpowering load of panegyric on the wisdom and justice of the Company, with which your pages are darkened. Mr. Tucker disapproves of some of the taxes in India; and even you express an opinion that the stamp-tax is impolitic,—I suppose because it is not very productive. Is not this impolitic in you to run down the Company’s tax? Now, Sir, I humbly offer you my opinion: the stamp-tax is, through wretched mismanagement, a bad tax; it is oppressive and vexatious; it is a considerable evil; yet, in truth, one of the smallest of the evils to which Mr. Tucker has alluded in his account of Indian imposts. The grand evil, perhaps the most horrible scourge existing on earth, is the land-tax of India, levied with merciless rigour. The salt-tax, though an odious, grinding, monstrous abomination in the shape of a Government monopoly, may still, when compared with the land-tax, be termed merciful and humane. The rapacity of the Company, if set forth in its true light, does, in this department of levying the land-tax of India, exceed all conception, all credibility.

But I have no concern with Mr. Tucker’s work, further than to show that it states the result of the whole account, meaning the financial statement of the Company’s affairs abroad and at home, at the sum of 500,000*l.* a-year surplus in time of peace. These are the words of Mr. Tucker, page 42:—“And the nett territorial income of the East India Company from British India may therefore be stated, during the continuance of peace, at five hundred thousand pounds per annum.” And once more observe, that this account, leaning always to the favourable side for the Company, refers to peace only—peace which does not now exist, and which, if it did exist, no man in his senses, and who has observed the course of our Indian history, could confidently reckon upon lasting for a twelvemonth.

Munsif.

ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—If any thing could possibly tend to expose the inadequacy of the present system for the management of India, it may be better imagined than described, from what occurred at the India House on the going out of the late Chairman, and the election of the new one, at the end of April last.

If it was not really the practice of the Court of Directors to consider the welfare and good government of India as an object of their solicitude, when they were about to elect the Chairman and Deputy, they at least hitherto affected to be influenced by such motives until this time, when the mask appears to have dropped altogether; and India, its numerous population, and the interests of this country as connected with it, are coolly treated as a mere field for patronage, without the least regard to the qualifications of the person about to be elected to preside over their councils.

If it were pretended that each Director, of a certain standing, had, and ought to have, a fair prospect of obtaining such distinction, and this pretension were unconditionally admitted, it would scarcely be contended that when such an election had been once made, and the evils of the choice were but too apparent, the executive body should evince their utter indifference to the good government of India, the interests of the East India Company, or the credit of their country, by again electing an unqualified person to occupy the chief post in the direction of their affairs.

So conscious, Sir, was the present Chairman of his unfitness, that he avoided the mode usually pursued of canvassing his brother Directors, and trusted entirely to the effects of party influence, to effect silently what could not have been secured had it been made the subject of much discussion.

It is truly lamentable to see the interests of this country and an extensive empire, containing a population of seventy millions, thus made the sport of a party of such a description as the preponderating majority of the twenty-four Directors. It is too monstrous to be borne long; but, although the charter is drawing towards a close, still such utter disregard for appearances ought to induce those, who possess the power, to exert it for the correction of abuses, no less disgraceful to the East India Company than injurious to our future claims, as furnishing the strongest evidence of the total insufficiency of the existing body, constituted as it is, to manage the concerns of an extensive empire.

The Court of Directors, whose sole and only object is patronage, cost what it may, are not likely to attempt to purify their own body; but the Court of Proprietors, and the public at large, are deeply interested in the good government of India, and a pure administration of their affairs. It is time they should be roused from their lethargy, and taught to see that the Directors' interests and theirs are no longer the same.

A PROPRIETOR OF OLD STANDING.

June 20, 1825.

MILTON'S NEWLY-DISCOVERED WORK ON THE CHRISTIAN
RELIGION.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,

July 21, 1825.

I VENTURED, in your 3d Volume, (p. 383,) to conjecture what the lately-found MS. of Milton might discover respecting his last thoughts on "sacred and inspired divinity," described by Lord Bacon as "the sabbath and port of all men's labours and peregrinations." A perusal of the Volumes just published will disclose what can now be known on that interesting subject, though I can offer you only such a short account as a very hasty examination could supply.

One volume contains the Latin original, unaccompanied, as I cannot but regret, by any Introduction or Notes from the learned Editor. The whole volume is the work of Milton, except the following Dedication:—

Georgio IV. Britanniarum Regi, Fidei Defensori, quo jubente hoc Miltoni opus posthumum, ex publicarum chartarum tenebris præter spem nuper eratum, nunc primum typis mandatum est, in venerationis gratique animi monumentum dicat editor. MDCCCXV.

Thus foreign scholars, unless they read our language, may remain uninformed of any circumstances respecting this work of Milton, except that the MS. was unexpectedly discovered amidst a heap of public documents, and that it was committed to the press by direction of George IV. The translation of Milton, according to a not unusual, though an unbecoming courtly servility, the learned Translator has "the honour of laying most humbly at his Majesty's feet." It is thus entitled:—

A Treatise of Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone; by John Milton. Translated from the original by Charles R. Sumner, M.A., Librarian and Historiographer to his Majesty, and Prebendary of Canterbury. Printed at the Cambridge Press. 1825.

The Translator's notes contain parallel passages, not only from the poetry and prose of Milton, but also from contemporary or earlier theologians. From Mr. Sumner's "Preliminary Observations," I quote the following information concerning "the circumstances under which the original manuscript was discovered, and the reasons for considering it as the long-lost theological work of Milton."

In the latter part of the year 1823, a Latin manuscript, bearing the following title, *Joannis Miltoni Angli de Doctrina Christiana, ex sacris duntaxat petita, Disquisitionum libri duo posthumi*, was discovered by Mr. Lemon, in the course of his researches in the Old State Paper Office, situated in what is called the Middle Treasury Gallery, Whitehall. It was found in one of the presses, loosely wrapped in two or three sheets of printed paper, with a large number of original letters, informations, examinations, and other curious records relative to the Popish plots in 1677 and 1678, and to the Rye-house plot in 1683. The same parcel likewise contained a complete and corrected copy of all the Latin letters to foreign princes and states, written by Milton while he officiated as Latin Secretary; and the whole was enclosed in an envelope, superscribed, 'To Mr. Skinner, Merch.'

In your 2d Volume, (p. 249,) you have mentioned Cyriac Skinner as "Milton's intimate friend." According to Wood, he was once a pupil of the poet, who addressed to him two Sonnets. He was also an inti-

mate friend of Neville and Harrington. Mr. Sumner conjectures, that, from his decided republican principles, he might have been suspected, and "that his papers were seized in consequence." He has another conjecture which he deems most probable, that "Cyriac, aware of the suspicion to which he was liable as the friend of Milton," committed the MS. to the care of a relation abroad, among whose papers they were seized by the English government. It is, however, more interesting to quote the following description of the discovered treasure:—

The manuscript itself consists of 735 pages, closely written on small quarto letter paper. The first part is in a small and beautiful Italian hand, being evidently a corrected copy, prepared for the press without interlineations of any kind. The character is that of a female hand, and it is the opinion of Mr. Lemon, that Mary, the second daughter of Milton, was employed as an amanuensis in this part of the volume.

The remainder of the manuscript is in an entirely different hand, being a strong, upright character, supposed by Mr. Lemon to be the handwriting of Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton. This part of the volume is interspersed with numerous interlineations and corrections, and, in several places, with small slips of writing pasted on the margin. These corrections are in two distinct handwritings, different from the body of the manuscript, but the greater part of them undoubtedly written by the same person who transcribed the first part of the volume. Hence it is probable, that the latter part of the MS. is a copy transcribed by Phillips, and finally revised and corrected by Mary and Deborah Milton, from the dictation of their father.

It appears now to be sufficiently ascertained that this treatise has no connexion whatever with 'The Sunday's Work' on which, in your 2d Volume, (p. 250,) you have quoted Phillips, in the Life of his Uncle. It may, however, be fairly presumed, that on a review of the "tractate which he thought fit to collect," even "from the ablest of Divinos," he discovered that it was far from what he had intended, "a perfect system of Divinity." To examine the Jewish and Christian Scriptures for himself was the determination of Milton, while his retirement from public business, especially on the Restoration, would supply the leisure for such a favourite pursuit.

With your leave, I propose to offer you, probably for your next Number, some account of Milton's last thoughts on scriptural theology. They will be found to differ, on some important particulars, as well from his own early opinions as from the doctrines maintained and too often enforced by the established and non-conformist churches of his own or of our day. "Many doubts," says Mr. Sumner, "hitherto entertained respecting the real opinions of Milton, on certain subjects, are removed by the present treatise, to which, as originally intended for a posthumous work, no suspicion of insincerity can attach. Of all the charges indeed which private or political prejudice has created against the author, that of being a time server, according to the reproach of Warburton, seems to have been the least deserved. The honesty of his sentiments," adds this just and candid Churchman, "is sufficiently vindicated by the boldness with which he uniformly expressed them in times when freedom of speech was more than ordinarily dangerous, as well as by his consistent exposure of what he conceived to be erroneous, whether advocated by his own friends or by his opponents."

N. L. T.

MOREAU'S FINANCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"The very high character which the author of this work has acquired, by another of a similar kind, on British Trade, published in the course of last year, cannot but secure public attention to the present effort. It greatly augments the debt of gratitude which the British merchant and statesman owe to this enlightened foreigner; who has, with such infinite labour and ingenuity, collected, digested and arranged a multitude of facts, spread over hundreds of years and thousands of volumes, so as to be almost beyond the grasp of any human intellect; which being now brought from that state of chaos into luminous order, beautifully illustrate the theory and principles of commerce, and enable the politician to apply the test of demonstration to the modes of advancing the wealth and prosperity of this great commercial country. We need not say how much gratification it gives us that the same comprehensive and powerful mind, which mastered, with so much applause, the multifarious details of British commerce in general, has now applied itself to our financial and commercial transactions with the Eastern World. These certainly are next in importance, as requiring elucidation; on account of the mystery in which the East India Company has been ever labouring to involve their pecuniary concerns, and the necessity which exists of tearing away this veil, in order that the eyes of the British public may at last see, by an actual statement of sums and figures, the amount of the evil inflicted upon us by their monopoly. This, the work before us, will, we believe, enable them to do more effectually than any thing that has hitherto appeared.

It is not possible to do justice, in a few days, to a work of this kind, which is the fruit of many years labour; nor have we had leisure, since it came into our hands, to examine minutely many of its details, or compare accurately the results. We are satisfied, however, as it contains the substance of all that is most valuable on the subject, drawn from the

¹ So much information regarding this extraordinary work is contained in the title-page, that we think proper to copy it entire. It is entitled, 'East India Company's Records, founded on Official Documents, showing a View of the Past and Present State of the British Possessions in India, as to their Revenue, Expenditure, Debts, Assets, Trade and Navigation; to which is added, a variety of Historical, Political, Financial, Commercial, and Critical Details, from the period of the first establishment (in 1600) of the Honourable East India Company to the present time (July 1825). The whole carefully compiled and arranged; the ancient part from the most authentic original Records, printed and manuscript; and the modern part from the Records of Parliament, the East India Company, the Board of Trade, the Accounts of the Custom House, and the ablest Writers; viz. Mun, Purchas, Childs, Petty, Cary, Davenant, Gee, Derker, Postlethwaite, Boiss, Raynal, Verelst, Playfair, Macpherson, Milburne, Colquhoun, Tucker, Mill, Klaproth, Phipps, Prinsep, Malcolm, Thornton, and Staunton; and also from the Memoirs and Transactions of the Societies connected with Asia.—By CRÉAN MOREAU, Member of the Royal Institution, and of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; a Foreign Member of the Board of Agriculture, and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in the British Empire; Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Marseilles, and the Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Belles Lettres of Dijon.—London, July 1825.'

first sources, and compiled with the greatest care, by a person eminently qualified for the task, it will prove an inestimable book of reference to the merchant and financier. The author has dedicated it to "The Editors of the Daily and Weekly Papers, and of the various periodical Journals and Reviews published in Great Britain;" declaring that it belongs to them, on two accounts. 1st, Because its execution has been encouraged by their favourable reception of the former production, of which this is merely the development. 2dly, Because the press is the natural medium of communication between the author and the British public. In a prefatory address of considerable length, which states, that the great object of his persevering labours was, that they might be useful to this great nation, the author observes: "Unless he deceives himself, this work, founded on the same basis, and composed with the same accuracy as that which preceded it, may be considered, in the present circumstances, as having some claim to the attention of England, and perhaps to that of the commercial world in general. The sound and salutary doctrines [in favour of free trade] proclaimed this year in Parliament, respecting maritime commerce, and every department of political economy, whilst they justify its publicity, form the era of a more extensive and liberal commercial existence. The clouds which have so long shed a gloom over the most important commercial transactions are dispersing, and the light is now diffusing its splendour over the immense system, the operations of which render the productions and industry of all parts of the world subservient to the prosperity of the British Empire. The time is past when the influence of vain prejudices, sanctioned, amongst other errors, the opinion, that there existed in the English administration, and particularly that of the East India Company, political mysteries, which it was forbidden to reveal."

As a part of the British press, to which this is addressed, we tender the author our sincere thanks for lending so able a helping hand to unveil these unhallowed mysteries, which have unfortunately too long resisted the penetrating eye of public scrutiny; and we cannot but hope, that the distinguished example which this intelligent foreigner has set before us will shame the English nation to use a little industry in understanding so considerable a branch of its own affairs, as the financial concerns of India; so that we may be no longer liable to the reproach of having vast dominions, of whose resources we are ignorant, or do not avail ourselves, and more than half a hundred millions of subjects, on whom we bestow almost no portion of our attention or care. The liberal views with which the author has entered upon this subject, and the good feeling he evinces towards this nation, on which he has conferred the fruits of his talents and industry for so many years, every way entitle him to the regard of the British public, whose approbation he has shown himself so desirous to earn, and so worthy of obtaining.

The work is not yet printed, but a limited number of copies have been lithographed, in order to ascertain first whether it meets with sufficient encouragement. It occupies twenty-four folio sheets, compactly filled, on both sides, with financial statements and tables of the most comprehensive description. To give the reader an idea of the vast fund of information it contains within a small space, we have compiled an abridgement of about half a page, exhibiting the progress of the territorial Re-

venue, Expenditure, and Debts, of the East India Company, for a period of thirty years, ending with 1821-2. In the original, the income and charges of the three Indian Presidencies, and those of their inferior dependencies, are stated separately; but we are obliged to contract them into one column, for want of room.

GENERAL ABSTRACT VIEW

Of the Revenues and Expenditures of the East India Company's Territorial Possessions, from 1792-3 to 1821-2, both inclusive.

Years beginning with March.	DISBURSEMENTS.				RECEIPTS.	DEBTS.
	Territorial Ex- penditure of all the Company's Possessions, including St. Helena.	Political Charges paid in England.	Interest on Territorial Debts due by the Company in India.	Total Charges, in- cluding Commercial.	Total Revenue, including that of Benccolou, Prince of Wales's Island, and St. Helena, since 1812.	Territorial Debts owing by the Company in India, on 30th of April each Year.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1792-3	6,370,824	165,347	636,226	7,304,828	8,225,625	9,142,720
1793-4	6,007,746	171,392	526,265	6,950,347	8,276,771	7,931,665
1794-5	6,445,588	163,399	484,301	6,986,278	8,026,193	7,305,257
1795-6	6,578,402	199,128	414,570	7,391,716	7,866,091	6,798,932
1796-7	7,152,382	375,097	426,847	8,137,226	8,016,171	7,135,882
1797-8	7,574,701	203,784	603,926	8,541,953	8,039,881	9,142,733
1798-9	8,538,480	300,736	721,550	9,716,334	8,662,033	10,866,588
1799-00	9,169,262	273,817	957,236	10,603,323	9,742,937	12,584,366
1800-1	10,201,829	307,635	1,062,684	12,079,227	10,185,058	13,999,136
1801-2	11,261,762	482,730	1,386,593	13,291,008	12,163,556	16,610,443
1802-3	10,239,958	393,207	1,361,153	13,081,971	13,164,547	18,463,898
1803-4	13,348,310	435,224	1,394,322	15,307,963	13,273,044	19,672,253
1804-5	14,920,598	485,604	1,566,750	18,192,010	11,949,397	22,121,482
1805-6	15,820,889	575,795	1,860,090	18,418,263	15,103,411	25,626,631
1806-7	15,338,720	452,083	2,224,956	18,366,330	14,671,915	28,502,039
1807-8	13,753,360	505,797	2,225,668	16,658,031	15,669,505	30,214,341
1808-9	13,369,532	550,766	2,241,665	16,267,702	15,525,055	32,007,019
1809-10	13,918,893	565,931	1,925,300	16,561,422	16,464,361	30,876,788
1810-11	14,058,750	580,767	1,715,232	16,521,359	16,679,197	30,082,470
1811-12	13,366,837	690,613	1,188,242	15,777,303	16,605,617	28,153,012
1812-13	13,952,900	1,450,700	1,491,870	16,935,470	16,488,984	29,421,430
1813-14	13,928,003	1,335,579	1,537,434	16,801,016	17,267,901	29,965,698
1814-15	14,473,464	1,393,393	1,526,467	17,393,324	17,297,279	30,666,666
1815-16	16,390,867	1,459,426	1,584,157	18,433,950	17,232,818	32,279,107
1816-17	15,421,252	1,164,029	1,720,232	18,605,513	18,077,517	33,069,550
1817-18	16,153,911	1,306,431	1,753,018	19,213,360	18,375,420	33,625,818
1818-19	17,853,998	1,375,832	1,684,271	20,913,556	19,459,047	34,615,719
1819-20	17,429,718	1,426,766	2,006,109	20,762,593	19,237,090	37,206,507
1820-21	17,748,235	1,329,168	1,908,853	21,036,256	21,352,242	39,744,314
1821-22	17,732,516	1,392,305	1,935,390	21,060,811	21,803,207	40,496,250

The author adds a note, to say, that the commercial charges are included in the total charges; an incongruity, however, for which he assigns no reason, although they are excluded from the rest of the Table, and do not belong to it. Their amount, separately, for every year, or in *total*, may be ascertained by deducting the sum of the first three money columns from the fourth; but the lowest he states to have been 132,000*l.*, and the highest 219,000*l.* The interest, since 1798, is exclusive of what was paid on securities redeemed by the sinking fund, then established for the liquidation of the debt, and has also an 0*cs.*

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

THE only news of importance respecting the warlike operations in this part of India is the occupation of Rungpoor by the Company's troops, which will be found detailed under the head of Assam. The force at Rangoon was still "about to move forward," although this appears not more practicable than ever, especially as the season was so far advanced, and considering the condition of the troops after so many hardships. The other divisions were encountering great obstacles from the nature of the country; and although it was possible they might reach Arracan and Munnipoor before the commencement of the rains, there was little probability of their penetrating farther during the present campaign; so that, in fact, although some of the recent acquisitions of the Burmese have fallen into our hands, not a hostile foot has yet been placed on an inch of their ancient or own proper territory.

If the extension of our authority to Assam be the only fruits of the war, this cannot be considered a subject of much gratulation to its projectors; since the Marquis of Hastings might have accomplished that object several years ago, at little risk or expense, if it had been thought desirable, and such an extension of territory not, on the contrary, an evil to be deprecated and avoided. Any thing in the shape of conquest, however, is sure to be a subject of congratulation with those who look only at the outside of things; and, accordingly, some of the public prints, copying after the Calcutta newspapers, which dare only give the fair side of the question, have begun to assume a somewhat more confident tone as to the ultimate result of the war. For our own parts, we must suspend our judgment until we have some better assurances as to the general aspect of affairs than the partial statements of Indian publications, labouring under the fear of worse than a censorship,—selected and garbled extracts of official reports,—or even a *feu de joie* fired under the eyes of Lord Aulherst going to witness it in state. When the private intelligence received lays aside the tone of complaint and despondency hitherto observable, we shall then begin to think that things are going on well; and should attach more weight to the honest satisfaction that may be expressed by men free to utter their real sentiments, than to the noisy rejoicings of all the guns in every fortress throughout our Indian dominions.

Such a change in the complexion of the private accounts has not yet taken place. We have not only letters of unquestionable authority, but have conversed with individuals very recently from various parts of India, and their concurring report is still unfavourable—nay, in many respects, highly alarming. The war cannot be finished this season; the country is, therefore, to continue for an indefinite length of time drained of troops. The deficiency in the Bengal army from desertion, or the unwillingness of men to enter our service, amounts to 17,000 men, equal to 250 in each battalion, or one-fourth of the whole strength. Whereas, formerly, each corps used to have 100 candidates waiting for admission;

now it is found necessary to recruit and fill up the deserted ranks with low caste men, who were formerly rejected with scorn. One of the plans adopted is, to add 20 men to each company, by which the disproportion between the number of troops and their European officers will be increased, although it was before too great, and the evil has long been loudly lamented.

The slow progress and ill success of the Burmese war had created such a sensation throughout the whole country, that it is impossible to predict the consequences of its being long protracted. The Mahrattas, it was said, were already "on their horses," and impatient to avail themselves of such an opportunity, when the flower of our troops are drawn to so great a distance, and exhausting their strength among the marshes and jungles of the Burman empire. Many were of opinion, that nothing but a reinforcement of twenty or thirty thousand men from England could avert the present danger. So strong is the impression throughout India, that British power is shaken to its centre, that, according to the report of different persons who have lately travelled in quarters of India widely remote from each other, it is a common expression among the Natives, that our "raj" (or reign) is over! In the Deccan, placards had been fixed up, calling upon the Mohammedans to rise; for now or never was the time to regain their dominion! That we may not be supposed to exaggerate, we shall allow a writer on the spot to use his own words:—

Deccan, November 1821.—The very general state of disturbance that India is in, at this moment; the prevalence of an opinion from one end of Hindoostan to the other, amongst the Natives, that our *raj* is drawing to a close; the want of European officers, and their discontent, with many other alarming symptoms; and, finally, the late awful transactions at Barrackpore, make it an imperative duty for every Englishman to call upon his country to examine well these occurrences, and to investigate their causes. I shall not pretend to give my opinion on the subject; I have neither the leisure nor the temper requisite to enter fully into its detail. I do think, however, and I can vouch for its having been the opinion of three late and highly distinguished members of Council, that we want a fourth and a Supreme Council for the political government of this empire, independent of the petty patronage, the internal business, and party bias of the local Governments, and the present crisis does seem to demand some unusual power, some immediate interference on the part of Parliament.

It is to be hoped, that such statements will open the eyes of the British Government, before it be *too late*, to the madness of that system of policy which, after our holding the country for so long a time, leaves our power still resting on so frail a basis, that every turn of chance threatens our very existence. There is no resource, no alternative, but victory or destruction; every thing depending on the fate of war, and no motive or rallying point among the population of the country. If it be not determined that India shall be sacrificed, sooner or later, to the policy of the East India Company, which admits of no corrective to the radical defect in our system, not a day should be lost in opening India to Colonization, which is the only effectual remedy, and the rejection of it must ultimately prove fatal. Another writer says:—

It is impossible not to be struck with the shameful want of judgment shown in bringing on the crisis at Barrackpore; the very severe and sanguinary way in which the mutiny was suppressed, I cannot approve of. There was no such violent conduct in the mutineers, to warrant the procedure. Had they aimed at doing injury to the state, they would not have selected the very spot for a mutiny, at which they were sure of being put down by an European force. Had his Majesty's Royals, of 47th foot, been moved up with orders to charge the muti-

neers, they would have laid down their arms, I am confident, without a shot being fired. The fire that was opened by the European infantry, directed against the mutineers, and many peaceable inhabitants. From some reports it would appear, that as many of the latter were injured as of the former. The mutineers broke, threw away their arms and regimentals as quickly as they could. The Europeans who chased, made a point of shooting at every black fellow. As the nature of the duty dispersed the European soldiers, you may imagine how much they relished getting a shot at *blackery*, when beyond the eye and control of their officers.

Was it wise to let loose this ferocious spirit at such a time, between two races of men who are subjects of the same sovereign, and have so much need to unite cordially in supporting the common cause? When the Company's servants in India are still indignant at the recollection of the cruelty exercised by the Dutch at Amboyna, so many years ago, should we not reflect, that even if such a proceeding were not dangerous at the present moment, yet a time may come, when the natives of India may remember, to our prejudice, the blood which was made to flow at Barrackpore. But it is done, and irrevocable; and we are not so sanguine as to hope that, in this age, atonement, were it possible, would be offered to injured humanity, or that even contrition would be expressed. Let us hope, however, that the expression of public indignation against it, will prevent such another act from staining the page of Indian history. Respecting the progress of the Burmese war, one writer says:—

It is sad to think into what hands we are fallen. Such trifling, at the outset, and such shameful perversion of every thing, when attempted, have never disgraced our Indian annals. Were it not a moral impossibility, one would say the object of the Indian Government was to see if the Burmese could not be brought to be our conquerors! The unhappy army shipped for Rangoon, at the very season when all military operations were about to close from the periodical rains, has fallen a sacrifice to the folly of Government. By our last accounts, the army was almost annihilated by disease. Twelve hundred Europeans had been buried; and the effective force remaining was so small, as to render it not impossible, that the crowds of Burmese drawing round, might have driven it on ship-board before a sufficient reinforcement could be sent. I have little doubt of a successful and speedy termination of the contest, when the masses now collected on the frontier are able to act; unless, indeed, the Native troops be distrusted: this would crown all preceding acts of folly. If proper encouragement be given to the sepoy, he will prove himself, as he has always done, an excellent and efficient soldier. Upon the whole, I can only say I heartily wish the war well over, and that before another happens, we may have as good a war-Governor as Lord Hastings.

This is one of the many proofs afforded in private communications, of the high estimation in which that nobleman is held by many in India. Through a singular process, the injury which he himself did latterly to his own fame, others have retrieved, without any merit on their part, or exertion on his. Towards the close of his administration, while men compared him with his former self, the regard of his warmest friends and admirers began to cool. When they recollected the noble sentiments to which he once gave utterance, breathing the genuine spirit of British liberty, and holding out to India high promise of a better era, and saw it followed by deeds which seemed to nip these hopes in the very bud; it was a cruel disappointment. But now the Indian public try his merits by a different standard, it being in the nature of things that the present should wear away the memory of the past. They now contrast him with his successors, compared with whose conduct any part of his

administration, even the most faulty, appears great and excellent; their errors, beside his, being, as "Mount Pelion to a wart." Smaller evils which have passed by, are soon shrouded from the view of those who have greater evils rising near them. Consequently, we are not surprised that persons in India now so deeply regret the loss of Lord Hastings, that they are unwilling even to be reminded that he had any errors or defects at all. Hence, perhaps, most of our Indian readers may concur in the sentiments of the following letter, which we publish to show, that in such cases we are perfectly willing to give those who differ from us an opportunity of being heard, and we do so with pleasure. The writer says:—

Your HERALD has afforded me much delight. The occupation of so large a portion on your own case, in the early Numbers, was, perhaps, a disadvantage in this quarter of the world, as it was, necessarily, a repetition of much that had been previously published here. I think your criticism on Lord Hastings's administration much more severe than his Lordship deserves. Good and bad are comparative terms, and Governors are entitled to the benefit of this consideration. Lord Hastings was, comparatively, a good Governor-General. His sins of omission were, indeed, great; and, latterly, his commissions were no peccadilloes. But he was striving against a stream; for all those in Council, and out of it, who were latterly connected with his Government, were against him in feeling; would I could say in principle: but he assuredly wanted firmness to be a man of principle. His wars I think less blameable than you admit: in truth, I esteem them as beyond his control. The Nepaulese had become so powerful, that conquer or be conquered was an inevitable consequence of contact with their possessions. The war was not sought by the Indian Government. Lord Minto shared the questions which led to war, or the event might have been delayed. The can-quests arising from the Pindaree war were almost all unintentional, and unlooked for. Certainly the Nagpore hostility was never thought of, nor was the Poonah. Holkar's hostility might have been foreseen, and the advantages calculated on. I express these opinions, as they are entertained by many who are most friendly to you. That I have no reason personally to eulogise Lord Hastings you will admit; and that, therefore, right or wrong, my opinion is an honest one. Until you change the controlling powers at home, all Governors-Generals will and must lean one way in the exercise of their trust; that is, the *monied* advantages of their employers, and not the true interests of the subjects millions committed to their sway. The remedy must originate in the land you now inhabit, or it will never be applied. It were idle to expect servants dependent on the Lords of Leadenhall-street to run counter to the views of their masters.

Another letter, dated towards the end of January, says:—

The troops are moving towards Prome and Ummerapoora, as is supposed, from our eastern frontier, through Assam and Cachar; but the physical obstacles these countries present, though little is known of them geographically, and much less topographically, are sufficient to cause great doubts of our success. The rains set in early there, and we must either stay and risk starvation and sickness, or retire to our own territories on their approach. Although Lord Amherst had the idea of finding that Government had resolved on castigating the Burmese in March, for entering on the war at once, yet it would not avail him in defence of a hurried and injudicious commencement of hostilities. Had he collected his forces, prepared his treasury, and brought together the *matériel* for an Indian campaign, during those months Sir A. Campbell and his band of heroes have been fighting and famishing at Rangoon without advancing an inch, the account of the mighty preparations, and the awe inspired by an imposing force, would have had a more beneficial effect upon the Burmese King, than the injury his troops have received from our soldiers. What may be the intentions of the Native powers to the West and North of us, who can say? or what effects their enmities may produce among our Native troops, after the death of so many of their countrymen and comrades at Barrackpore. Some, it is said, were hung, after having turned King's evidence against the rest. But of this country and its acts, you, at home, can have no conception. An impeachment by a Burke is what is wanted, to save India from the effects of miracle! The Government may

remains despotic for a while, without fear of the consequences. It must be just; it must not produce heart-burnings amongst its subjects. It must listen to their claims, and respect their appeals. These millions asked for nothing but justice; this is admitted, for what they asked, Government has since granted. Who then was the cause of this bloody catastrophe; and who risked the lives of so many British subjects in India? Let the Government answer: we have much need of a free press; and every man, with a grain of honesty, will admit it.

Another private letter, dated in January, shows how successful Lord Amherst is in finding out the means of rendering his Government, if possible, still more thoroughly unpopular, by disgusting every branch of the public service. The writer says:—

The war with the Burmese must have assisted the public mind considerably, on account of its unfortunate commencement; and men at home, of general information, must have feared, and may still do so, for the ultimate result. Every Governor-General of India appears to have chalked out some new conquest as the road to fame; but none, with so little wisdom and fore-thought as this "amiable," (a very indefinite word, Mr. Canning!) this "amiable" Lord now at the head of this vast but not so mighty empire. Whether he become a tiger or not, will be seen when the opportunity offers: that he is universally considered as weak and obstinate cannot be denied; and that the "mild" and "amiable" Lord out of power, is neither just nor honest to his trust in power, may be safely argued, from the injustice committed in making an Assistant Surgeon, (the very lowest of the list, or nearly so,) Apothecary General! The whole of the medical department are disgusted; and many, from twenty to thirty years standing, are disgusted by such a stretch of power and abuse of patronage. It is said that Dr. A., his Lordship's family physician, who, after serving the Company a year, for which he received twelve hundred pounds, had been loaded with appointments, yielding an annual income of 3000*l.*, does not speak the language, knows nothing of the Indian materia medica, or preparations of native medicines, and that his duty of attending his Lordship's family at Barrackpore, sixteen miles from Calcutta, requires his being there five days out of the week. I have never heard the truth of all this denied; and yet his predecessor (a gentleman who had served the Company about twenty-two years) was obliged to forego all the advantages of practice, to render him competent to fill this situation! To every branch of the service, I understand, the Honourable Court of Directors hold out encouragement to those who have served them long and faithfully. Time proves the public servant, and I can conceive how deep the blow must have struck the minds of a body of highly deserving men thus superseded. One of these gentlemen told me, that the noble Lord had promised to consider *his claims*, when he was called upon to fill up this important situation. Those claims were great; long service, fidelity, known talent, and family distress; but these fell very far short of his claims who had accompanied his Lordship to perform the *kou-tou* in China!

Of the abuse of patronage there are many other instances; which the Court of Directors ought to feel obliged to those who bring to their notice; for they must know it is for the interest of the Company that places of high emolument should be reserved as a reward for old and meritorious servants, who have borne the burden and heat of the day, and not given away to new favourites of a temporary Governor or Secretary, as a reward for their servility, and with no view to the benefit of the public service. On this subject, a Correspondent writes:

The authorities here pursue their despotic career entirely unchecked, and laugh at the orders of the Court of Directors. Dr. Bryce still retains his secular appointment, and Mr. Mackenzie (the old *John Bull* Editor) his secure Marine Judge Advocate's situation; in addition to which, he has been recently made Secretary to a Committee of Embarkation (and holds, I believe, some other places besides) to superintend the embarkation of troops and stores during the Burmese war. Mr. Greenlaw (John Bull the Sixth, who still reigns) is Coroner of Calcutta, Signer of Warrants, and Surveyor to an Insurance office! The *BULL*, it is

said, has changed proprietors, and belongs now to Dr. Bryceson himself, although produced in the name of a connexion. Formerly, the apprehension of exposure from the Press kept these things within some kind of bounds; and if favourable and not completely checked, it wore some kind of decent disguise. Now it comes with unabashed front in broad day, and the most disgraceful jobs are openly practiced.

Of this, different private accounts supply us with one remarkable instance intimately connected with the great events now acting on the political theatre of the East. Mr. Chew, the Branch-pilot, who, before the war, was captured and detained for some time by the Burmese, about whom so much noise was made, and on whose account, together with other small matters, the Governor-General in his generous indignation must needs involve the country in war, had, shortly after his return to Calcutta, subsequent to his release from Burman captivity, the misfortune to have his vessel lost in the mouth of the Hooghley, owing to the negligence of one of his officers, in July last. A Court of Inquiry was held, at which Mr. Judge-Advocate Mackenzie presided, and the decision pronounced was, that the vessel had been lost in consequence of the neglect and disobedience of Mr. Chew's orders by one of his mates, and that she would not have been so lost had his orders been obeyed. It might have been supposed, that after so complete an exoneration from blame, an old and tried servant would have heard no more of the matter. It seems, however, that the Marine Board wished to get him out of the service, and they therefore desired Commodore Hayes to make a report, as to his character and capability for duty; whereupon the Commodore, who is known to have long cherished a pique against him, made such a report as served their purpose; the main substance of which was, that his advanced period of life rendered him not so fit now as he had hitherto been for active employment! Having thus obtained a representation conformable to their wishes, without any reference to the individual himself, they wrote immediately to Government a jesuitical letter affecting candour and commiseration, but insinuating falsehood, ending with an apparently kind recommendation, that he should be allowed to retire on his full pension! A man so little acquainted with the affairs of the country as Lord Amherst, might think, from the mode of expression, that this was conferring a favour on this old marine officer, whereas, in fact, it was dismissing him from the service with disgrace; and the full pension of his rank, (or 200 rupees a month,) instead of being a boon, as the words would imply, was in fact a mere pittance compared with his pay; and being paid out of a fund formed by the contributions of the members of the service, is their own property, which the Government could not take from him. The Government acceded to the suggestion of the Board, and the first notice the victim of its machinations has of his unmerited degradation and punishment is, that the sentence is carried into effect without its ever being intimated to him that any deficiency was imputed to him by his enemies, far less being heard in his own behalf. Thus poor Mr. Chew is reduced to his pension of 200 rupees per month, to maintain a wife and eleven children, after being thirty-five years in the service of the Company, and having faithfully devoted the best of his days to the interests of his employers, whose servants now turn him adrift destitute in his old age, without any charge whatever being substantiated against him, but that he has grown grey in their service! The Government, however, it appears, became afterwards sensible that

they had done him wrong, and would not unwillingly have retained it in some degree by giving him another situation. That of harbour-master seemed to be a fitting one, if the person holding it could be otherwise disposed of; but there came in the play of patronage, in which the claims of merit have so little chance against those of interest. Mr. Milner, the present harbour-master, who was never in the Company's regular service at all, is said to have had as little qualification as claim for the situation; but then Mrs. M. is some connexion of Mrs. L., and is said to bear the same relation to Mr. Secretary L. that Mrs. L. is said to have done to Mr. A., who is the top of the tree by which this chain of patronage hangs. That it is not an unfruitful one is evident; since, without any claim on the Company for past services, Mr. Milner draws, as harbour-master, 600 rupees per mensem; as signer of stamps about 200; and as surveyor to an insurance office 250; making, in all, a monthly income of 1000 rupees and upwards; besides being allowed a handsome pinnace for his exclusive use. If Mr. M. gave up this situation to Mr. Chew, it was intended that the former should be removed to the deputy-master attendant's berth, the salary of which is only 400 rupees per month; and, in order that he might not be a loser by the change, it was proposed to cut down the harbour-master's salary 200 rupees, and give this sum additional to Mr. Milner. Thus Mr. Chew was to have done the duty at 400, while the former received 600. We have thus the following illustration of the *Comparative Claims of Merit and Interest, on the score of Humanity and Justice*:—Mr. M. is not a servant of the Company; is by no means qualified for the office; has otherwise a tolerable income of 450 rupees a month, and only himself and a wife to maintain. Mr. C. has served the Company faithfully and zealously thirty-five years, and, with 200 rupees, has to support a wife and eleven children; yet 200 rupees were to be taken from the latter and given to the former, to prevent any deduction whatever in his exorbitant income!

It was suspected, however, that the Court of Directors would not sanction or suffer a thing quite so gross as this; so Mr. Milner is kept where he was, and another having got the place of Deputy, Mr. Chew and his family are left to starve until a convenient opportunity happen to occur to give them bread. Thus the "mild" and "amiable" Lord Amherst, who thought the treatment of this man by the Burmese worthy of being made a ground of war, and, in his public despatches to England, speaks with admiration of his undaunted conduct, now turns him over to misery and want, as the reward of his services and sufferings.

The exertions making at Calcutta to prosecute the war vigorously, may be conceived from the embarrassment displayed in their financial operations. In order to procure cash for the army in the enemy's country, where paper is of course not current, the Government offered the Shroffs or Native Bankers of Calcutta a per centage on all silver they should pay into the Treasury, which seemed at first to answer the purpose. But the notes paid in exchange were immediately carried by the Shroffs to the Bank for payment, that the cash might be carried to the Treasury for the premium. The run on the Bank thus became so great, that the Government was obliged to support it by bullion from the Treasury; which bullion was again paid by the Bank for its notes, and the holders of these again carried the cash back to the Treasury for the premium, which was thus paid several times over on the self-same rupee,

without their number being at all increased, or the Treasury a bit the richer! The four per cent. loan also is said to be still at a discount, although not so quoted in the Calcutta papers; which is not at all surprising. In October or November, when the publisher of the Price Current inserted this, among other public securities, at its true market value of one or two per cent. below par, the Government demanded of him upon what authority he presumed to make such a statement? Although perfectly able to justify his conduct by proving the fact to be true, he would probably not again venture on so delicate a subject; for although Price Currents are not included within the press regulations, the Government might soon find an excuse for making his license a bad security for his longer residence in India.

An instance of the influence of Government over the press, and its perversion of this influence to the purposes of fraud and deception, is mentioned in two letters from Bombay; one of which states, that while the Government loan was at a discount of two per cent., it was for a long period not permitted to be quoted at all; and when permitted to be named, was quoted falsely, being given at one-half per cent. discount, when it was actually at two per cent. discount, thereby prostituting the press to fraud and deception of the worst description.

PUBLIC MEETING—CALCUTTA APPRENTICING SOCIETY.

In connexion with the desire recently expressed in a high quarter at home to adopt measures to improve and elevate the social condition of that numerous class of persons growing up in India called Indo-Britons, it is gratifying to observe, that their depressed and hitherto unfortunate situation has at the same time roused the European society there to attempt something for their permanent improvement. On the 16th of February, a public meeting was held at the Calcutta town-hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration the institution of a Society for training up Christian youth to useful trades and occupations. John Herbert Harrington, Esq., (since appointed member of Council,) was in the chair; and after some deliberation, it was resolved that such a Society should be established; that the Bishop of Calcutta should be solicited to become patron of the institution, and the following gentlemen, having expressed their friendliness to the object, were nominated vice-patrons: Messrs. W. Ainslie, G. Ballard, W. B. Bayley, J. Bryant (Major), J. Calder, G. C. Campbell (Capt.), R. H. Cunliffe (Lieut. Col.), W. Eales (Rev.), E. Ellis (Capt.), A. Halliday (M. D.), W. Hovendon (Rev.), J. H. Harrington, J. P. Larkins, J. Marshman (Rev. Dr.), J. Mellis (M. D.), G. Money, E. A. Newton, S. Nicolson, T. Thomason (Rev.), C. Trebeck, T. Turton, and N. Wallich (M. D.).

The business of the Society is to be conducted by a committee of managers, to consist of a president, two or more vice-presidents, and twelve Members of the Society; the latter to be elected annually; and, to pass over minor details, the object of the institution was embodied in the following resolution:—

That it be a primary object of the Committee, after receiving a sufficient fund for the purpose, to place out Christian Youth, of every denomination, in need of support from this Society, with respectable persons, engaged in useful trades and occupations, who may be willing to take them as Apprentices for a limited term of years; and that the Committee be authorized to pay, for each Apprentice, if required, a moderate premium, or stated monthly allowance, during part of

the term of his Apprenticeship, for defraying the expense of his maintenance and instruction, until his labour and services shall become a sufficient compensation.

This is an institution which bids fair to be attended with the most solid advantages, and we therefore sincerely hope it will be vigorously supported. Although, from the character of some of the leading members, and the manner in which they have sedulously connected it with the Church, we can see plainly that their primary object is to provide a livelihood for those children whom, in the schemes of conversion now going forward, after having educated as Christians, they do not know how to dispose of; (for what natural connexion has the Bishop with the making of shoemakers and tailors?) yet, as there are others connected with it whose benevolence is not limited by such narrow views, who would improve the rising generation, not merely as fellow Christians, but because they are fellow-creatures and British subjects, we have every confidence that this institution, patronized by the society of Calcutta, will ultimately be productive of lasting advantages. The evil to be overcome is one which has grown out of that peculiar state of society existing in India. Almost all labour having long been performed entirely by the natives of the country,—the subject people,—operative employment is regarded as disgraceful, and a badge of subjection, unworthy of a Christian. Therefore, those born in the country being shut out of all public offices of high trust or emolument, have generally endeavoured to support themselves as copying clerks, book-keepers, &c. as less disreputable. Hence they are fallen under the reproach of being a nation of “krancees or penmen;” an unjust reproach, as the Government of the country have debarred them from almost every road to respectability. But as they have become much too numerous for one-tenth of them to find a subsistence in this manner, the Society now formed will do much good if it raise honest industry into greater estimation, and teach them to earn wealth and independence, as millions do in other countries, by the labour of their hands. We shall be most happy to hear that this has been followed up by the formation of a Mechanics’ Institution, which is, perhaps, the next most useful thing the British inhabitants of Calcutta can do for their fellow-subjects in India.

SIR F. MACNAGHTEN AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL ADAM,

The Calcutta papers of February are much occupied with the compliments paid by the various classes of society to Sir F. Macnaghten on the occasion of his departure from England. Considering his amiable private character, and the length of time he has spent among them, being the greater part of a long and active life, he was certainly much better entitled to receive such demonstrations of affection than many in similar circumstances on whom they are bestowed. For it is to be regretted, that voting dinners and addresses, plate, pictures, and statues, to every man who has filled a high station, has become so much a matter of course, that it is difficult to discriminate the honest effusions of the heart from the courtly arts of flattery. What Governor or Judge, from Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey down to Mr. Adam and Sir Francis Macnaghten, have not had in India a host of friends or partizans, ready and willing to vote them similar honours, although their conduct and principles may have been as widely opposite as the east is from the west. And we fully expect that the same men who lauded the two last Governors-General

would most cordially vote to Lord Amherst's equestrian statue as given at the gift of Peter the Great, to be erected on the island of St. George.

Sir Francis Macnaghten, as a man, had the strongest claims, on his departure from the shores of India, to be greeted with an affectionate farewell; and even as a judge (with the exception of one fell act, the gagging of the press, which, in such a moment for awakening every kindly feeling, might well be overlooked in reviewing his long life,) he was perhaps, in the general tenor of his conduct, one of the most popular that ever sat on the Indian Bench. But, like the Marquis of Hastings, when he at last yielded to the measures of the junta combined against the press, his popularity fell into the "sere and yellow leaf," and could with difficulty be revived by his subsequent spirited conduct in asserting the privileges of his fellow-subjects, the authority of his court, and the dignity of the laws against the arbitrary acts of the Government. But whatever, at any time, were his errors, they were forgiven as the errors of the head, not of the heart; for it was impossible to retain resentment even for the greatest injury against one whose breast was imbued with every tender feeling, every manly and generous sentiment.

As the first in rank and importance, we begin with the compliment paid him by the Merchants of Calcutta, who gave a splendid farewell entertainment to Sir Francis and a select party of his friends in the Town-hall; David Clarke, who now stands nearly at the head of that highly respectable body, in the chair. We have only room, of course, to present a few of the most interesting features of the sayings and doings on this occasion. On Sir Francis's health being drank, he said, in returning thanks, that—

"To be entertained as he was by the Merchants of Calcutta, was enough to make any man proud; and so deeply sensible was he of that honour, that he would not desire any better testimonial of his public life to be graven on his tomb, than that, after an abode of more than thirty years in India, he at last retired from it under the glorious appellation of the friend of the Calcutta Merchants."

The reporter says, "these we believe were his words, but so expressed as to have it clearly understood, that he alluded to the happiness of being considered their friend in a private capacity, not their benefactor in a public one." This was certainly a wise distinction for one to make who knew that he left them curtailed by him of their legal privileges in a manner that no judge before him self had ever done. And he must surely have inwardly blushed when he uttered the above high eulogium on the value of their opinion, to think that he had in an evil hour joined in making gagging laws to prevent its expression, in league with those who raise the hypocritical and senseless cry, that there is no public in India!

Dr. Grant, the "liberal" Editor of the *India Gazette*, gave,—"Mr. Adam and the Civil Service," making, we are assured, a most excellent speech, which however is not given; hence we conclude that it applied to the corps, rather than the chief associated with it, in conformity to the rules of etiquette. But the reply of Mr. Secretary Mackenzie, in which he took occasion to extol Mr. Adam's public and private virtues, is given at full length. Nay, like the golden speech lately circulated so widely against Catholic emancipation, this one was published in a second edition, the first being given by *John Bull*, the second by the *Government Gazette*; and thence reprinted in the former. *John Bull says*—

When he obtained, even so, Mr. Adam, the need of public applause strikes instantly and firmly of his measures, unbiassed by partiality, and unswayed by popular clamour and abuse, the most THUNDERING ECHOES OF APPROBATION, resounded through the hall! When he appealed to all present, if, in this case, public virtue had not gained a most signal victory over the misrepresentations of faction, and the malice of party opposition; concurrence came from the hearts of every one in the noisy uproar when each strives to outdo another to do justice to the man of merit and the undaunted servant of the public.

How brave and heroic it was for a ruler, with an army of two hundred thousand men at his beck, to banish from his dominions a private individual who had no means of resistance, and lay entirely at his mercy! How mighty was the victory and proud the triumph, when the Governor-General of India, armed with all the powers of an extensive empire, succeeded in ruining Mr. Buckingham, who had no weapon of defence but his pen! Is it this which excites an *uproar* of wonder and applause among a society of British merchants? If so, we fear we must concur with the opinion expressed by Mr. Adam himself in his famous manifesto, that there is no class of men in India fit to form or express any judgment on public measures! For if they view the matter rightly, they will see that the victory boasted of, was a victory, alas! over themselves, which has placed their minds in captive chains! They can now no longer make their voice be heard and respected through an unfettered press, and can only assemble in public meetings with the permission of their rulers, when expected to regale their senses with the sweet incense of flattery and applause. We will not believe that British merchants, holding a proud station in society, should become so intoxicated with the love of slavery as voluntarily to drag along the triumphal car of their conqueror, to celebrate with shouts and uproar his overthrow of their liberties, and glory in their own humiliation! The "thundering echoes" must have resounded at something else; we cannot trust *John Bull's* ears on such an occasion, however long they may be, and eager to catch such joyful sounds. We will rather imagine that the Indian Tory press is thus labouring to degrade the inhabitants of Calcutta, after laws have been passed to shut their mouths to prevent them from vindicating their character against such cruel slanders. His report differs as widely as possible from that of the *Government Gazette*, is not supported in the least by that of the *Hurkuru*, and it is impugned by the *Scotsman*, as we gather from a notice in reply. In one most important point it is positively false. It says: the toast given and received with applause was, the health of Mr. John Adam alone; and the honour of this applause is thus pretended to have belonged entirely to him; whereas the toast was, "Mr. Adam and the *Civil Service of India*!" The whole of this distinguished body of men are, by *John Bull*, defrauded of their honours, in order to form a single wreath for his favourite, Mr. Adam;—an artifice worthy only of that paper, and its reputed proprietor, Dr. Bryce, or of the cause and the party to which he belongs, thus to send home their idol decked in borrowed plumage pilfered from many worthier men. The account given of the speech by the *Government Gazette* is very different indeed, and does not so far "outrage the modesty of nature." There are here no thundering shouts of approbation, no deafening uproar, nor complaints of abuse, malice, and faction, with which the *Bull* interlards his report. But it is, however, insisted on as a great merit in Mr. Adam by his brother Secretary, that he resolutely pursued his own way in public measures, unmindful of the public voice:—

No timid apprehension of censure ever withheld him from fulfilling his important trusts in the manner most suitable to his own judgment; for he was not the man to flinch from an honest purpose in administering the affairs of this mighty empire on account of public opinion, however expressed!

If it be so high a merit to disregard entirely public censure, or applause, we suppose that Nero, who fiddled while Rome was burning, possessed this merit in a much more eminent degree; for he could not expect that those whose houses were set in flames over their heads would applaud the incendiary or relish his mirth. Our Charles I., too, who would govern without parliaments, and impose taxes at his own will and pleasure, had an admirable disregard of public opinion, a most meritorious obstinacy in following his own; but the people of England did not applaud him for it, and crown his head with laurels; no: they wisely brought it to the block. The Cavaliers, however, no doubt, gave Charles credit for having an "honest purpose" in what he did; and it is easy for Mr. Secretary Mackenzie to pay this compliment to his colleague in office. But this is a mere begging of the question; as others will hold it to be a dishonest purpose to enslave his fellow-subjects. Acts positively bad and wicked are not thus to be sanctified by the pretence of good intentions lurking under them. As to the statement, that Mr. Adam was not to be deterred from following his own arbitrary will by the voice of the public, "however expressed," we think it a very heavy charge against him. We can conceive no quality more requisite for a tyrant than a total indifference to the good or bad opinion of his subjects; and Mr. Adam's friends are certainly the best judges whether or not he possess this heartless apathy. They cannot mean that he was too magnanimous to heed the expression of censure on his acts; he who banished an individual from his dominions for laughing at his appointment of a Scotch clergyman as Clerk of Stationery; he who put shackles on the press to silence every whisper of disapprobation! He might be indifferent about men's good or bad opinion—careless though his acts produced "curses not loud but deep," provided he did not hear them; but this is the amount of the magnanimous contempt of public censure evinced by this mighty ruler, who dreaded the comments of the *Calcutta Journal* more than the armies of Ava!

Allowing for the association of Mr. Adam's name with that of the Civil Service of India, a body so powerful, and comprising so many men of high worth and talent—that such a toast is sure to be hailed with plaudits, independently of the merits or demerits of its nominal head; and taking the best authority, the *Government Gazette's* account of the affair, we see nothing in it at all surprising. But as to the uproarious shouts of applause mentioned by the *Bull*, these are not the natural expression of applause in any dignified assembly, unless, indeed, after that period of exhilaration when the wine speaketh, and not the man. No doubt, some half dozen would readily "hurl up their caps, and cry, God save King Richard!" but the "sound and fury," the "thunders" and "uproar," which are said to have made the lofty roofs re-echo, look rather suspicious; more so than the equivocal parliamentary "*Hear!*" which implies either assent or dissent, applause or disapprobation.

It is all very well for Mr. Secretary Mackenzie, and his "courtly well-fed tribe," (as SAM SOBERSIDES called them,) to speak speeches and revise them for their Court Chronicles, where there is no one who dare

seer; and if any replied, there is no newspaper which dare print it. Now he "may scoff in safety," and bravely flourish his bright rhetoric about the ears of his antagonists, whose mouths are shut by authority, so that they cannot answer. But who is this table-cloth orator, that presumes to exult over his political opponents, and insult them as factious or malevolent? What sort and quality of evidence is his in support of such a charge? Is he not a party concerned, *particeps criminis*, in crushing the press? Was he not personally engaged in the contest with Mr. Buckingham, and defeated by an honest jury, after expensive endeavours, like those of Bankes, and others, to run him down by the costs of litigation?—he and his brother Secretaries having clubbed their purses against him, purses well filled with salaries out of the produce of Indian taxes extorted from the people; not with money won like that of their opponent by his literary labours from the voluntary contributions of the Indian public. Was not this eulogist of the Ex-Governor a member of the Indian ministry that undermined, and abused, and hated Lord Haastings for his liberality to the press, and his real personal fearlessness of censure, and which never forgave him for what he did, even when they had seduced him to give his countenance to their vile policy, and thereby blasted his fair fame? Are his praises of Mr. Adam, the head of his party, disinterested? Who would consider the Canon Saez's eulogies of Ferdinand, or M. Villedieu's panegyrics of Charles X., or even Mr. Robinson's praise of George IV., worth a single farthing? Is not the boasting evidence of this Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer in favour of his master's virtues, the suspicious testimony of an adviser and an accomplice? Yes; an accomplice in his cruelty and tyranny; for the disguise must be stripped off, and we cannot allow a man's humanity and domestic virtues to be blazoned over his public conduct, because he is, like Mr. Adam, kind and good in private to those who never oppose him. Show us the humanity and goodness of heart that will stand thwarting and opposition. Was he humane to Mr. Buckingham and his family? Did he not endeavour or get others to endeavour to write him down and undermine his private character; and encourage, protect, and reward them for it, by making them his Military Secretaries—Aides-de-Camp—Clerks of Stationery—Marine Secretaries, and Judge Advocates? And, after all these attempts had failed, did he not banish and adopt every measure calculated to ruin this victim of his oppression, by utterly destroying his property—the means he looked to for supporting his children? Where, then, is his boasted humanity, or goodness or greatness of heart? Has he shown himself capable of forgiving an individual for triumphing over him and his minions of Secretaries?—yes, Mr. BULL! triumphing over them and you as far as it is possible for intellect and honesty and truth to triumph over falsehood and physical force.

"HUMANITY," did he say? What humanity was shown to Colonel O'Brien, Sir W. Rumbold, or the thousands of creditors involved in the ruin of that house, whose members were banished without trial, and their property confiscated and torn from them, without any sign of compunction or remorse—nay, without taking time to read the papers, he rushed on his hapless prey with ravenous haste, lest Lord Amherst should arrive and save it from his deadly grasp. Little did Mr. Secretary Mackenzie know, while he ventured thus to eulogize this leader of his party, that their deeds had been laid naked and bare before the eyes of an indignant

British public; and although they may cower for a little time longer in Calcutta, where none dare answer; so sure as there is justice in the universe, the oppressors will yet be made to drink the bitterest dregs of the cup of humiliation and repentance for their treatment of Messrs. Palmer and Co., and compelled to pay the uttermost farthing.

On the health of Mr. John Palmer being given, Sir Francis Macnaghten mentioned, that he had received a letter from him, lamenting his inability to attend on account of indisposition. "I love him dearly," said Sir Francis, "and in every word of his letter I recognize the warm heart of my old friend, Jack Palmer." On which Mr. Sutherland proposed the health of "Sir Francis's friend, Jack Palmer," which was received with the loudest acclamations.

A very sensible address was presented to him by the Native inhabitants of Calcutta, which we understand to be those of the Hindoo community, paying him a very high tribute of approbation. We have only room for two extracts, which show that by far the largest and the most important part of the population long to be relieved of the Company's yoke, and to be governed instead by the laws of England, under the protection of the crown. They say:—

We flatter ourselves, that while you have enjoyed the most ample opportunities of appreciating our general character, you have also learnt, that *we are far from insensible to the invaluable gifts which the laws of England never fail to confer on those who are happily subject to them*, when those laws are administered in the able, impartial, upright, and independent manner in which we have uniformly seen them dispensed by your hand.

The pains which you have uniformly bestowed in making yourself acquainted with our laws and institutions, have long been known to us all; and the result, honourable to yourself is now before the world; while the integrity, wisdom and firmness which you have no less uniformly displayed in dispensing those laws as in duty bound, in the spirit of British jurisprudence, have eminently taught us to estimate aright the distinguished privilege we enjoy of living under the Crown of England. You will carry with you, in the approbation of your own conscience, the highest reward which the public servant can attain. We assure you, with the utmost sincerity and truth, that if our testimony to the success of your exertions in promoting the public weal in India, can add to the value of this reward, we give it with the utmost cordiality and delight.

The expression here made use of, "the distinguished privilege we enjoy," applies to their situation as living in Calcutta within the jurisdiction of the Court, contrasted with the hapless condition of their millions of countrymen under the Company's laws in the interior. This address was signed, it is said, by about 150 of the most respectable natives of Calcutta; and Sir Francis, in reply, used among others the following expressions:—

In my situation, I must, as you say, have had the most ample opportunities of appreciating your general character; and from my knowledge I can pronounce it to be honourable to yourselves. It is such as to give weight to your opinions, and such as to make me receive your approbation of my conduct with pleasure and with pride.

There are many among you whose talents and attainments might render them conspicuous in any country. There are many with whom I could, have wished to pass much of my time, and if I have refrained from such intercourse since I held my present office, it was not because I ceased to remember the satisfaction which I experienced in the society of Hindoo Gentlemen when I was here in another situation.

Sir Francis intimates that he had abstained from familiar intercourse with them since holding the situation of Judge, upon principle; and it

was a wise and prudent course, such intimacy being liable in India to produce a suspicion of partiality or something worse in the discharge of the judicial functions. We wish, however, that he could have added, with equal truth, his keeping aloof from convivial and social intercourse with the heads of the Company's Government, whose despotic conduct he was sent out to check, on the same high grounds. But when he bears such high testimony to the Natives, that their characters were honourable to themselves, their talents were fit to distinguish them in any society, and that their approbation was a subject of just pride,—on what ground would he exclude such men from the privilege of sitting upon juries? Among these 150 Natives of respectability and intelligence, could he have found none to supply the place of the boys, lunatics, and illiterate men, who used to officiate as jurymen in his court, as was offered to be proved at the bar? Sir Francis cannot but feel, therefore, that he still owes a duty to the natives of India, and although now far distant from them, should not forget their claims upon his friendly aid in removing so great a grievance.

Besides an Address from the Attornies of the Court, there was one from the Mohammedan inhabitants of Calcutta, a most unique composition, which could hardly have been better written if intended as a burlesque, to show the vanity and emptiness of all such Oriental compliments; and Sir Francis, for one, showed his good sense by telling them very plainly that the praise bestowed on him he was sensible he did not deserve. They say:—

From the period when your Lordship arrived in this country, you have evinced the possession of *all human excellencies*, of knowledge, of humanity, of justice, of fortitude, of generosity, of kindness, and of condescension. You have been an example of the truth of the divine saying, "And thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers, who say, We are Christians."

You have employed yourself in redressing the aggrieved, in comforting the distressed, in extending indulgence to all descriptions of inhabitants of this city, in elevating the character of the respectable part of the community, in preserving the station, and respecting the condition of all classes of society, and in securing to all ranks of people the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. You have indulged the natural bent of your disposition in the performance of just and equitable actions. The inhabitants of this country, both near and remote, have reposed in the shade of your beneficence, and, in the happiness of their hearts, are praying for the preservation of honour and glory to one so celebrated and so virtuous.

This address, which we have now the honour unanimously to present to your Lordship, contains *nothing but fact*. It is not offered for the purpose of praise and panegyric, but rendered as a duty which we owe to truth. We now crave permission to place the gem of prayer on your illustrious head. So long as the heavens shall continue to revolve, may the Almighty plunge your enemies into the abyss of adversity, and may he exalt your friends and well-wishers to the pinnacle of prosperity. We pray that your Lordship's return to your country be associated with all happiness and prosperity; that you may enjoy long life; and that, as long as the morning zephyrs of spring shall produce the variegated beauties of nature, so long may the tree of your hope bring forth spontaneous blossoms of good fortune in the verdant garden of your native land!

Of the interior of India little knowledge can be obtained; but the disturbances mentioned here and there, from time to time, leave no ground to suppose that the internal police is at all improved.

Letters from Saugor, of the 5th inst., mention the re-appearance of the Freebooter D'herring Sing, with about sixty followers. This being the time of the principal collections, is the reason why he has chosen it for re-

assembling his gang, the numbers of whom are daily increasing; but a party of Irregulars have been detached by General Arnold against them, and no doubt they will prevent the Decoit from committing any injury, if they do not succeed in capturing him.

OPERATIONS IN ASSAM.

During the past month, a fresh gleam of hope has been shed on the prospects of the war in India, by the accounts received of the surrender of Rungpoor, the capital of Assam, to the Company's troops under Lieut.-Colonel Richards. This frontier kingdom having been taken military possession of by the Burmese, only two or three years ago, their power there had not acquired any degree of solidity; and so far from being prepared to resist a foreign enemy, it appears they could with difficulty maintain their authority over their new subjects. In the public despatches from Bengal, referring to the proceedings in the Supreme Council of the 27th of June, 1823, little more than half a year before the war commenced, it is stated, that the Commissioner of Rungpoor had reported the actual strength of the Burmese force in Assam, to be "reduced very low;" and that "they were supposed to be placed in a situation of some difficulty, from a rising of the Mohammers and other Native tribes, who, unable any longer to endure their TYRANNY," (every Asiatic Government knows it may justly bring this charge against every other,) "had united together, and successfully attacked their oppressors on several occasions." This being the case in 1823, and the Burmese having since then had too much occasion for their troops in other parts of the empire, to be able to reinforce those in Assam, it is only surprising they have been able to preserve their conquests in that country so long, and are able to make a show of resistance, when the Natives are aided by the Company's forces: more especially as the Company's agents had for years past, by every underhand means, been stimulating the Native Chiefs to insurrection, and supplying them with arms and ammunition, to ensure a successful revolt against the Burmese governors of the country. The latter may now, therefore, consider themselves fortunate, if they are enabled to retire with their troops to aid in the defence of their own territory.

On the 27th of January, the advanced position of the invading force under Lieut.-Colonel Richards, (his head-quarters being Gowree Sagur,) were attacked by the enemy at Nawdong Nullah; and after a sharp conflict, in which Captain Macleod with his little band particularly distinguished themselves, our troops retired to draw them from the jungles. This manoeuvre having given them confidence to show themselves, their position was charged and carried with great gallantry; the loss of the enemy, besides some arms and prisoners, being estimated at 100 men.

On the 29th of January, Colonel Richards pushed on his force towards Rungpoor, marching at daybreak, in the following order, as described in his official despatch:—

1st. The detachment 64th Regt. (Light Company leading) the advanced guard, from which a Havildar's party was sent 100 paces on in front. 2d. The Volunteer cavalry. 3d. The Brigade of howitzers, drawn by elephants. 4th. The 57th regiment right in front. 5th. The two 12-pounder carronades on elephants, with ammunition attached. 6th. The Dinagore local battalion. 7th. The Rungpoor light infantry. 8th. The spare ammunition.

The enemy had a stockade across the road leading to Rungpoor, said

to be defended by 200 men, with some guns. The first discharge from it brought down more than half of the leading division, which caused a momentary check. A couple of shells and a round or two of grape having been thrown into the stockade, Captain Macleod was directed to make an assault with the right wing of the 57th, which he did in fine style, aided by a detachment of the 46th, which rushed forward to support him. When they were in the act of carrying the stockade, Colonel Richards was wounded. He, however, ordered the guns and column to advance, and for Major Waters to take possession of a stockaded tank on the right. Two mosques, one about 400 yards on the right, and another on the left, being also occupied, the enemy were driven from all points, and the fort of Rungpore completely invested on the south.

In the affair of the 27th, the only injury sustained, on our side, was, in having two wounded: Lieutenant Kennedy, in the head, slightly, and a sepoy. In this action, however, the loss in wounded was comparatively heavy, from the troops being a considerable time exposed to a cross-fire. Besides the injury received, as stated by the Lieutenant-Colonel himself, Lieutenant J. Brook was wounded severely, not dangerously; and about fifty of the Native officers and men, some of them severely. The firing from the fort continued during the night; but next morning, (the 30th,) about 10 o'clock, a flag of truce was displayed, and the Raj Gooroo, or Chief Priest, was sent to Colonel Richards to ascertain the objects of the British invasion. Being informed by Colonel Richards that he meant to drive the Burmese out of the country, and take possession of it for the Company, the Chief Priest retired to consult his principals, and returned, according to agreement, to propose terms. He stated, that the Chiefs were divided in opinion: two, those of Saum and Baglee, being willing to enter into an agreement with us; but that those attached to the Burmese cause were the most powerful. After some negotiation, it was therefore stipulated that the Burmese party should be allowed to retire with all their forces to their own country, provided they proceeded by the directest route, and committed no ravages by the way; and that when they had evacuated the fortress, the other faction should then surrender it to the British; and that all their followers should deliver up their arms, with warlike stores of all descriptions; but their personal property, wives, and children were guaranteed to them. Col. Richards expresses his satisfaction at having effected this capitulation, considering the strength of the place, defended by more than 200 pieces of ordnance; the impossibility of preventing the Burmese garrison from effecting a retreat, and also of pursuing them, while he depended for supplies wholly on the fleet, lying twenty miles distant. He therefore declared he could not possibly proceed further, under any circumstances, until the arrival of land-carriage from the provinces.

It will be highly gratifying to those connected with the Bengal army to observe, that this conquest, and the withdrawal of the Burmese from Assam, the only thing of any importance that has been done since the commencement of the war, has been achieved entirely by Native troops; another proof of the value of the sepoy when well-treated, and under the command of officers who know the proper management of this description of force. We do not hear of Lieutenant-Colonel Richards tying pieces of hog's flesh round the necks of his men, or shooting them, because they are unwilling to be worked as coolies, the exploits of certain

other Indian Generals. There is no probability of so small a force as that now at Rungpore being able to penetrate to the Burmese capital of Amérapura, the distance being not less than six or seven degrees, and the route totally unknown, although it is inferred that there must be a passable road at least for Burmese troops, since they found their way so lately to Assam to effect the conquest of that country, which is now again, apparently nearly wrested from them.

SYLHET FRONTIER.

The accounts from Cachar, dated the 1st of February, paint, in strong colours, the difficulties of the country which impede the progress of our troops. The natural obstacles are said to be so great, that it would require fifteen hundred or two thousand pioneers to clear away the jungle, and enable them to reach Munnipoor by the first of March. But with 220, which was about the number then efficient, the whole season would hardly be enough (according to the opinions expressed by those on the spot) to accomplish the clearance of a road, such as would enable the artillery to proceed. By the rule of three, as one-tenth the number of workmen must take ten times longer to perform the same labour, it would not be finished in less than eight or ten months. But they have only one or two remaining, for the rains set in about the end of April. The jungles through which they have to cut, are described as consisting of almost every variety, more or less troublesome and obnoxious in their qualities: rank grass, reeds, bamboos, rattan twigs, brambles, creepers, &c.; in some places intersected with puddles of water; at others, so dense as to cover the ground with fetid air and rottenness, the rays of the sun even being unable to penetrate, except in small spots of a few inches diameter, once in a hundred yards. Through this the pioneers were working their way, at the rate of one or two miles a day; besides this, occasional nullahs or streams intervene, from twenty to forty yards broad, and from fifteen to thirty feet deep, with banks perfectly perpendicular, and beds of soft rotten mud, into which an animal sinks so far, that it cannot extricate itself when loaded. To render these passable for laden cattle and large guns, was a labour of great magnitude and difficulty, occupying three or four days when a bridge was required, and little less to form a ford, by making a road of firmer earth through the bed. The nullahs, in advance, were very numerous, but with better bottoms; namely, a mixture of fine sand and gravel. In crossing the hills further on, the labour would be still more increased.

The next obstacle was the difficulty of obtaining the means of subsistence; the Commissariat depots being at Sylhet, instead of near the scene of action; and bullocks, to transport provisions, hard to be procured. The country itself affords nothing, being either an uncultivated wilderness, or completely depopulated by the Burmese, who are persevering in the Russian policy of making the country a waste before their invaders.

The following is part of the substance of a letter given in the *India Gazette*, dated, Cachar, February 1st.

Our correspondant expresses fears, that, in advancing, their means of subsistence will be very precarious, and is surprised that the Commissariat depots, instead of being near the scene of action, should be at Sylhet. It is true, observes he, that from Doodpatlé, the rendezvous to the army, there is water car-

riage so far from the winding of the river it is six days sail, and when a portion is brought to Doodapatee, there is no cattle to transport it the remainder of the way. Even the pioneers were detained four days at Banskandee for want of food; it is therefore evident, as matters now stand, that a greater number of workmen on the road would be of no service, for they could not be fed by the Commissariat, and the country yields nothing. It is completely depopulated, and as far as I (our correspondent writes) have travelled through it, which is as far as any other person now with the force, I give you my word I have not seen forty men. The country to which we are going has been cleared of all resources by the Burmese, and the Nagas on the road can afford us nothing. They bring down their cottons into the plains, and, in exchange, carry back fowls, dogs, rice, &c. on which they live, when added to their yams, cucumbers, and plantains. They go naked. Their pigmy size, and sallow emaciated appearance, bear testimony to the bad quality and quantity of their food, and to the insalubrity of their climate.

From these we can obtain nothing, and it becomes accordingly necessary for the Commissariat to supply us all the way to Munnipoor, and while we remain there. For this purpose, they have at present no cattle; but we are told in a few days 600 bullocks will arrive; this has been said for the last three months, but none have yet made their appearance! When they do come, they will be inadequate to the supply of the force with provisions; should we advance; for they could not make more than one trip to Munnipoor; as by the time they reached it, the early rains will have set in, and all the nullahs will fill. There is no means of passing them, as the temporary bridges that have been thrown over them will be washed away, and even if they stood, the depth of water on the top of the bridges would drown a man.

Should this division, therefore, reach Munnipoor, unless very extraordinary precautions be taken, there is great danger of it proving to our troops, during the next rainy season, a second Rangoon.

On the 2d of February, it was reported that Lieutenant Fisher had returned from a reconnoitering excursion, having penetrated within twenty-four miles of Munnipoor. The latest accounts are letters from Doodapatee, dated the 14th and 17th of February, of which the following are extracts:—

Great exertions are making by the advanced detachment, to prepare the road for the army; the forest that has so long occupied the pioneers, has at length been nearly got through; the rain, however, that has fallen in Cachar, during the last week, has materially retarded the labour of the advanced party, and rendered some parts of the road they have made almost impassable for cattle of any kind. In one part of it, we learn, there are no less than thirty-two nullahs to cross in the short space of three miles, the beds of which are a perfect quagmire.

We are unable to state what the plan of operations will be on reaching the hills, but it is generally supposed that the army must advance successively by single corps.

What force the enemy have at Munnipore for our reception, is not distinctly known; nor is it, as far as our information enables us to state, ascertained whether the Burmese contemplate meeting us at, or before reaching Munnipore.

From all we can learn, the enemy are not possessed of a particle of enterprise, or they might dispute every inch of ground through the hills; which present innumerable opportunities of opposing our advance, with comparatively few men.

There was a report in camp, that a few of the enemy had been seen beyond the forest reconnoitering; but from the nature of the country, it is extremely difficult to ascertain what their intentions are, until the army actually moves on.

The accounts we received of the state of the road, have been fully confirmed by letters, and the arrival of officers from the advanced party, who represent it as a succession of nullahs and swamps, through which cattle can scarcely move without loads; the rain has increased the difficulty very much, and unless we have some dry weather, it is considered next to a miracle, getting the train and cattle through the forest.

The right wing of Blair's horse and the 16th Local Battalion, are, it is said, to

precade the army. We regret to hear that numbers of pioneers have fallen sick, through the badness of the water, and the insalubrious climate.

A letter, dated the 9th of February, 33 miles in advance of Dood-paloo, says, "It is my opinion, and not an unsupported one, WE SHALL NEVER REACH MUNNIPPOOR, MERELY FOR WANT OF SUPPLIES!"

It is no easy matter to predict what difficulties may not be surmounted by troops disciplined and led on by British officers; therefore, we shall not hazard an opinion as to the fate of this army. But we are informed that the Duke of Wellington, on being told there were only 10,000 men going from Sylhet, looked at the map of the country, and said, the expedition would certainly fail!

CHITTAGONG FORCE.

The force advancing into Arracan, which crossed the frontier in the beginning of February, amounted to about 6000 men; and had proceeded so far as Loadhung without meeting any opposition. At this place, which is of little importance, no resistance was expected; and letters from the camp, dated the 13th of February, mention that it had been occupied by our troops without a shot being fired, the Burmese having evacuated it at their approach. They therefore expected, in a very short time to reach Arracan, the capital of the province of that name, where it was said the enemy had threatened to make a stand, and that the river leading to it was strongly stockaded. When these obstacles are overcome, there is of course little probability of the place itself holding out long. But in the event even of its being immediately surrendered, it may be doubted whether this be a better situation for the army passing the approaching rainy season than Rangoon itself. Orders, it appears, have been sent to Chittagong for building barracks for a thousand Europeans, a regiment of cavalry, and six regiments of infantry; whether with the view of the troops returning there to quarters during the approaching Monsoon, or of a force of that description being permanently stationed there, is not mentioned. Loadhung is, it appears, only 16 miles from the frontier station of Mungdoo, and Arracan 30 miles farther on; but whether it can be reached by land is uncertain. Supposing the latter gained, the next object is to reach the river Irrawaddy; the nearest point of which, Sombewghewn, is distant a degree and a half, through a wild unknown country, intersected by mountains, lakes and streams innumerable, never explored by European. Supposing this surmounted, they are still two degrees from Amerapura, the capital; their progress to which would of course be obstructed by all the force or ingenuity the Burmese could bring into action. Then the experiment will be tried, whether they may not make a more vigorous resistance in their own proper country, than in the foreign dependences of Assam, Arracan and Pegue, where, although some of them have been subjected a considerable time ago, the population is probably nearly neutral, and indifferent as to the result of the contest. Should Gen. Morrison attempt this alone, how is he to keep up a communication across such a country, and bring up supplies, deprived as he would be of water carriage, as soon as he proceeded any distance from the coast or the course of the Arracan River? Should he wait for the co-operation of the Rangoon force, the distance is too great to be accomplished by them before the rains, supposing them, after being so wasted by the last campaign, able to over-

come the difficulties opposed to them. If they were to attempt to effect a junction at Promé, the most they could expect would be to fix themselves here during the next rainy season, some hundred miles from the capital, and with a long and difficult river navigation to the sea, by which alone they could depend on receiving supplies. The utmost, therefore, that can be reasonably expected of the Chittagong force this campaign is, that it may take possession of Arracan. Its progress in the mean time was retarded by the difficulty of procuring carriage cattle; so that the troops had been marching at the rate sometimes of five miles a day! The following extract is from a letter, dated at the camp, lat. 20° 45' N. February 16th.

The Commissariat does not give us ignorant people much satisfaction. The poor servants and coolies are only allowed half a seer of rice per diem, upon which they are expected to live in a country covered with a very thick jungle. I hear we are to make to the sea shore, and march along it to the Arracan River, dependent of course on the shipping. In this march, and during our stay at Teak Naaf, the water gave us all bowel complaints, and our Sepoys were becoming sickly. Since our advance in Arracan, however, we are getting more healthy. We don't know what to think of this campaign—time is flying away rapidly. We are not far advanced, and have a becoming ignorance of the country between this and Arracan. However, come what may, if any Burmese make their appearance, I can insure them a hearty beating whilst our men remain in their present effective state.

RANGOON EXPEDITION.

The troops at Rangoon are, by the last accounts, still in the position they have occupied for nearly twelve months! The enemy were supposed to be in force at Lyng and Paulang, a place which appears, by the map, to be only ten or fifteen miles off, or almost in the suburbs of the city. Private accounts say that the conflagrations caused by the Burmese incendiaries, at the time of their grand attack, on the 14th of December, have been much more ruinous in their consequences than has been generally supposed. Being set fire to in several different places at once, the principal parts of the town were soon reduced to ashes, and the losses of the British merchants are said to have been very considerable: 'not a warehousé escaped;' and the Burmese loss, on that occasion, represented by Sir Archibald Campbell as a complete annihilation, has now dwindled down to 500 men. The imperfect intelligence possessed of the interior of the country, is abundantly made up by vague rumours of assassinations, divisions and quarrels, among the Burmese authorities. The story now is, that Bundoola, the commander, maintains a sullen and suspicious silence in the Mangoe-grove, at Donebow, while Moonshéza is encamped in his immediate front, with twenty thousand men, vainly endeavouring to gain access to the fallen chieftain, who, doubtful of his countryman's sincerity, or dreading his sovereign's resentment, will hold no communication with any one not living within the pale of his own defences.

The natives of the Province of Pegue, subject to the Burmese, are said to show a disposition to submit to British authority. An embassy also of Taliens, (as the antient Peguers are called), who have long lived under the protection of the Siamese government, was proceeding to Martaban, to confer with the British general at Rangoon. They wish, it is said, to assert their ancient rights, and promise to bring 5000 men into the field, to join the British. They profess to have the sanction of the King of Siam, who, they allege, is actuated by the same sentiments,

and willing to co-operate with the British troops, by ordering a corps of observation of thirty thousand men, now stationed upon the Burman frontier, to move upon any given point of the enemy's dominions. These symptoms of revolt have been so long in appearing, that it is to be feared the spirit of independence is nearly extinct among the Peguans, from their long subjection; consequently less reliance can be placed on their promised aid; and, as they seem to be, merely by a few desperate warriors. The time they have allowed to pass by before making these offers, renders their spirit and zeal very suspicious, and their professions look too like a desire merely to keep friends with the eventual conquerors. One of the Talien chiefs had succeeded in bringing over a number of the Peguans from the enemy's lines at Paulang, part of them bringing their arms with them, and their women and children were coming in by hundreds to Rangoon. A Calcutta paper says, that,

"In consequence of the disposition in our favour manifested by the inhabitants of the country, it has been determined to send an expedition, under Major Sale, of his Majesty's 13th Regiment, to proceed to Bassien, and obtain possession of that place, either by an amicable arrangement or by force of arms, and afterwards to advance, if practicable, to Heezadah, on the Irrawaddy, by the road leading from Bassein to that place, where it is expected that he will be joined by the column advancing from Rangoon, under the personal direction of the commander of the forces.

Notwithstanding these defections among their foreign subjects, and the desertion of some hundreds of women and children, (probably driven away by the scarcity of provisions, as they would have been a few months before from the British camp, and may soon be again,) the Burmese themselves, it is said, are still determined to make a stout resistance to the progress of the Rangoon force. The whole country round Rangoon is very strongly stockaded, and the enemy are observed making signals in their rear, as if there was a continuation of defences for some distance. The movement up the river was expected to take place early in February, in two divisions, one by land, and the other by water; the latter, under Brigadier General Cotton, to consist chiefly of the remainder of the King's 13th, and (the Calcutta *John Bull* says) of the troops that have suffered most from sickness; as if it were a pleasure trip for the recovery of their health! What can be expected of such a force, when it is known that the chief portion of it, the 13th, was reduced to little more than 100 effective men, and these are described, by officers who served with them in December, as so emaciated by famine, and worn out by disease, that they looked like walking skeletons rather than men. And so broken down was the constitution of many of the unfortunate European troops, who had been famished so long there, that their stomachs loathed food when at last it was procured them in greater plenty. The land force was to proceed by a route suggested by a Mr. Gibson and some Burmese guides, and to depend on the river party for their supplies. It is mentioned too, as very unfortunate, that "both the stream and the wind were at that season very much against the progress of the troops; and that neither the number nor experience of the boatmen is fully adequate to the difficulties to be encountered." Brigadier General McCreagh, who had been obliged to proceed to Calcutta for sometime, on account of his health, had returned, and was to remain as commandant of Rangoon, when Sir Archibald Campbell should set forward.

A private account says, that a most extraordinary order had been passed, respecting the discipline to be observed among the troops, namely, that no sepoy should take off his clothes. This certainly contemplates very active service; but as it appears that the Native troops are accustomed never to dress or eat their food, with their clothes on, how they are to live under such a law, is a problem of some difficulty. As a specimen of the rumours circulated in India respecting the distractions alleged to exist among the enemy, we quote the following from an Indian paper, from which it appears that the Calcutta politicians employ the word "massacre" to signify the killing of one man by the Burmese: they would not for the world apply so harsh a term to the simultaneous destruction of several hundreds of their own sepoys by their own troops!

Rangoon, February 3, 1825.—The Siamese deputation have arrived; and great part of the Burmese army from Paulong have also deserted, and are coming, as well as 3 or 4000 inhabitants. Our boats have been employed the last days in bringing them in. They say that the King of Ava has positively been *massacred* by his brother-in-law, who has usurped the throne, and that Moucheza had arrived at Prome, with the late King's son, a minor, for the purpose of saving him from being *massacred*: and also to try to get an army to dethrone the usurper, and to place the young Prince upon it. They describe the country, as being in the most distracted state, and state that there is greater devastation and desolation about Ava than here. I do not know how much they are to be believed.

DESCENT ON RAMREE ISLAND.

Part of the force stationed on the island of Cheduba, which was occupied by our troops at an early period of the war, was employed, in the beginning of February, to make a descent on the island of Ramree, still held by the Burmese, which lies between the former and the mainland, or coast of Arracan. Captain Hardy having reconnoitered the place, by proceeding with the *Hastings* frigate twenty or thirty miles between the island and the main, landing in various places along the coast, burning some villages, and taking one or two prisoners; sufficient information it was thought had been obtained to enable them to make a descent on the island. Accordingly, on the 29th of January, 500 Sepoys of the 40th Regiment, with two six-pounders, two howitzers, and forty-eight European Artillerymen, embarked on the *Francis Warden* and *Planet*, which were accompanied by some gun-boats, the whole under the command of Colonel Hampton; under whom were Major Murray, Captains Hardy, Hall and Warden, and other officers. On the 2d of February, the expedition arrived off Ramree Creek, into which it was resolved to proceed in boats; and it was found to be not dangerous, as had been reported, but a capacious harbour, capable of containing a hundred sail of the line with safety. Four miles up, the progress of the reconnoitering party was impeded by a row of stakes driven across the river, through which, however, a passage was cut; and some hundred yards farther by another much more formidable palisading, consisting of nine rows, protected by breast-works on the banks, so skillfully arranged, that it would be impossible to effect a passage without great loss. This information being obtained, the forces next morning landed on a plain below the first row of stakes, without opposition. The reserve, consisting of about a hundred men, were left here under Captain Hardy; the ground being too swampy for the guns to advance. The rest of the troops pushed

on through a long narrow swampy flat, skirted on each side by a dense thicket of jungle. The guides were two Burmese and a doobashee, or interpreter, to whom the party attribute their subsequent failure; and on this account brand them as "villains," forgetting that the greatest villainy men can be guilty of, is to betray their own countrymen by becoming the guides of foreign invaders! Supposing a French force were ever to land in England; and needed a guide, would not the Englishman who might venture to mislead them be applauded as a "patriot;" and he, if such a wretch existed, who should give them such information as might enable them to conquer his countrymen, be execrated as the villain and traitor? Similar feelings must be expected in every country.

The guides had promised, it is said, to lead them to a stockade; and they came indeed upon a small fortified place, but of no importance. The Burmese fell back as they advanced, but kept up a galling fire from the thicket, where it was impossible to return it. Their progress was also impeded by several nullahs, (creeks, or streams,) which they did not expect, and after marching in the heat of the sun till three hours after mid-day, they found themselves exhausted with fatigue, harassed by the enemy from the thickets, and at every step they took in greater danger of being cut off. One of the party describes their situation, and the retreat, which now became unavoidable, as follows:—

We went on through the plain, drove the enemy from a small breach near the end of it, turned to our right as directed by our guides, and were brought up by another nullah and jungle, so close that it was impossible for more than one person to pass at a time. What some of us had for some time suspected now became evident, viz., that the doobashee and guides had betrayed us. We had seen nothing of the stockade to which they promised to lead us, and which I am convinced we should have carried in five minutes by escalade; we were surrounded by hills and jungle in which the enemy swarmed; who, though they did not dare attack us or await our charge, yet took advantage of the nature of the country to snipe at us incessantly. We were nearly four miles from our boats, and the day was far spent, it being near three, P. M., our men excessively fatigued, and much in want of water. Under these circumstances, it was deemed prudent to return, and we retraced our steps to the hill, under a galling fire from the enemy, who had re-occupied the parts from which we had so lately driven them. Lieutenant Bell's men, and our light company covered the retreat. I had my share of it, having remained amongst the last, trying to get off the wounded, and occasionally sniping with my double-barrelled gun at the enemy, who pressed close upon us, and became more daring as we retreated. We were obliged to leave three or four dead bodies behind us, and had great difficulty in bringing off the wounded. We got off the nullah, No. 2, pretty well, but when we came to No. 1, we were quite fagged; I, as well as seven other officers, wanted the men to make a stand here, but in vain; they passed by in spite of all we could do.

Bell, with a few of his Europeans and a few of our light company, stood by us. We dashed into the nullah and stuck fast. I fired my gun, but reserved my shot to shoot myself through the head when the enemy came up; the Major, the Adjutant, Bell, and Lieutenant Boyer of the frigate, all stuck fast; and had we not been dragged out, should have fallen into the hands of the Burmese, who were not a hundred yards behind us. I was dragged out by a sepoy of the light corps, and an Arab of the frigate: a little way from this, we met the enemy advancing; a few discharges from the guns set the Burmese to the flight about 3 P. M. We embarked that evening; about seven were killed, and twenty five wounded.

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to be hardly able to move their limbs; owing to the heavy swamps, &c. of the ground; but intimated that they would make the attempt again if they had a reinforcement. Such operations are sufficient to destroy the finest troops in the world, in a country so inaccessible, with a climate so destructive, especially to Europeans. In this way the Indian Army is worn out, and wasted away in a war commenced without a cause to justify it, and apparently carried on without any definite object, merely because it is begun!

MADRAS.

We have received from this Presidency a number of newspapers of January and February, whose remarkable characteristic, as usual, is, that they contain information about the state of public affairs in every quarter of the globe except that whence they proceed, respecting which the most profound silence is observed. Private accounts, however, still represent the public mind as strongly agitated by the events which had lately occurred in other parts of India, and the interior as more and more unsettled. The reports afloat of bands of armed men making their appearance in some quarters are too vague to be given in detail. But this is certain, that Sir Thomas Munro, after having resolved to take his departure for Europe, in the ship *Asia*, forfeited his passage-money; public affairs imperiously demanding his continuance at the helm of Government. The numerous officers returned from Rangoon, on sick certificate, disgusted with the service, had created the most melancholy impression respecting the prospects of the Burmese war; and its upward progress had already excited such a sensation in the native mind, that if it were protracted for another season, as there was every apprehension of, great fears were entertained for the public tranquillity. The public rejoicings ordered for the pretended triumphs of our arms were ridiculed as mere artifices resorted to for the purpose of disguising our failure and disgrace. The officers lately from Rangoon thought that the force there could not possibly stand exposure in that country to another rainy season, just about to commence, their health being already so completely undermined. The humanity of the Madras Government, which has been before evinced in this unfortunate expedition, in supplying the omissions of the supreme authority, had suggested the expedient of enlisting a number of old women, at three pagodas a month, to go to Rangoon, and make bread for the European soldiers.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—SYMPTOMS OF REFORM.

Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, of the 11th of May state, that the *Owen Glendower* had arrived bringing despatches from England of a nature to astound the proud and imperious Proconsul of Afric. It is said, that Lord Bathurst had communicated to the Governor the long catalogue of accusations against him, and intimated, that as his Lordship might find it expedient to return to England and defend himself, he (Lord Charles Somerset) was authorized by Ministers to request Sir Louis Cole, Governor of the Isle of France, to repair to the Cape to officiate as Governor *ad interim*. When this happens to a flower of the aristocracy, it is possible that so great a man as Lord Amherst (even

may be called upon to "render an account of his stewardship, for he may no longer be steward." "When such things are done in a green tree, what may be done in a dry?" The above intelligence had put the colonists in high spirits, combined with the accounts received in letters from Mr. Greig, editor and proprietor of *The African Advertiser*, suppressed after the Indian fashion, "in a manner (says a contemporary) unworthy of the Holy Alliance," but so little characteristic of an English nobleman, whether Whig or Tory. Mr. Greig (who is now on his way back to the Cape) was immediately to re-establish his paper under the full protection of his Majesty's Government at home. This is another proof of the superiority of Colonial to Company's government. It would be a long while ere the Court of Directors (were their charter to last for ever) would send back an independent editor, transported by their servants for his honest exposure of their conduct, to re-establish his paper under the Court's special patronage and protection.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

WE should have noticed sooner the second set of papers laid before Parliament relating to the discussions with the Burmese Government, but that they contained so little worthy of attention. When the East India Company are ordered to produce their official documents, to explain to the nation the nature of their transactions in the East, it may be good policy to lay before Parliament a mass of papers so voluminous, and bearing so little on the question at issue, that not one in a hundred will undergo the drudgery of reading them "to find out the grain of wheat hid in the bushel of chaff." This is very much the case in the present instance; and those few who do read them, declare that there is not even one grain to reward the labour of the search. We have not come exactly to the same conclusion, and may hereafter show, that these papers, taken in connexion with the other evidence procurable from various sources, serve very well to elucidate the general course of the Company's Indian policy; that there has been a continual jealousy between them and the Burmese Government, because the one could not see the prosperity of the other without envy, if not malice. On the one hand, the golden monarch of Ava could not be brought to look with reverence upon the servants and agents of a Company of Traders; that ignorant barbarian and despot, (as these patrons of liberty call him in bitter reproach,) was never able to understand how a body of merchants could be entitled to the homage of sovereigns; owing to which, he sometimes gave offence to their "high mightinesses," by calling their memorials petitions, and slighting their envoys who assumed to rank with his wools and whoongees. The Company's servants, burning with the desire to vindicate their sovereign dignity by force of arms, insulted his golden majesty, by affording protection to all his rebels, who took refuge in the Company's territories, and there mustering their strength, made frequent irruptions into the golden dominions. Provoked by such unkindly con-

duct, his majesty often threatened in his anger to make his troops pursue the rebels in the Company's territories, or wherever they found shelter, even, if necessary, to the ends of the earth. Against this the Company protested, as contrary to the law of nations; and his majesty was generally satisfied with promises, not however well kept, that the fugitives so protected should not be allowed to levy war against him from the Company's dominions. This happened first with regard to the Arakan frontier, and latterly that of Assam, which is now deserving of more particular attention on account of the late operations in that quarter.

Assam had been for some time distracted by a disputed succession, and the struggles of contending factions, each of which, to gain the ascendancy, was eager to call in the assistance of foreign troops. The British Government was applied to, and might have established its supremacy in that country long ago, if it had chosen to take advantage of its internal distractions. But the Marquis of Hastings avoided all interference in its affairs, as repugnant to sound policy, and also to the rule laid down by the British Parliament, which strictly enjoins that our Indian empire, already so overgrown, should be confined to its present limits, and condemns all further wars of aggression and extension of dominion. The Burmese, however, restrained by no such considerations, took advantage of the circumstances of Assam to establish their authority in that country. This appears to have vehemently excited the jealousy of the Company's servants abroad, who write, in July 1823: (Second Parliamentary Papers, p. 122.)

The Burmese nation (by having obtained military occupation of Assam) has thus come in contact with our territories at another and most inconvenient point, and have acquired the command of the upper part of the Burrampooter.

This revolution originated in there being several competitors for the throne: one called Chunder Kaunt, another Poorunder Sing, and a third styled Phunzadur. The Burmese first assisted the former, so as to give him a temporary ascendancy; and then taking the last under their protection, expelled his rivals. The cause of this change is not explained; whether they were guided in their decision by the principle of legitimacy, or, like our own Edward in the case of Bruce and Baliol, by views of self-interest, which seems fully as probable. The British Government, with equal inconsistency, although not equally open in its conduct, while it professed neutrality, gave underhand assistance, first to the one and then to the other, in hopes that any party might finally prevail rather than that of the Burmese. They notwithstanding succeeded in establishing their power, and soon after, about the middle of 1822, an incident happened, remarkable from its resemblance to that regarding the worthless island of Shahporee, so famous as the cause of the war. At the time of the arrival of the Burmese, there was a flag upon a certain island of the Burrampooter near Goalpara, supposed to belong to the British territory, in order to distinguish it from the Assamese. Our right to the island so claimed was denied by the Burmese, who threatened, it is said, to take possession of it by force. On this the Bengal Government observes: (Proceedings of Sept. 1822.)

As the object of dispute in the above case was a mere worthless sand-bank, and we saw reason to believe that the Burmese were disposed to settle the question of right amicably, from their having requested that a person acquainted with the boundary might be deputed to discuss matters with them, we did not consider it

expedient to commit ourselves by taking any serious notice of the affair; nor indeed was the information before us of a sufficiently positive and distinct character to admit of our issuing specific instructions in reply!

While yet acting in this rational and circumspect manner, how little did the Council anticipate that, in a little more than a year after, when the Marquis of Hastings should no longer preside over their decisions, they would do the very thing they here condemn. They then committed themselves upon a "worthless sand bank," respecting which they had no distinct information. With Lord Amherst as their pilot, they ran the vessel of the state against it, and plunged into a ruinous war on grounds which Lord Hastings would have thought unworthy of his notice, and insufficient even to warrant putting pen to paper, in dictating a despatch.

A more serious subject of reflection occupied the Council: namely, the necessity of adopting some measure for the more complete security of the north-eastern frontier, on account of the great change that had taken place; "the substitution (as they express it) of a warlike and comparatively speaking powerful Government, instead of the feeble administration that formerly ruled Assam." It was conceived, that if the Burmese forces felt inclined at any time "to assert their claim to the Dacca province, or to plunder that rich country, it would be impossible for the British power either effectually to oppose them, or to overtake them on their retreat, without some other description of force than troops unwilling or unaccustomed to act both as boatmen and soldiers." It was, therefore, suggested, that a guard of gun-boats should be formed for the protection of the trade and navigation of the Burrampooter river, adapted to such a service, to act in co-operation with any body of troops stationed in that quarter. The Marquis of Hastings having, in this manner, arranged such a plan of defence as he thought adequate to the nature or circumstances of the country, the relations of amity between the two states remained undisturbed.

After his resignation, however, of the Governor-Generalship, such apprehensions seem to have increased in the Bengal Council. In their public despatch of September 10, 1824, it is stated, on the authority of Mr. Scott, Commissioner in Rungpore, reporting on the strength of the Burmese in Assam, that such was the nature of the country, and the facility of bringing down the largest army by means of the river with the utmost celerity, that should the Burmese at any time determine upon invading the British territory by way of the Burrampooter, previous intelligence of their designs, supposing them to act with common prudence, could not be obtained in *this* quarter, in sufficient time to be of any avail; for, on the supposition of an army being sent into Assam for the above purpose, they might reach Dacca in fifteen days from the time of their arrival on the banks of the upper part of the river, and in five from that of their appearance on our frontier of Gowalpara. No previous extraordinary collection of boats, Mr. Scott stated, would be required, nor any extensive preparations near our frontier that might excite suspicion, as the Burmese soldiers carry nothing with them but their arms, subsisting upon what they can find in the country they pass through, and proceeding, after they reach the streams flowing into the Burrampooter, upon rafts made of bamboos, until they are able to seize a sufficient number of boats for their accommodation; which is very easily effected in a country where for four months in the year the communication from house to

house, is by water, and where a canoe is as necessary a part of a husbandman's establishment, as a plough or a pair of oxen.

In conjunction with these alarming representations, no mention is made of the guard of boats stationed at Gowalpara, and other defensive measures adopted by Lord Hastings. These are now overlooked, as affording no security; although, in point of fact, persons acquainted with the country are of opinion, that with such means of defence a better frontier could not be selected, there being only a narrow tract of country by which an enemy could advance, but completely commanded by a force of the proper description stationed in that quarter, while our territories are completely flanked by ranges of hills extending thence on both sides. But Lord Amherst and his Councillors seem to have imagined that the Burmese would dart down the river like a shoal of salmon rushing into a net, without making the least inquiry about how they were to return, or subsist themselves when cut off by our troops in their rear. How far they may have succeeded in alarming the Court of Directors is uncertain; but it appears highly probable, that the Indian Government had this in view in declaring war, fully as much as the assertion of their claim to the mud-bank of Shapuree. It appears that, in 1822, they were invited to undertake the recovery of Assam from the Burmese by one of the claimants to the throne, Poorunder Sing, who, in the event of his restoration, offered to pay a yearly tribute of three lacs of rupees, and defray the whole expenses of the war. We, therefore, venture to prognosticate, that the Company will declare this Pretender to be the lawful sovereign of Assam; unless his rival Chunder Kaunt offer better terms.

EAST INDIA ACCOUNTS.

The accounts laid by the Company this year before Parliament, seem to have been drawn up with the view of keeping the nation in entire ignorance of the real state of its pecuniary affairs. For it is impossible to form any correct judgment of its financial situation from a mere statement of the remittances to England, and payments in this country. In the political and territorial branch, we have an account of receipts to the amount of one million and eighty-one thousand, and disbursements two millions eight hundred and seven thousand, or nearly three times the former sum. But there is no statement of the produce of the territorial revenue of India, the public charges attending the government of their territories, or those of the Burmese war; things which it is as much the right of the House of Commons to know and attend to, as the revenue and expenditure of the three kingdoms. It is, indeed, their bounden duty to watch over the measures adopted by the Company to increase its Indian territorial debt, which it anticipates ultimately fixing upon the nation at the expiration of its charter. The accounts present a balance of 1,594,644*l.* in favour, on the 1st of May, 1825; but the estimate for the present year 1825-6, is, that there will be a balance against the Company of 348,632*l.*; so that Lord Amherst's administration has had a perceptible influence on the finances—having depressed the home treasury almost two millions sterling! The state of the Indian exchequer is no secret. It is stated in a memorandum, that the operations of the war had suspended the shipment of bullion for England. Yet a hope is formed, from the tenor of the last advices, that a consignment will still

be made so as to become applicable to the demands of the current year. In dictating these sanguine despatches, his Lordship probably had in view the produce of the four per cent. loan, or of the transactions with the Calcutta Shroffs, which on trial have turned out so admirably. The bills of exchange from India, payable by the home treasury, this year, are stated at upwards of a million and a half, or nearly double their amount in the year which is past. These are sufficient symptoms of how things stand; and as the English nation is to become responsible for the debt which is now contracting, the Company ought to be compelled to lay before Parliament a full and fair statement of its actual receipts and disbursements, in the same manner as is done by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, without evasion or concealment.

For the same reason that induced us, last month, to give a specimen of the sentiments of various leading English journals on Indian affairs, we here present a short extract from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 21st ult. referring to the late intelligence from Bengal:—

The extracts from the Calcutta papers, which we published yesterday, will convince all those who before doubted, if any man did really doubt, the total incapacity of the present head of the Government of India for the important station which he fills.

The observations of the Editors of these papers are such as might be expected from a degraded servile press, tolerated on condition of lauding all the measures of Government. These editors pass high encomiums on the firmness of Lord Amherst, in retaining possession of Rangoon, from which happy measure all their late successes have arisen!

Now we ask our readers, or any person acquainted with military matters, why all these events would not have been accomplished as well by employing our troops, after the capture of Rangoon, in some other part of the coast of Burma, and stationing a small naval force to blockade that port and river, instead of leaving those gallant men in a state of inactivity, to starve and perish from the climate in that horrible place.

The wise men of the East now begin to try the course which ought to have been adopted long before a soldier was landed on the Burmese territory,—that is, negotiating alliances with the people in Arracan, Assam, Pegue, and the Siamese.

Lord Amherst had before him the example of the most enlightened statesmen who ever held the office of Governor-General of India,—the Marquises Cornwallis, Wellesley, and Hastings.

We have it on record, that not a soldier entered the Mysore country, or a demand was made upon Tippoo Sultan, until treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, were concluded with the states on his frontier, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, and with those tributaries under his protection who were known to be inimical to his Government; the army in an efficient state to move forward with effect on his capital; and not before every information was obtained of the nature and resources of the country we were about to invade.

The Marquis of Hastings followed this course in all the wars he carried on so successfully against the Mahrattas and the Pindarees, in Central India.

Not so in the present instance:—we attempted to conquer an extensive, powerful empire, with 10,000 men, without any preparatory arrangement or knowledge of the country, and commenced operations at a season of the year, against a place from which it was impossible to advance into the interior of the country, or to remain in with safety from its pestilential climate, and with an equipment totally inadequate to any other purpose than a *coup de main*.

We understand, that so very limited was the supply of provisions and ordnance stores sent with the division from Bengal, the granary and chief military depot of India, that within a month after its arrival at Rangoon, the Commissariat of the Madras division was called upon for a supply of both!

DECISION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON THE SUBJECT OF THE
INDIAN PRESS.

We have at length received an official report of the decision of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, respecting the Appeal against the laws for licensing the Press in India.—That these noble and learned personages are "most honourable," no man must presume to doubt: but that they are "most wise," is not so easy of demonstration. After hearing the arguments urged on both sides of the debated question, they have determined "that it is not repugnant to English law, to place the press in India under a license revocable at the pleasure of a Governor-General in Council."—They might with just as much reason and truth have decided that it is not repugnant to English law to hang, draw, and quarter, any man in India, without a trial. Our readers will perhaps remember, that during the passing of the Six Acts, the Ministers of England were reproached in Parliament with having contemplated the odious measure of placing the press under a censorship, (a measure infinitely less objectionable than that of placing it under a license revocable at pleasure,) when they spurned the charge with indignation, as one that imputed to them a design to overturn the established laws of the land, and invade the dearest part of the British constitution. Now, however, the "wisdom" of these sages has discovered, that what was clearly repugnant to British law in one quarter of the globe, is not at all repugnant to it in another quarter of the same planet: or, in other words, that British law, instead of being the unchangeable and inflexible thing which it had hitherto been thought, is of most convenient suppleness, and capable of all degrees of mutation, so as to change its hue, like theameleon, with every change of time, place, and opportunity.

We have more to say on this topic than can be conveniently inserted here; and shall, therefore, reserve the publication of the official report until we can accompany it with the comment which it deserves. In the mean time, we warn our fellow-countrymen in India not to place any reliance on the protection of British law being extended to their lives, their fortunes, or their liberties. The two last have been invaded, and British law called in to aid rather than resist the violation. If the first should also be declared in India to be subject to the will and pleasure of the Governor-General in Council, there will not be wanting men in England, and those of his Majesty's most confidential advisers, who would readily decide that the power of life and death being lodged in the hands of an Indian Viceroy, was no more repugnant to the laws of England than the power of stripping them of their most valuable birthright, the freedom of speech and publication, subject only to punishment after a trial of their peers. Let them look to this matter as one of the most serious present import, and most portentous in its future consequences. We shall do *our* duty here; let them not neglect to do *theirs* where they are, and this too before it is too late, or their day of bitterness may come, when it will be in vain to repent it.

NEW COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT BOMBAY.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company have appointed Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Bradford, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of their forces at Bombay, and second in command at that Presidency.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT CONNECTED WITH
INDIAN AFFAIRS.

House of Lords, Monday, June 27, 1825.

INTEREST OF MONEY IN INDIA.

The Marquis of HASTINGS having moved the order of the day for the third reading of the East India Loans Bill,

Chief Justice BEST delivered the opinion of the Judges upon the question submitted to them on a previous evening;—that question was, “whether the provisions stated in the Bill before the House do truly set forth the intent and meaning of the clause in the Act at present in operation?” and it was the opinion of all the Judges that they do apply to the meaning and intent of that Act. Their Lordships being also unanimous that the words of the statute do not apply to contracts upon an interest above 12 per cent., in countries not under the immediate dominion of the British Government. It was a rule of law, and he thought a just and necessary one, that no penal statute was to be construed in any way, but strictly according to the spirit in which it was framed; and it was the opinion of himself and his brother Judges, that the statute would not bear the interpretation which had been attempted to be put upon it, namely, that it gave the power to punish usurious contracts entered into by British subjects, in countries not under the immediate control of the British Government. Such an interpretation could not be put upon it agreeably to its spirit, or without a forced construction. Other countries, it was considered, had the power to extend a protection or punishment of their own, to persons engaged in usurious contracts. In looking to the spirit of the Act, they had also considered that the law of usury must be regulated by the value of money; and it was not to be presumed that the Government of this country knew the extent of the value or want of money in remote countries of India; and that it should be able to make a law regulating an article which must be liable to infinite variations. The very idea of such a thing carried with it an absurdity. Every country had an usury law of its own. In the countries under the immediate government of Great Britain, there were three or four different rates

of interest: one in Ireland, one in the West Indies, one in America, and one in the East Indies. On what principle, therefore, could the Government of this country say to the states in the interior of India, that they should only borrow or lend at an arbitrary sum, to be fixed by the Parliament of this country? Interest in India had at one time been 30 per cent., then it was reduced to 20, and now it was contended that this Bill limited it to 12, not only in the British territories, but in those of the Native independent Princes. Such a thing their Lordships considered absurd and impossible, and the very changes he had remarked showed how unjust it would be to attempt such a limitation. Besides, even admitting the Act would bear the interpretation supposed, in what Court was the criminal to be tried? The Supreme Court of Calcutta had very limited powers, extending only over a part of those immense territories; and was it to be conceived that the Legislature would be guilty of such an absurdity as to enact a penalty without giving the means of recovering it? The learned Lord, after some other observations touching the law of the question, concluded by observing, that their Lordships (the Judges) had not considered the principle of the Act of the 56th Geo. III., which made it penal to lend money out of the country, without the consent of the Governor-General and Court of Directors, as applicable in construing the spirit of the Act, because it was the constant practice to register all these by-laws, as they were called in India, without which registration they could not be carried into effect; and as that had not been the case with that Act, they had the authority of the Supreme Council for the same opinion. This construction of the law was also supported by two decisions of the Supreme Court of Bengal, a circumstance of great importance in every thing relating to the law of India.

The Marquis of HASTINGS said, that after this opinion of the Judges, corresponding with the principle of the Bill, he should now move that it be read a third time. The Bill was then read accordingly.

July 1st, 1825.

EAST INDIA JUDGES' BILL.

The EARL of LIVERPOOL having moved the second reading of this Bill—

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE rose and said, that, although he did not mean to oppose this Bill, he could not omit the opportunity it offered him of making a few observations on a subject of much importance, intimately connected with it. He was aware that it was now too late to propose such alterations as he thought desirable in the Bill by way of amendments, but he could have wished to have introduced some clauses for regulating the jurisprudence of India. It would, he thought, be most desirable to regulate the mode of making all judicial appointments in that country. He strongly objected to the exclusion of that part of the population called half-caste, from sitting on juries and other civil duties; a system which was likely to be productive of the most disagreeable consequences. He also recommended the extending of juries in India to civil cases, as in other parts of the empire where British law was established; and granting to them the power to assess damages in cases in which, at present, juries there did not possess that power. He moreover suggested

the propriety of allowing natives of India to sit on juries; observing, that, as they performed satisfactorily similar duties in a military capacity, it was high time to consider how far it was practicable to make the more respectable part of them discharge civil duties. In regard to the other class of persons born in India labouring under the same exclusion, it was very desirable, from all the information he had received on the subject, to adopt some such means to raise them in the social scale. Why, he demanded, should not this portion of British subjects be permitted to serve on juries? He threw out these hints for the consideration of the noble Earl opposite, but without meaning to oppose the present Bill.

The EARL of LIVERPOOL, in explanation, said, that he agreed with the noble Lord respecting the great importance of the topics which he had introduced to the House. But whether the objects of the present Bill were right or wrong, this was not the proper time to consider them. The measure now before their Lordships must stand upon its own grounds; and it could have no concern with a step, which, once taken, could not easily be recalled.

The above Bill was then read a third time, passed, and messaged to the other House.

House of Commons, June 29, 1825.

DECCAN PRIZE MONEY.

Mr. HUMPHREY presented a petition from Lieutenant Fitz Simon, late Major of his Majesty's 65th Regiment of Infantry, in command of the brigades in the 4th and reserve divisions of the army of the Deccan, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, during the war which, in 1817 and 1818, was waged against the Pindarree and Mahratta Princes. The honourable Member complained of the great delay that had taken place in effecting the distribution of this prize money, and commented on the conduct of the trustees appointed by the Crown, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot, in refusing to communicate freely with the Agents of the army; quoting a passage of a letter addressed by the trustees to Sir Thomas Hislop, dated the 27th of May, 1824, of the following tenor: "We beg you to understand, therefore, that we are ready to receive information, BUT WE GIVE NONE." A discussion followed, in which the Chancellor of

the Exchequer and Dr. Lushington took a part; in the course of which the former stated, that the son of Mr. Arbuthnot had not been appointed an agent, although the trustees were, he conceived, empowered to do so by the warrant of the Crown. On this, Dr. Lushington observed, that there was, however, abundant evidence of such an appointment having been intended. The petition was then ordered to be printed.

July 1st, 1825.

A counter-petition was presented by Colonel Lushington, to which were appended the names of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, and three other officers, (one of them in his absence,) viz. Col. H. S. Scott, Lieut.-Col. Noble, and Major Jolie.

July 5th, 1825.

Two petitions were presented against the above, one by Mr. Abercromby, from Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor,

Read another by Mr. Brougham, from Mr. Atcheson, the Law Agent for the Army.

[The Petitions on this subject, being of considerable length, are necessarily deferred till the next Number.]

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The same day, Mr. Brougham presented another petition from Mr. Burnett, of the Cape of Good Hope, complaining of the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset, as Governor of that Settlement, which was as follows:—

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The Petition of Bishop Burnett, of the Cape of Good Hope, Gentleman, most respectfully

Showeth—That your petitioner having presented sundry grievances to your honourable House, inculcating the conduct of his Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and that his Excellency's return to this country to repel your petitioner's charges at the next session of Parliament appearing to be the probable consequences of the discussion thereon, your petitioner humbly submits to your honourable House, that he should, in justice, be permitted to avail himself of the interval in collecting his evidence at the Cape for substantiating the accusation, he has advanced.

Your petitioner, well aware that in promoting this inquiry, he is opposing himself to the concentrated force of a gigantic power, has no security but in the justice and sympathy of your honourable House; and as he has no hesitation in declaring, that with the collection of his evidence, thus facilitated, he can not only prove the charges already adduced, but others also of equal magnitude, he trusts that your honourable House, in its paramount disposition to further the first end of its high calling, will perceive the necessity of allowing your petitioner, the

accuser, to approach the bar of your honourable House upon equal terms with Lord Charles Somerset, the accused.

Your petitioner begs farther to present, that as the unwarrantable violence of his deportation from the Cape was a virtual inhibition to the security of evidence of any kind, even to the proof of his banishment, your honourable House will not permit your petitioner to appear before it disqualified by injustice to bring home charges of oppression and persecution.

Your petitioner's private affairs—if he may presume to offer so inconsequential a motive for consideration to your honourable House—imperatively demand his presence at the Cape, appellant, as he is, in nine causes before the full Court of Justice, each involving very important issues to himself and his brother colonists, and the fiat of his competence or beggary hanging upon their decision.

Your petitioner respectfully adds, that he should have manifested less zeal in vindication of his violated rights as a British subject, as a man, and as a gentleman, but for an impeachment of his veracity, and a direct charge of conspiracy brought against him by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. Your petitioner is from hence solemnly determined to prove his charges to the world, even should his Excellency Lord Charles Somerset not avail himself of the permission to return, granted by his Majesty's Government, contrary to a most affronting implication of Earl Bathurst, that your petitioner's importunity to the Colonial Department resulted from his apprehension of strict investigation into his complaints.

Your petitioner therefore prays, that your honourable House will, with reference to the premises, adopt such measures for his immediate return to the Cape of Good Hope as the magnitude of the occasion implies, and the wisdom of your honourable House may deem proper; and your petitioner will ever pray.

(Signed) . B. BURNETT.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA

[Owing to some misconception on the part of the Reporters, this Debate was inserted in our last. Its importance, however, has induced us to give it in our present Number, and to add a few notes in illustration of the fallacies.]

June 22d.

EAST INDIA JUDGES BILL.

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court, that since the draft of a Bill for regulating the payment of the salaries to the Judges of his Majesty's Courts in India, and the Bishop of Calcutta, had been laid before the Proprietors, some alterations had been made therein, the nature of which would be fully explained by a correspondence that had taken place between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The Court, he stated, had been made special, for the purpose of laying the Bill, in its amended state, before the Proprietors, of which due notice had been given.

The correspondence was then read by the Clerk, which commenced with a letter to the Chairman, dated 17th of May, from the President of the Board of Control, stating the amendments he proposed to introduce, in consequence of the opinion very generally manifested in the Committee of the House of Commons on the Bill. The first was, to raise the salary of the Chief Justice from 58,000 to 60,000 rupees, and those of the Puisné Judges from 48,000 to 50,000, in order to make even sums, and to make up for any loss by the alteration of the rate of exchange. The second amendment respected the allowance of a year's salary to the representatives of Judges or Bishops dying in India within a year after their arrival, which it was proposed to extend to all cases of death during the voyage to India, and during the exercise of their respective functions, as this would, in fact, make no additional charge on the funds of the Company, since a year at least would intervene before these lapses could be supplied by the appointment of a successor from England. Mr. Wynn concurred in this view, the late deplorable instances of mortality strongly impressing on his mind the hardship arising to the families of those Judges who had died before they could effect any material saving out of their salaries; but this provision, if objected to as too much, might be limited, he thought, after a certain period of service, to a smaller sum,—perhaps one-half. The third

proposed amendment was, that in cases of return under medical certificate of ill health, before completing the full period of ten years, the Judges should be entitled to a proportion of their pension. He thought it highly necessary, to induce well-qualified persons to accept of these offices, from which they now shrink, under the apprehension of losing their health, and, after some years of service, returning to England with a broken constitution, wholly unprovided for, and incapable of resuming the active duties of their profession. Mr. Wynn also noticed, that the recent large augmentation of the salaries of English Judges would, by increasing the prospects of reward at home, indispose men of rank in the legal profession from going abroad. The present amount of salaries of the Madras Bench had been fixed twenty-five years ago, when the nett balances of the English Judges were under 2000*l.* per annum; and besides, at that time the rate of interest in India was such as enabled the Judges to realise a much larger sum in seven years' residence than they could now hope to lay up in ten. He therefore trusted the Court of Directors, as well as Parliament, would entirely concur in the necessity of affording every fair temptation to men of high talent and attainment to accept of the judicial offices in India; and therefore proposed to allow one-half of the retiring pension after a period of five years, and two-thirds after seven years.

From the reply of the DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, it appeared that the Court of Directors acceded to the first proposition,—that of making the salaries of the Chief and Puisné Judges respectively 60,000 and 50,000 per annum. The provision of a year's salary to the families of Bishops and Judges dying at an early period of service in India, the Court proposed to limit to the cases of those dying within two years from the time of their embarkation from England. The third proposal the Court entirely resisted, on the ground, first, that the law, as it now stood, had been passed only two years ago, after much deliberation and discussion between the Board and the

Court; and, secondly, that upon that occasion the Company, with the view to promote the efficiency of the Bench in India, undertook the charge of pensions without any limitation of their aggregate amount, as had formerly been the case. (1)

Mr. Wynn, in reply, objected to the amendment suggested by the Court as impracticable. For, if it was intended, in case of a Judge dying within the period of two years from the date of his embarkation, to complete to his representatives the salary of the current year, then the difference of his dying a day earlier or later, near the beginning or near the end of a year, might make a difference of a whole year's salary. If, again, it were intended to add a whole year's salary, computed from the day of the Judge's death, this might frequently be giving more than was necessary. The proposal (2) of limiting the grant to the Chief Justice to so much as would make up the amount of one year's salary to a Puisné Judge, he objected to, as leading to two anomalies. In the first place, the representatives of a Chief Justice of Calcutta dying after nine (ten?) months' service, would have nothing to receive, as he would, during that period, have drawn a sum equal to one year's salary of a Puisné Judge. (3) In the second, the families of the Chief Justices of Madras and Bombay would be entitled to one-sixth less than those of the Puisné Judges of Calcutta; though the importance of the former situations was greater, and the salaries equal. Mr. Wynn therefore preferred recurring to the principle suggested in his former letter, and thought it proper that "the representative of any Chief Justice or Judge, Recorder or Bishop, dying during his voyage to India, or within six months after his arrival, shall be entitled to so much as will make up one

year's salary of his office; and if he dies at any time afterwards during his continuance in office, to one-half year's salary, to be computed from the day of his death."

The Court, in their reply, at last acquiesced in the clause above expressed; and also in the other, providing that Judges compelled to return to England from ill health, shall receive one-half of the retired pension after five years' service, and two-thirds after seven years. The Court, however, felt great reluctance to yield this point, expressing "its great objection to such repeated and rapid alterations of the law upon that subject; yet being most anxious, it was added, to forward all measures calculated to promote the efficiency of the Bench in India," and hoping "that the alterations suggested would have that effect," the Court would not further press its opposition to the adoption of them. (4)

The correspondence having been gone through—

Mr. GAHAGAN said, however ineffectual his endeavour had been, on a former occasion, to draw the attention of the Court to this anomalous Bill, he would not be deterred, in the present instance, from protesting against its being passed into a law, as it now stood. The hon. Chairman himself seemed to be ashamed of its title; for, in bringing it before the Court, he had left part of the title out. He stated that it was a Bill "for further regulating the payment of the salaries to the Judges of his Majesty's Courts in India, and the Bishop of Calcutta;" but he had omitted the disgraceful portion of it, which related to "the transportation of offenders from the island of St. Helena." The hon. Proprietor then proceeded to say, that he must again declare, whatever apathy might be shown in Parliament towards the legislation for India, that he, and every man who considered the subject, must feel indignant at the disunion and misrule which now prevailed in that empire. He thought it was the burden

(1) Part of this Letter would appear to have been suppressed, as the fifth, sixth, and seventh paragraphs of Mr. Wynn's reply are directed against a proposal of which no trace is herein to be found.

(2) Query, by whom made?

(3) The author of this sage proposal (whether the Chairman or the Deputy Chairman who signs the letter here replied to) would make the Company actually earn some profit by the death of their Judges; for if the lapse happened after the tenth month, part of the salary actually drawn and worked for should have been refunded to the Company's treasury.

(4) Whatever the Court may profess, (making a merit of necessity when compelled to yield,) it is well known that the Company would be much better pleased to see his Majesty's Courts in India abolished altogether; and that, instead of wishing to render the Judges independent, it would prefer having them, like its own Judges throughout its vast territories, with their whole fortune and prospects depending on its mere will and pleasure.

duty of gentlemen who happened to be members of Parliament, and who were also proprietors of East India stock; to watch with sedulous care every measure that was introduced relative to India. He certainly would raise his indignant voice, though probably without effect, against the title of this Bill; and he thought that, in addressing the Court for the purpose of having it altered, he did nothing more than what his duty warranted. It was most disgraceful to unite, in the same Bill, a provision for the remuneration of a Christian Bishop, and another for the punishment of a malefactor. Two Bills had lately been introduced into Parliament by Mr. Huskisson: the one was the West India Clergy Bill; the other, the Colonial Intercourse bill. Why, he asked, had not Mr. Huskisson connected these two things together? Why had he not included the provision for the West India Clergy in the Colonial Intercourse Bill? The reason was, because his liberal and enlightened mind was opposed to such confusion. It was not long (thank God the time would arrive very soon) before the whole of these matters must undergo a thorough revision. Then, he hoped, such gross anomalies would be corrected. He could not, however, even now, suffer such a Bill to pass *sub silentio*: a Bill which confounded a Christian Bishop with a malefactor.

Mr. LOWNDERS thought it extremely indelicate to make a provision for the transportation of offenders in the same bill which adjusted the remuneration to the Bishop of Calcutta; particularly at this moment, when attempts were making to excite a feeling of dislike against the Bishops. By such means the clergy were brought into disrespect, and the interests of religion, which was the foundation of every blessing, were undermined. He would now come to the salaries of the Judges; and he must contend, as he had often done, that it behoved all the servants of the Company to provide for themselves. If he placed the Judges on a footing with the servants of the Company, he did not, he conceived, act so inconsistently as those who had classed felons and bishops together. It certainly struck him, that every servant of the Company ought to be made to provide for his retirement, by apportioning a small part of his salary for that purpose. In that case, the finances of the Company would be relieved from that load of debt annually increasing. It had this year been in-

creased to an amount of which he was not aware until within a few hours. Had he, while he was in the country, been acquainted with the fact, he thought he should have taken a post-chaise, and gone off to town immediately. Little did he suppose that there had been an increase to the amount of 1,200,000*l.* The security they had got for that large sum from the Nizam, was a grant of 70,000*l.* a-year, to be derived from the Northern Circars. But it yet remained to be seen how far the Nizam had a control over that revenue. It surely was the duty of the Board of Control to take care that 1,200,000*l.* of the Company's money was not utterly thrown away. This subject was one of the greatest importance. No individual should be suffered to advance large sums to the Native Princes, because they were thereby enabled to fight against the Company. (5) Money was the great weapon by which the chances of war were decided. What did the great Lord Chatham say on this point? He had observed, that, in national struggles, it was not man opposed to man, but purse opposed to purse; and the party whose purse was best filled was sure to succeed. Did we not succeed in the last war, because our purse was longer than that of France? Now, if the Native Princes were allowed to have large sums of money, no person could say to what mischief it might lead. (6) He said this, because, some

(5) But in the case to which you allude, Mr. Lowndes, viz. the Hyderabad loans, the money advanced was to enable a native Prince to fight for the Company! Therefore your own logic may be turned round on you thus: "Individuals should be permitted to advance large sums to native Princes, because they are thereby enabled to fight for the Company." If you mean that no native Princes should be left the means of fighting at all, then your principle will necessarily carry you much farther. You must take away their revenues and order them to disband their troops—in short, annihilate them. For what is a Prince without power, or how can an Indian despot reign without the aid of physical force? And what would have become of you in the last Mahratta war, if the Nizam's troops had been disbanded for want of pay, and perhaps enlisted in the service of your enemies?

(6) Is this a hint to ease the poor Nizam of his enormous load? Perhaps Mr. Lowndes wishes to see Lord Amherst act over again the part of Warren Hastings, who fully concurred in the

months ago, the Court seemed to have approved of the conduct of individuals in India,—which conduct he certainly could not admire; and he should hold it to be mean and pitiful to express an opinion in private which he would not declare in public. With regard to the subject immediately before the Court, the Company ought, he conceived, to adopt a plan which he had long since mentioned, and of which his hon. friend (Mr. Hume) cordially approved. That was, to make every individual in office provide for himself. It was rather preposterous to say, because a man had held a good situation for twenty-eight or thirty years, that he should therefore receive a pension. He should have laid by sufficient to enable him to live comfortably in his old age. He was, however, most anxious that the Judges should receive a very handsome salary. Without it, they could not keep up a dignified independence, necessary to conciliate public opinion; without which the Company could not maintain their character in India. To the Judges the Company ought to be particularly liberal, since they were, in fact, the police-officers, who kept India in a state of quietude. (7)

Mr. Hume wished to say a few words, in consequence of what had fallen from his hon. friend (Mr. Gahagan), who seemed to impute a neglect of their duty to individuals, who were, at the same time, members of that Court and of the House of Commons. He lamented, in common with his hon. friend, that a great degree of apathy prevailed in this country with respect to Indian affairs. They were either not considered at all, or, if started in Parliament, viewed as a matter unworthy of attention. He must, however, in justice to himself, and to some of his friends, declare, that the bill now before the Court had not passed through a single stage in the House without particular notice and observation. He and an hon. Bart. (Sir C. Forbes) had offered such suggestions as the nature of the measure

opinion that it is inexpedient to leave large sums of money in the hands of native Princes. What a pity it is this orator had not lived in those days; when he might have given his applauding voice to the plunder of the Begums, and silenced even the eloquence of Burke.

(7) Mr. Lowndes may rest assured that India's quietude is preserved by the bayonet; and that his Majesty's Judges have almost as little to do with the matter as he has.

warranted. Unfortunately, however, the state of that medium through which the public usually obtained information on parliamentary subjects, was so extremely imperfect, that what had been done with respect to the bill, and to many other important measures, had not transpired. Hour after hour had passed away in the House of Commons, and no notice had been taken of their proceedings. This was a circumstance to be regretted; because what was stated within the walls of Parliament, if confined to that boundary, could produce but little effect; it was the impression made out of doors, when thousands upon thousands were enabled to know what was passing, and gave their opinions upon various measures, whether those measures were wise or foolish, by which mischief might be prevented or removed. He, therefore, felt it necessary to state, that no want of attention had been manifested with respect to this bill; but that the reports of the proceedings connected with it had not gone forth to the public. Three discussions had taken place on it; but no report of the proceedings appeared in the usual channels. In other instances, too, much inaccuracy prevailed. Reports were made quite contrary to what occurred. One person not in the House was made to speak; while others, who really did speak, were not noticed. He thought he had said enough to exculpate the hon. Bart. and himself, as well as three or four hon. friends. The objection now taken to the title of the bill had been urged by him on the first reading. He had pointed out the absurdity of mixing up a number of anomalous matters. But, when he found that he could not remove the anomaly, he confessed that he had endeavoured to render the bill still more anomalous. (*A laugh.*) He thought, if a provision for the salary of the Judges were joined to another for the transportation of felons, he might, with perfect propriety, introduce a clause for allowing Natives to sit as jurors. He trusted the affairs of India would hereafter receive greater attention than they had hitherto done, and that, in future, no reproach could justly be cast on the legislature for neglecting the interests of millions. He could wish to see the freedom of the press, on which they had had so many discussions, extended in the fullest manner to that country, and he was also most anxious that the Natives should have some share in the administration of justice. They were

the subjects of Great Britain, and he thought they ought to be placed in a situation similar to that in which the people of this country stood. He was very glad to find that the President of the Board of Control had formed a decided opinion on this subject; he hoped that he would seriously take it up in the next session. In the present age, when so many efforts were daily making for the diffusion of knowledge and education, he thought they would be acting most unwisely for the peace and tranquillity of India, if they persisted in keeping in ignorance millions of human beings. It was most unjust to deprive them of the means of knowledge and information. Let the Court look to the beneficial consequences which had resulted from adopting a liberal line of policy towards the comparatively paltry colony of Ceylon. Trial by jury had been extended to every class there, and the best results had followed. The consequence was, that the Natives felt their character elevated—they considered themselves as of some importance—and they were ready, when called on, to give support to that Government which had thus treated them. He had the authority of a learned Judge in that colony for saying, that (in his opinion, and in the opinion of others who were on the spot) when the war took place, the important privilege of acting as jurors, which had been conferred on these people, had a very great effect in preventing disturbances. If so good a result had been produced by granting this privilege, had they not a right to expect that an equally good effect would attend the extension of a similar system to India? Why should they not place millions of their Indian subjects on exactly the same footing with their fellow-subjects of a different colour? (*Hear.*) He had already delivered his opinion on this question elsewhere; and he was happy to think that a day must come when all these subjects, so important to the rights and interests of the people of India, must be maturely considered. If it appeared that they could, as he was sure they could, be communicated with advantage to millions of individuals in India, he hoped they would speedily participate in those free institutions which were the pride and glory of this country. He would venture to recommend to the Court of Directors, who were the executive body, no longer to trifle with the feelings of the public in India. He repeated the word *public*; and he was very sorry to have heard it

denied that there was a public in that country. It had been asserted, that there was no class of persons in India, whose opinions could have any weight or influence on the great body of society. Such was the idea of John Adam; and such also was the opinion of a learned gent. (Mr. Impey) who generally sat within the bar, and who had advanced that opinion when defending the arbitrary, illegal, and improper measure adopted by the Indian Government, when that measure was some time since under consideration. He thought it behoved the Company to look gravely at this subject. They had, at present, the monopoly of power; but he would urge them seriously to consider whether they would allow the termination of their charter to arrive, without taking any one step to place the Natives of India on a footing with Europeans? (*Hear.*) With regard to the feeling which generally prevailed in India, he would say, that if any gentleman had received a letter from that country, within the last two months, which did not complain of the state of society there, it was an exception to the general rule. People dreaded to express their opinions, because they were afraid of being visited by the oppression of the Government. Such was the effect produced by the destruction of a free press. Every person who wrote home from India, expressed the deepest regret at the measure relative to the press which had been adopted by Mr. Adam—followed up by Lord Amherst—approved of by that Court—and, he was sorry to say, sanctioned by Parliament. After being at war for fourteen months, they still remained in ignorance of what was doing, except that, now and then, they received accounts of some disgrace or disaster. Those accounts were, perhaps, exaggerated, for that was always the case when an attempt was made to keep matters secret. The letters daily received, described the state of society in Calcutta to be very far from desirable; in short, to be such as no friend of India could see without feeling deep regret. With respect to the half-castes, who were a very numerous class, every thing appeared to be done to make them dissatisfied with their situation. A policy directly the reverse ought to be pursued; for it should be observed, that, if you take a dislike to them, you cannot banish them from their own country, though you may send away a European. (*Hear.*) The half-castes had talent,

energy, and property. (*Hear.*) They were, therefore, a body that ought to be conciliated, not trampled under foot. (*Hear.*) Next came the Natives. They held no situation of trust or power; they were not interested, directly or indirectly, in the stability or prosperity of the Company's rule; they were controlled by a few individuals; and it must be quite evident, from the power which the Europeans possessed, and from the mode in which (considering the common nature of man) it was likely to be administered, that the Natives would feel a very great degree of jealousy. He spoke of the ordinary nature of man with respect to the exercise of power, because he should be sorry to attribute to the Company's servants any other feelings than those which generally fell to the lot of humanity. On the contrary, he would say, that the Company's servants were a superior class of persons; that superiority arising out of the immense opportunities they had for acquiring enlightened and liberal ideas, which prevented them, he had no doubt, from falling into many errors, often connected with the possession of unlimited power. He wished that such a line of policy should be pursued as would hereafter prevent it from being said, to use the words of an hon. friend of his (Mr. D. Kinnaird)—“that ages had passed away, and that we had left no trace of our having ever been in India, by the improvement of the people, or by the extension to them of one useful institution, or of one honourable privilege.” If they now lost their charter, they certainly would leave behind them but little proof that they ever had been masters in India. He, for one, had often protested against the tyranny which was now exercised in India, and he had pointed out the necessity of adopting measures which would render the people contented and happy. If such measures were not taken, it would be vain to expect tranquillity there: on the contrary, they might look forward to calamities, not to be contemplated without shame and regret. He had constantly stated those sentiments, which were prompted by conscientious feelings; and he must, in conclusion, say, that the Company would not do their duty, if they suffered years to pass over, and made no effort to alter the state of affairs in India.

Mr. TRANT said, that he, and several other members of the House of Commons, had paid particular attention to

this bill, which had recently passed through a committee; but he believed it was not usual to state to the public much of what occurred in a committee upon any bill. Much inconvenience certainly did arise from mixing up, in the same measure, matters of a dissimilar nature. As a proof, he need only state, that the latter part of this bill, which related to the annexation of Singapore and Malacca to Prince of Wales' Island, had not been at all noticed either by the Chairman or by any other gentleman. No person could have any objection to that measure; but he merely pointed out the circumstance, to show the inconvenience of joining such a variety of matters in the same bill. It was of very great importance that the different enactments should be clearly and distinctly laid before the Court. He begged leave also to mention an important alteration, made since the bill was printed, and when in its very last stage: he meant the alteration of the place to which convicts were to be transported from St. Helena. In the bill, as printed, Prince of Wales' Island was the place named. The President of the Board of Control was originally of opinion, that Prince of Wales' Island was the fittest place, because he believed it was not at all usual to send English convicts from India to New South Wales. (8) The President of the Board of Control had since, however, changed his opinion. He mentioned this to show the variance between the bill as printed, and as it really stood for the third reading. If gentlemen supposed that Prince of Wales' Island was the place to which convicts were to be transported from St. Helena, they would be in error. He, and other gentlemen who had been at Prince of Wales' Island, knew that the climate of that island was unfit for Europeans, especially if they were kept to hard labour. As to the necessity of an alteration with respect to juries at Madras and Calcutta, he had elsewhere stated his opinion, and he would now repeat it, that the principle laid down by the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) might be adopted with great advantage. At Madras, the duty of petty jurors had become extremely onerous. The number of persons qualified to act in that ca-

(8) From the declarations of the supreme Court at Calcutta, it does not appear that the Judges considered themselves authorized to send them an where else.

capacity was very limited, and the sessions had become more frequent: the consequence was, that, owing to this increase of business, persons whose duty it was to attend, found it extremely difficult to pursue their ordinary avocations. He believed that a petition had been presented to the Supreme Court, praying that some relief might be afforded. In Calcutta there was a most respectable body of persons, who, as the law now stood, could not serve, but who were perfectly fit to take the situation of those who were usually summoned on petty juries. The individuals called to serve were often taken from the very lowest class of European residents, who had gone out to India in very humble capacities, and possessing very inferior intellect. (9)

The CHAIRMAN here said, that the observation of the hon. Proprietor applied in no way to the question before the Court. He submitted to him the propriety of reserving any further remarks for a more appropriate occasion.

Mr. HUME apprehended that the object of laying the bill before the Court, was to obtain the approbation of the Court with respect to it; if that were not the object, he should like to know why the bill had been laid before them at all.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the bill was laid before the Court in conformity with the by-laws of the Company. The President of the Board of Control had postponed the third reading of the bill, in order that the measure might be brought to the notice of the Court of Proprietors before it passed.

Mr. LOWNDES stated, that he was surprised his hon. friend should seem to be astonished at what he had said on a former occasion. He conceived that knowledge constituted the difference between all classes of society. The freedom of the press was not applicable to every society and country. Could it be said that the Natives of

India stood in the same situation as the mechanics of this country? (10)

Mr. DIXON rose to order. The hon. Proprietor was wandering from the question.

Mr. LOWNDES said, that he had been accused of inconsistency, in having declared himself inimical to the freedom of the press in India. When the subject should come before the Court, he would be prepared to maintain, that the well being of India depended on the press being kept within bounds. The freedom of the press could not exist in every society, any more than corn could flourish in every soil. Was it fitting that, because the freedom of the press existed in England, it should be established in the colonies? If the freedom of the press existed in the West Indies, there would not be a slave found there i. e. a year. (11)

Mr. HUME said, that the freedom of the press did prevail in the West Indies!

Mr. LOWNDES was about to continue his address, when

The CHAIRMAN requested that the business might proceed.

Mr. DARRY said, that in the absence of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Committee of By-Laws, he felt it his duty to state, that, after the most diligent investigation, the Committee had formed an opinion, that so far from any neglect being apparent in any of the official departments of the Com-

(10) No; the Natives of India stand in a very different situation, and one which much more urgently demands the freedom of the press. The Government of this country sees, with its own proper eyes, the state of the mechanics, and can therefore watch over their happiness; but it cannot see the Natives of India; therefore, in legislating for them, it requires to be informed of their condition by means of a free press. Besides, the mechanics of this country are under the rule of their own countrymen, who sympathise in their condition: the Natives of India are subject to foreigners, who, in the language of Burke, come in endless succession, like birds of prey, only to leave the country when they are gorged. Which of them has most need of a free press?

(11) Admirable observer! An enemy of the freedom of the press in India is generally so blind to the force of truth, that he would assert the sun does not shine at noon-day. West Indian slave-drivers, however, are, in this respect, more liberal than the East India Company, that they do not clamour against a free press being among them.

(9) He ought rather to have said, "possessing a very inferior education;" for surely Mr. Trant does not need to be told that humble circumstances and inferior intellects are no more necessarily connected than high situations and high intellects. The poet, Burns, was a ploughman; Homer, perhaps, a ballad-singer; and Terence a slave: whereas Mr. Trant is a Member of Parliament, and Lord Amherst Governor-General of India.

pany, the utmost diligence was manifested in all. (12)

Sir C. PEARCE observed, that he had followed up the intention which he expressed at the last Court, of proposing in the House of Commons certain modifications of the bill, and most of them had been adopted. The effect of one of his amendments was, to make a better provision for the Judges; which would be an encouragement for men of talents to go out to India to discharge judicial functions. Judges, in future, would not be placed in the predicament of being obliged to remain in India after their medical attendants had declared the climate injurious to them, or of giving up their claim to a pension. With respect to one part of the measure, the salary of the Bishop of Calcutta, no modification had been made. The Bishop received, nominally, 5000*l.*; but he, in fact, received about 200*l.* less than that sum, owing to the difference of exchange. All that he asked for was, that an alteration should be made in the bill with respect to the salary of the Bishop, on the same principle as that which had been made with respect to the salaries of the Judges. He intended to propose a clause to that effect in the House of Commons. The difference would be of little consequence to the country, but to the Bishop of Calcutta it would be of very great importance. The Bishop was the fourth person in rank in India; it was not fair, then, that the Bishop should be placed in a worse situation than the lowest judge. It was said that the Bishop was allowed a house; but the same allowance was made to the counsellors at Bombay and Madras. The Bishop was, at the present moment, in a worse situation than any public officer in India, merely because one little word was omitted in the bill with respect to the difference of exchange. The hon. Bart. then proceeded to express his objection to that part of the bill which proposed to place Singapore under the jurisdiction of Prince of Wales' Island. Singapore was by far the most important possession, and if any alteration were made, it should be to place Prince of Wales' Island under it. With respect to New South Wales, he proposed that the authorities should be restricted to banish-

ing persons from St. Helena to the Cape of Good Hope; instead of to New South Wales. To remove a native of St. Helena from the island was the greatest punishment which could be inflicted on him; and he should not be debarred from all hope of return, which would be the case if he were banished to New South Wales. The attachment of the natives of St. Helena to the place of their birth was greater than that of any other people, except the Scotch. The hon. Bart. concluded by stating, that, on the question of adjournment being proposed, he would call the attention of the Court to a most important subject, namely, the present state of India. (*Hear.*)

Mr. DIXON thought that the hon. Bart. had chosen the wrong place for making many of his observations. Parliament was the place where he ought to throw out his suggestions about Singapore and New South Wales, and there they would be attended to. (13) In listening to the correspondence which had taken place between the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control, his attention had been directed to the burthen which seemed likely to fall upon the Company. (14) If he understood rightly, it was proposed by the bill, that Judges going to India, and staying there for five years, might retire, and receive half their salaries.

The CHAIRMAN.—On a certificate of ill health.

Mr. DIXON.—He had not understood that a certificate was necessary; he also understood that the Judges, if they remained in India for seven years, would be entitled to half the amount

(13) Then why bring such proceedings before the Proprietors at all, if they are not to make any remark upon them? If the opinion of the hon. Members of that Court individually, or collectively, be of no value, and not attended to, why does it go through the form of having things submitted for its approval? Or, perhaps, Mr. Dixon thinks the Company has nothing to do with New South Wales, or Singapore, although the latter is actually one of their own possessions, and convicts are sent from their territories to the other.

(14) The "burthen" will fall upon the Company, as it did upon the pedlar, when, to ease his horse of the weight of his pack, he mounted the animal and humanely took the pack on his own back. So the English nation has to support the Company, with all its yearly accumulating debts into the bargain.

(12) Mr. Darby's speech looks like playing at cross-purposes, having no reference whatever either to what went before or to what follows after.

of the present pension. He thought that Mr. Wynn had hardly used the Court fairly. They objected to the increased allowances, on the ground that such a measure had been deemed unnecessary so recently as two years ago. (15)

Here the conversation ended.

CONDUCT OF RESIDENTS.

The CHAIRMAN acquainted the Court, that, on the 23d of March, the gallant General on the other side of the bar (General Thornton) gave notice, that he would this day submit to the Court the motion which the Clerk would now read.

Motion. — “It appearing by the printed Hyderabad Papers, that Rajah Chundoo Loll sent a letter to Lieut. Barnett, the assistant to Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart., the Resident, who was acting for him during his absence from Hyderabad on a tour, containing representations and complaints which the Rajah desired might be communicated to the Supreme Government; and, in page 239, that Lieut. Barnett mentioned to Sir C. T. Metcalfe, when he met him on his return, that he had received such a note, and described its contents; and likewise, by Sir C. T. Metcalfe’s own statement, in page 241, that he did peruse the original note thoroughly and carefully, after having previously contented himself with Lieut. Barnett’s report of its substance, and with looking at particular parts; notwithstanding which, neither Sir C. T. Metcalfe nor Lieutenant Barnett did communicate the contents to the Governor-General in Council, but the Supreme Government was kept in ignorance of any such appeal, until communicated by the Rajah through another channel, when several acts of oppression, complained of in the conduct of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, were ordered by the Governor-General in Council to be redressed, in instructions which are inserted in page 224 and the

(15) But at that time it was not known that two successive Chief Justices might fall victims to the climate within a few weeks of their arrival in India; which has shown the urgent necessity of counteracting, by higher emoluments, the great discouragement arising from the dangers of the climate. If the Directors are so blind as not to see this, or wish his Majesty’s courts to be left without Judges at all qualified by professional rank and talent to support their dignity, Mr. Wynn deserves no blame, but the highest praise, for firmly opposing such stupid, sordid, or sinister policy.

following pages: That it be, therefore, recommended to the Court of Directors to be pleased to make regulations, in order to prevent, in future, so improper and dangerous a proceeding as the suppression or interruption of appeals or complaints, whether just or unjust, from the Native Governments to the Supreme Government; that, if just, the grievances complained of may be redressed as soon as possible; and, if unjust, explanations may be entered into without loss of time, and a good understanding promoted.”

General THORNTON then addressed the Court. As he had made his motion very comprehensive, and had referred to the papers in the possession of every member of the Court for the circumstances to which it alluded, he should not feel it necessary to trouble the Court at great length. It did not appear that the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe had been noticed by the Court of Directors in the way it ought to have been. The Court had not thought the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe a serious matter; but in his opinion it was so, and involved the safety of India. If Native princes were to be treated as Residents thought fit, if their communications with the Supreme Government were to be interrupted, the safety of the empire would be endangered; it was impossible that it could be otherwise. The Rajah of Hyderabad had in his communication detailed his grievances in the most feeling manner; he stated, that the consequence of the system which the Resident was pursuing would be to have two governments in the country. It might have been supposed that the Court of Directors would have taken measures to prevent the interruption in future. It appeared that if Mr. Wm. Palmer had not communicated with the Supreme Government on the subject, the conduct of the Resident would, in all probability, not have been known at all. Mr. William Palmer was in the service of the Nizam, and therefore it was his duty to forward his communication to the Supreme Government; but if it had been otherwise, it was his duty, as a moral man, to make the communication. One circumstance, indeed, might have prevented him from doing so, namely, worldly motives. Many persons in Mr. Palmer’s situation might, from a fear of suffering themselves, have abstained from doing what was strictly their duty. Mr. Palmer however had, unfortunately for himself, disregarded

all such considerations; and the consequence was, that he had been ruined by the extraordinary construction put upon an Act of Parliament. He was glad to see that a noble Marquis had brought a bill into Parliament to regulate the construction of the Act in future. He was astonished that the Court of Directors had not themselves taken some steps on the subject. He hoped that there would be no *maximum* of interest fixed in future, but that the money market would be left entirely open. It appeared to him that Sir C. Metcalfe's conduct had been oppressive and tyrannical, and he thought it ought to have been looked upon in the same light by the Court of Directors. Sir C. Metcalfe himself, as appeared from one of his despatches, was in great alarm respecting his conduct. He had, however, been supported by the Court of Directors. The conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe had been really most extraordinary. He pretended to have forgotten the instructions which he had penned himself, whilst secretary to the Government, and was in consequence guilty of acts of tyranny and oppression. He was unfeeling enough to make the Rajah submit to him, instead of himself submitting to the Rajah. One part of his conduct the Court of Directors had, indeed, censured, but in very mild terms. One of the last acts of the Marquis of Hastings in India was to appoint Colonel O'Bryan to be the first assistant to Sir C. Metcalfe. This gentleman operated as a sort of check upon Sir C.; and he therefore soon got rid of him, and appointed another person in his place, who was a party to all the oppression which had taken place. It appeared to him the conduct of the Court of Directors, in omitting to take measures for securing the means of communication between Native princes and the Supreme Government, was highly censurable. They ought have adopted measures to show to the whole world that, in future, these communications would never be interrupted. On these grounds he had felt it necessary to bring the motion forward. He meant no disrespect to the Court of Directors, and he bore no personal enmity to Sir C. Metcalfe; he spoke only of his conduct as a public officer, and that he considered very blameable, and deserving of severe punishment. He had heard Sir C.'s conduct defended, but never with respect to this transaction. He concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. Lowndes wished the gallant

General to inform the Court what the particular grievances were to which reference was made in the motion. For his part, he knew nothing of them.

General THORNTON advised the hon. Member to read the book, which was in the possession of every member of the Court.

The CHAIRMAN begged that the hon. Proprietor would allow the motion of the gallant General to be put regularly from the chair.

The CLERK again read the motion.

Mr. LOWNDES observed, that the present motion looked like a set-off against the Hyderabad question; it seemed to be a charge brought for the purpose of rebutting the great charge made a short time ago. He had always understood that a person who brought forward a charge, ought to be prepared to substantiate it. If the proofs of the charge were to be found in page 224 of the papers which had been alluded to, he would propose that those proofs might be read, in order that gentlemen might know what they were talking about. As for himself, he was in the clouds; he knew nothing of the motion, except that it was connected with the great Hyderabad question, in which was involved the fate of the whole of India. The hon. Member then proceeded to censure the arrangement which the Company had entered into with respect to the Northern Circar, and which he said would not be binding on the successors of the present Nizam. The Company should beware of placing themselves in opposition to public opinion in India: they existed only by public opinion. The freedom of the press was not necessary in India, because the Natives were much happier under our government than they were before. (16) He was not surprised that disturbances prevailed in the West Indies, now that he knew the freedom

(16) When the Natives themselves say so, it will be a more satisfactory proof of their happiness, than the assertion of Mr. Lowndes. If he sincerely thinks what he says, why does he not vote for removing the gag a little from their mouths, to allow them to declare their happiness? But the Company first gags them, and then tells the world to rest assured they have no cause of complaint! Supposing that they are a little better off now than under their former tyrants, as here asserted, is that a reason for denying them a free press? Think, *a fortiori*, how unnecessary a thing it is in England, which is far happier still.

of the press existed there; it was that which had occasioned the disturbances. (17) That which was good in England was hateful in the West Indies. (18)

Sir J. DOYLE rose to order. The hon. Proprietor had set out by declaring that he was in the clouds; he was happy to find that he had at length descended on *terra firma*. Nobody could suppose that he was going to oppose his voice to that of the hon. Proprietor; but he would endeavour to give him the information of which he had stated himself to be in want, unless he would please to touch upon the subject before the Court, to which alone he ought to direct his attention.

Mr. LOWNDERS said that he would not have taken the liberty of branching out on the subject of the liberty of the press, if his hon. liberty Friend (Mr. Hume) had not done so. He felt great respect for the gallant officer who had interrupted him; not only because he came from Ireland, but because he was in the army. The hon. Proprietor then requested that the charges in the motion might be read.

(17) The West India slave-drivers ought to vote Mr. Lownders a golden cup for making this grand discovery, which proves the superior intellect of the East Indian advocates of despotism; and shows how naturally they are the allies of each other. The East Indians are evidently labouring under the disease of Pressphobia, which makes them view everything with a jaundiced eye, and think that all the political evils in the world arise from free discussion; in the same manner as Dr. Tytler, so well known in India, having adopted the theory, that cholera morbus was caused by a bad crop of Ouse rice in 1817, endeavoured to prove that the instances of severe mortality occurring in almost every part of the globe, for years after, might be traced to the same cause.

(18) The same sort of persons, to whom a free press is hateful in the West Indies, would hate it in England and every where else: namely, those who are conscious that their conduct will not bear a free examination. A free press is, therefore, hated in any country exactly in proportion to the amount of abuses requiring to be rectified. Hence it is *dulcified* by a certain party in England; *hateful*, no doubt, to the West India slave-drivers; but, above all things, *abhorred and detested* by the rulers of British India! These are the degrees of comparison which Mr. Lownders ought to note down in his political grammar, on the evils of a free press.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 6.

Whilst the Clerk was looking for the passage in question,

Sir John DOYLE said that he rose, in compliance with the wish of the hon. Proprietor, to bring him back to earth from the clouds, among which he confessed himself to have been wandering. At the same time, he could not help remarking that, if the hon. Proprietor had attended at former meetings of the Court, he would have heard the whole matter, on which he had been speaking fully discussed, in seven or eight consecutive meetings. However, as the hon. Proprietor had not been present, he would endeavour to enlighten him upon the subject, as briefly as the circumstances of the case would permit. The question itself was so important, and our empire in India, according to the different private letters lately received from that country, was in so precarious a condition, that he was certain the Court would grant him its indulgence, whilst he endeavoured to explain to the hon. Proprietor those matters which he did not at present seem clearly to understand. He was of opinion that the steps which Sir C. Metcalfe had taken, as well as those which he had not taken, were of such a nature as must naturally tend, in their effects, to derange the system of the country, and ultimately to shake our power in the East. For the information of the hon. Proprietor, he would point out the grounds upon which the present motion rested;—and what he (Sir John Doyle) was going to say regarding Sir C. Metcalfe, would depend upon Sir C. Metcalfe's words alone. He had never said any thing of the character of Sir Charles—he had spoken of his conduct merely; and in all the accusations he had brought against it, he had taken his data from Sir C. Metcalfe's own words and from nothing else. (*Hear.*) He must observe that Rajah Chundoo Loll wrote a statement to the Resident's deputy. The words of it (in p. 177) are as follow:—"What more need I write? I am quite powerless. It rests with the Resident to decide the matter. If you will be so obliging as to write all this to the Sudder, and lend me the benefit of your assistance, it will be an excessive favour. I have not made the above statement for my own benefit; but my sense of duty towards his Highness the Nizam has impelled me to draw it up. Pray make this all known to the Resident. Although it is not my practice to write against gentlemen, I am now compelled to state the following circumstances

for your information." The Rajah then proceeded to complain of Mr. Hislop, one of the cornets, one of the beardless proconsuls, sent out by Sir C. Metcalfe to govern India. He said of him, "Mr. Hislop has set aside my leases, and granted such further reductions as he was pleased to think proper, giving leases for himself, and also allowing them to appropriate the crops. After this, what security is there for the payment of the public resources? Under these circumstances, the ryots of Kalburga, who only want an excuse, hold back payment of the revenue, even on the reduced terms of their last engagements. When the talookdars are treated in this way, and required to produce their accounts, it is easy to imagine what an opinion the ryots and the public will form of leases granted by me, and of my authority in the country." He trusted that the Court would recollect that it was the minister of his Highness the Nizam who used this language. He went on: "I will say no more: the Resident is supreme." The epithet was most proper. Sir C. Metcalfe certainly acted as if he was supreme. That, he it observed, was the letter of Rajah Chundoo Loll, the minister of the Nizam, to the Resident's deputy, inclosing a complaint against the Resident which ought to have been forwarded instantly to the supreme authority in India,—for such he conceived the Sudder to be. That it never was forwarded, or at least that it never reached the quarter for which it was intended, was now established. He had read what Chundoo Loll had said; he now wished them to consider what was Sir C. Metcalfe's reply. In page 152, Sir C. said, "The most effectual, and perhaps the only secure mode of reforming the government, is by the employment of Europeans; but I am precluded from taking that course in consequence of my situation as minister, inasmuch as such a measure would be tantamount to taking the government out of the hands of the Nizam and his minister." What was the very first step which Sir C. Metcalfe had taken? Why the very thing he declared to be tantamount to taking the government out of the hands of the Nizam and his minister; when he knew that the effect likely to be produced by it was, not only that Rajah Chundoo Loll would lose his place and authority, but that this loss would soon be followed by that of his head. Rajah Chundoo Loll, discovering that his letter had never been sent

to the Governor-General, and smarting not only the discharges brought upon himself personally by the Resident, but also under the dread of being deprived at once of his place, his authority, and his life, caught hold of the first person on whom he supposed that he had any claim for support. He went to Mr. William Palmer, who had been twenty-two years in the service of the Nizam, and had quelled, at some hazard to himself, a very dangerous mutiny in the Nizam's troops. Mr. Palmer, on these accounts, was naturally enough in the confidence of the Nizam's Government. To Mr. W. Palmer, he repeated, Rajah Chundoo Loll went, saying, "I have tried the regular mode of conveying my complaint to the Sudder through the Resident, and through the Resident's deputy; but it is all in vain: I cannot get communicated to the Sudder a statement of my real situation, and I must therefore request of you, as an act of friendship, to get me this letter conveyed to his Excellency." Mr. W. Palmer acceded to his request, and the letter was received by the Governor-General through the medium of that gentleman. The Governor-General immediately turned round upon Mr. Wm. Palmer, and said, "You must bring me no more private messages from the Nizam's ministers;" and, with the same breath, said to Rajah Chundoo Loll, "You must send me no more complaints through the medium of private merchants,—you must make your complaints through the Resident; and I say this, not to discourage you from sending complaints; on the contrary, I shall always be ready to receive them through the regular channel, when you think you have an occasion to make them." That was proper language for the Governor-General to hold upon such an occasion; if he had held other language, he would have been unfit for the high situation which he filled, or rather for any situation in the Company's service. In the remarks he was now about to offer, he did not intend to draw any comparisons between the manner in which different individuals performed their respective duties: comparisons were, in most cases, invidious, and, in all cases, to use the common proverb, odious. If he were inclined to draw comparisons, he could assure the Court they should not be between those who had filled, and those who were now filling, situations in India. Such comparisons would not be fair at the present moment, since the Court had been in utter darkness

for the last four months, as to every thing which had taken place in India. If there were any truth in private letters, the state of that country was far from that which Englishmen could wish it to be. He did not, on that account, pretend, at that moment, to impute blame against any one. On that point, when the despatches of the Local Government were known, it would be competent for them to form a judgment; but at present, when every thing was dark and uncertain, nothing could be more uncandid and unfair. He repeated, that if there were any truth in the private letters from India—and out of the many letters which he had seen, there was not one which could lead him to a different conclusion—our affairs in that country were in a very ticklish, if not in a very dangerous state. So far as he could understand, there was a very wide difference between the accounts drawn up for Parliament, of the revenue of the Company in India, in 1813 and 1814, when the Marquis of Hastings commenced his career as Governor-General, and the accounts of its revenue in 1823 and 1824, when he closed it. He was informed, that at the latter period, there was an increase of 6,000,000*l.* or 7,000,000*l.* sterling. He believed that no such excess of revenue existed at the present moment: for if it were true that the Company was spending 10,000*l.* a-day in prosecuting this Burmese war, the funds, which the noble Marquis had left behind him in the treasury must by this time be reduced to “a beggarly account of empty boxes.” He contended, that it was not merely on account of the want of attention it exhibited towards states in alliance with us, that this suppression of information was dangerous—that, he admitted, was bad enough; but it was rendered doubly dangerous, on account of the Resident’s serving in a foreign country, of which the manners, customs, and prejudices were very different from our own. Let them consider the consequences to which this suppression of information naturally led. If the Resident had power to withhold it in one instance, he had power to withhold it in all. Supposing—what he admitted was not likely to happen in the case of Sir C. Metcalfe, or in the case of any other Resident now in office—supposing, he said, that an act of high treason against the East India Company should come to the knowledge of the Resident or the Resident’s deputy; supposing that the

Resident should be a person of but little experience—as, for instance, a young subaltern officer, who, from his very years, could not have much experience—supposing that the Resident should, in the exercise of his discretion, think it not worth while to communicate to the Governor-General the act of high treason of which he had been informed, in what situation would the Governor-General, the Court of Directors, and the Company at large be placed? The Governor-General was the individual to whom the Court of Directors and the Company at large looked for responsibility; yet, with what countenance could either of them pretend to censure his measures, if, from want of the necessary information, a rebellion was raging in their dominions, which might have been avoided, if the requisite information had been forwarded to him in season? With regard to the anxiety of the Governor-General to receive information, he would merely say one word—no man was fit to govern a country, or to command an army, who was not ready, he would not merely say to receive, but to elicit information, by every means in his power, on any subject conducive to the interest of his country. If that position were controverted, he would sit down immediately and give up the whole point in dispute; but he knew that it could not be controverted, and he therefore should not add another word on that part of the question before the Court. With what practical effects the gallant General who originated the debate, intended to follow up his motion, he did not pretend to know; but he trusted that the Court of Directors would immediately issue such orders, not only to the Residents now in office, but also to those who succeeded them, as would preclude the necessity of any further measure. There was little responsibility on the Residents; but there was a great and awful responsibility on the Governor-General: it would therefore be right for the Court to say at once, as distinctly as words could say it, that in no case, upon no pretext whatever, should information be withheld from the Governor-General. He thought that what had already passed would have its due weight in every quarter. He was sure that the Court of Directors wished to do their best for the Company at large. They might be fallible, like other men; but their intentions were always directed, he was quite sure, to the benefit of the Company. He there-

fore trusted that they would forthwith issue such orders as would in future preclude the possibility of any information being withheld from the Governor-General. The Resident was not the person who ought to pass judgment upon the information communicated to him; it might be trifling in his estimation, and yet, when connected with other circumstances, known from other quarters to the Governor-General, might be of the utmost interest to the well-being of the state. As he had had no specific object in view, when he rose upon this question, he should be acting ill, if he presumed to trespass longer on the time of the Court. He thanked them for the attention with which they had listened to him, and assured them that it was only to satisfy the hon. Proprietor who had preceded him that he had ventured to trespass upon their attention so long. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. WEEDING desired to address to the Court a few observations on the extraordinary proposition before them; in doing which he should be able to show, that the imputation it attempted to fix upon Sir Charles Metcalfe was entirely without foundation, while the declaratory regulation it called for, from the Court of Directors, was perfectly unnecessary. He agreed entirely with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, (Sir John Doyle), that it was proper to give the utmost facility and freedom to the transmission of complaints from those who were in any way connected with the British Government, and felt aggrieved, to the supreme authorities in India. To this, as a general principle, he fully assented. As it was already acted upon, however, by the Governments in India, and enjoined by the authorities at home, to call upon the Court of Directors to issue a declaration on the subject was childish, as well as unnecessary. (19.) He should have been glad if the hon. and gallant officer, Sir John Doyle, when he promised to communicate the requisite information to the hon. Proprietor behind him, had, instead of stating only one part of the subject, gone on, as in justice he ought

to have done, to state the other part of it also. The hon. and gallant officer would then have proved to the hon. Proprietor, as had been before proved to the Court of Proprietors, that the charge which had been brought against Sir Charles Metcalfe, for withholding information, was entirely groundless. He (Mr. Weeding) should endeavour to supply the omission, and for that purpose would trouble the Court with a short history of the transaction. In August 1822, the Governor-General received a representation from the minister of the Nizam, Rajah Chundoo Loll, conveyed privately through the hands of Mr. Wm. Palmer of Hyderabad, complaining that the Resident had withdrawn his confidence from him, and that, in consequence, his enemies at the Nizam's Court were laying schemes for and plotting his destruction. He complained also that he had received no answer to two communications, which he had previously addressed to the first-assistant of the Resident, Lieut. Barnett, and copies of which he then enclosed, for the perusal of the Governor-General. It was not the least curious circumstance of this transaction, that although the letter to the Governor-General was duly signed by the minister, Chundoo Loll, the papers which he had sent to Lieut. Barnett were without date, seal, or signature; (20) which would seem to infer, that if the writer were not in doubt of the truth of his own statements, he did not attach much importance to them. At the conclusion of one of the papers, the minister requested, as the last speaker, Sir John Doyle, had stated, that Lieut. Barnett "would be so obliging as to write all this to the *Sudder*." Now, without staying to inquire whether the *Sudder* meant the presidency, the seat of the supreme Government—or the residency, the seat of the local Government—of which an attentive perusal of the context would naturally excite a doubt, more particularly as the Resident was then absent, and the letters were addressed to his assistant, (21) he (Mr. Weeding) would

(20) This, if correct, is of no manner of importance now, as they were acknowledged at the time to be authentic both by Mr. Barnett and the Resident; consequently, this affords no excuse now for their not being attended to punctually, and forwarded to Government as requested by the minister.

(21) This special pleading about the meaning of the word "*Sudder*," shows the weakness of Mr. Weeding's cause.

(19) Is it not still more "childish" to allow their servants to trample upon their orders with impunity? That such is the case, in respect to this order, every day furnishes more evidence; the Company's servants having manifestly as little affection for this species of "pernicious publicity" as for that of the press.

proceed to inquire into the nature of the communications. They included two specific objects: one was, a complaint of the interference of British agents in the adjustment and collection of the revenue; the other was, a proposition from the minister for a loan of thirty-five lacs of rupees, for which he offered, as security, the petchush or tribute of the Northern Circars. It appeared from the papers that, on the 4th of June 1822, Lieut. Barnett made known to the Resident, by letter, the substance of the minister's communications; and on the 5th of June, the Resident directed an answer to the several points to which they referred; and he desired his assistant to confer with the minister, and discuss the contents of his note in the spirit of his (the Resident's) observations. On the 22d of June, the assistant wrote again to the Resident, that he had complied with his instructions, and the result of his conference with the minister was, that he was convinced by the reasons set before him, and satisfied of the necessity of the measures adopted for the relief of the country, (22) He (Mr. Weeding) would not detain the Court while he searched for the letter of Lieut. Barnett on this subject; it would be found among the papers; its date was the 22d of June 1822, and the minister's satisfaction was declared in the last paragraph of it. Now, he would ask the Court what they thought of Chundoo Loll's complaint to the Governor-General, that

When was the Residency called the "Sudder," or "the seat of the local government"? And if it had, for what purpose forward the papers there when the Resident was absent? But, in fact, was not Mr. Barnett then at the Residency, and acting for the Resident? consequently, Chundoo Loll is made to ask him to write these things to himself! Or, if the Memorial was addressed to the Resident, and contained a request that it might be communicated to the Sudder, did this mean that Sir C. Metcalfe was to communicate it to himself?

(22) That is, finding that the Resident was opposed to all his views, and had directed his assistant to argue against them, the minister was compelled for the time to acquiesce; but was that a reason for depriving him of his right to the judgment of the Supreme Government, or for keeping it in ignorance of these complaints and discussions? How can Mr. Weeding then assert, that the charge of suppressing complaints brought against Sir Charles Metcalfe is altogether groundless?

he had received no answer from the Resident to those letters? (23) They would reply, probably, in the words of the Marquis of Hastings himself, after all the papers had been submitted to him, in his letter of the 13th of November 1822, "that they could not but impress the Governor-General in Council with a very unfavourable opinion of the minister's regard for truth and fair dealing." (24) The disingenuousness of the minister was strongly exposed by the Governor-General in the said letter; and to an opinion coming from such a quarter, so deliberately expressed, the gentlemen opposite, he conceived, would hardly object. He would now ask the Mover of the proposition before the Court, what became of his assertion, that the Resident had neglected to transmit a complaint to the Governor-General? The complaint was addressed, not to the Supreme Government, but to the assistant of the Resident. (25) In a conference between the assistant and the minister, the latter declared himself satisfied; that he was convinced by his arguments of the necessity of the existing state of things. (26.) The complaint, therefore, was at an end; the Resident surely could not be blamed for thinking it so. (27) Suppose the General

(23) Does not this prove that he was not satisfied, but merely silenced by the replies sent through Lieut. Barnett? They were replies, but, perhaps, in his estimation, not answers.

(24) The Governor-General might have expressed a very different opinion if he had fully apprehended the minister's meaning. He certainly might say, with truth, that his grievances had not been redressed; which is, in all probability the real purport of his statement, misunderstood or disguised by mis-translation.

(25) But with a request that it might be communicated to the "Sudder," a particular which Mr. Weeding chooses now to suppress. And it is not pretended but this was the regular and only proper mode of addressing the Supreme Government.

(26) Did he declare the facts stated in his memorial to be false, or that he wished it to be withdrawn? This would be something to the purpose, and might be some excuse for the Resident in concealing what had taken place from the Governor-General.

(27) If the Resident is not to be blamed for thinking, or pretending to think, that he has a right to suppress all complaints in this manner, by cajoling and intimidating the sufferers with the weight

himself who had made this motion in charge of a brigade, and an officer under him, or some person subject to his control, had complained of the conduct of any of his officers, and of the orders which he had issued; and suppose this had been the first intimation of any feeling of grievance or complaint which had come to the General's knowledge,—would he not naturally seek an interview with the complaining party? And if, in the conference with him, he admitted his complaint to be groundless, would the General deem it indispensable to forward the statement of such an officer to his superiors? Or, would he not deem it most unjustifiable to be accused of concealment and neglect of duty for not doing so? On what ground, then, did the hon. Gentleman charge Sir Charles Metcalfe with improper conduct on this occasion? Did he mean to say, that he ought to have forwarded the proposition for a loan of thirty-five lacs of rupees? Such a charge would be equally untenable.—Sir Charles Metcalfe had himself, the year before, submitted a proposition to the Supreme Government for raising a loan for the use of the Nizam, on the same principle,—that of taking the tribute of the Northern Circars as security for its repayment. The letter recommending it was dated the 5th of April 1821, and was dictated in the spirit of the kindest consideration for the interests of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co. (for which they made him afterwards so unworthy a return), (28) whose debt it proposed not merely to liquidate, but to give them an indemnity for the discontinuance of their loan, and the loss of the large interest they were deriving from it. It was directed, also, with a view to the full relief—which it would have accomplished—of the Nizam's difficulties, while it prompted the Bengal Government to a liberal and statesman-like conduct, without the least risk to its pecuniary interests. But what said the Governor-General in Council?—Mr. Adam approved of it; Mr. Fen-

of his authority, then the Company had better at once send out a patent, creating Sir Charles Metcalfe independent governor of the state of Hyderabad. There is no limit to the absurd notions of India House legislators.

(29) Yes! they were guilty of making the grievances of the Natives of India known to those who ought to redress them—an inappreciable crime in the eyes of Sir C. Metcalfe and his friends.

dall also supported it; but improved upon the recommendation, by advising that, instead of taking the peishcush as security, it should be bought altogether. A crore of rupees was about fourteen years' purchase of seven lacs—a good purchase of a good ground rent. The Marquis of Hastings, however, disapproved of the plan, and it was rejected. The Bengal Government had since found it necessary to adopt the principle, without carrying it to the same extent. Now, would the hon. General say, that it would have been becoming in the Resident to trouble his superiors with a proposition which they had already deliberately refused? (29) If he had done so, so prone did the hon. General appear, so gratuitously inclined to discover a fault in this meritorious servant of the Company, that he (Mr. Weeding) imagined he would have been as ready to accuse him then of contumacy, as he was now of neglect, where none existed. (30) After all, if the author of the proposition before the Court were capable of proving any part of his case against the Resident, where would be the use of his motion? (31) There might be some sense in moving a vote of censure against the offending party; but to call upon the Court of Directors to make a regulation, which was already made—to transmit it to their Indian Governments, where it had been already

(29) Why not? since the proposal was now the minister's, not his; and besides, it was fit the Government should know that the minister stood, at that moment, in need of the 35 lacs of rupees, which he was desirous of raising by such means, the principle of which the Government might, on re-consideration, have adopted, as, in fact, Mr. Weeding tells us, it has since done.

(30) He is not accused of "neglect," but of intentional suppression of information which did exist.

(31) Mr. Weeding having glossed over the loan, now talks glibly of no part of the charge being capable of proof. But we must call him back a little, and ask how he has disposed of the other half of the proposition he set out with—the "complaint of the interference of British agents in the adjusting and collection of the revenue?" Was there no need of letting the Supreme Government know somewhat of the wonderful exploits of Cornet Hisslop, in re-modelling the internal government of the country? Perhaps Sir Charles meant to defer sending a history of this till the revolution was completed.

transmitted—to enjoin the observance of it, where it was already in full operation and effect—this appeared to him (Mr. Weeding) to be perfectly childish and unnecessary. (32) If this motion succeeded, he should next expect some gentleman to recommend the Catechism or Ten Commandments to be sent to India, as if the Company's servants there had received no education nor instructions, and were insensible to the obligations of a common duty. He trusted the Court would reject the proposition of the hon. Gentleman.

Sir JOHN DOYLE was surprised that a gentleman, who in general argued so well, should have risen to continue a discussion on the propriety of withholding information from the Supreme Government,—a practice which, he was sure, the Court of Directors would never sanction with their approbation. All that he wished to obtain by the present motion was a proof, that what was done in India against the regulations of the Company, without the knowledge of the Directors, would not be sanctioned by them in England, when it came within their knowledge. As the hon. Proprietor had thought fit to ask him what he would do under certain circumstances, if he were in the command of a regiment, he would venture to offer to the hon. Proprietor

(32) The subject before the Court proves that the law was not in full operation and effect; but, on the contrary, shamefully evaded and trampled upon. This being the case, is it not "childish" of Mr. Weeding thus continually to beg the whole question? As to its being "unnecessary," does not the legislature often make declaratory laws only to give what has been already enacted full effect? And he is also contradicted by the Chairman himself, who declares that few seasons occur in which the Court do not find it necessary to repeat this rule, and impropria it more strongly upon their servants abroad. Yet Mr. Weeding flippantly tells them, that "to enjoin the observance of it, where it is already in full operation, is childish and unnecessary." The person who says this would, indeed, require to be sent back to his catechism, in which he might, perhaps, learn a little common sense and modesty. Moreover, Lord Amherst and his colleagues would have been no worse if some modern Nathan had read the Sixth Commandment to them in the morning of the second of last November: "THOU SHALT NOT KILL! It is written, Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man his blood shall be shed!"

the fruits of his military experience: The commanding officer of a regiment, when he received a complaint against his own conduct from an inferior officer, was bound to communicate it forthwith to the Commander-in-Chief; he had no discretion to exercise—send it he must; yes, he would lose his commission if he did not send to the Commander-in-Chief the most virulent complaint that malice could draw up against him. So much for that point; now for the next. They were told that Sir C. Metcalfe stated that Rajah Chundoo Loll was satisfied as to the groundlessness of his complaint. True it was that Sir C. Metcalfe did make such a statement; still, though such was the case, he (Sir J. Doyle) should have preferred a letter of Rajah Chundoo Loll, giving that assurance, on the precise fact of which he complained, to a thousand assertions of Sir C. Metcalfe. If a Resident, strong and powerful like Sir C. Metcalfe, should send to the minister of a native potentate, declaring, "You have said so and so regarding me; you must nussay, and that speedily, all you have formerly said," he was afraid that the minister of such a prince would not have the firmness to resist such a demand, coming from such a quarter; and therefore it was that he had first read to the Court the letter of Rajah Chundoo Loll, and had afterwards followed it up by reading the letter of Sir C. Metcalfe. He had gone to the original documents for the observations he had made, and had not taken them on credit, after they had been distorted by passing through three or four different channels. Having answered these points in the hon. Gentleman's speech, he should sit down, but not without requesting the hon. and gallant General a second time to withdraw the motion he had submitted to the Court.

Mr. LOWNDES rose, amidst deafening cries of "*Spoke, spoke!*" As far as we understood what he said, it was to this effect: that he meant to move for the production of the original agreement between the firm of Palmer and Co. and the agent of the Native power, the Nizam and his Government. The outcry shortly became so loud, that even Mr. Lowndes was obliged to resume his seat.

Mr. HUME expressed his surprise at the speech which had just been made by the hon. Proprietor on the other side of the Court,—a speech inconsistent with all the rules of the Company's service. The parity of

reasoning, which the hon. Proprietor had endeavoured to make out between the conduct of a Resident in India and that of a colonel of a regiment in England, receiving groundless complaints against themselves, and neglecting to forward them to their respective superiors, had utterly and entirely failed, and had not, as his hon. Friend had shown, the slightest application to the present case. The danger arising from such observations as those in which the hon. Proprietor had indulged, was much greater than the Court might at first anticipate. If one principle with regard to the government of India ought to be held more sacred than another, it was this: that all complaints against their governors, coming from the governed, who lived at a distance from the source of redress in England, should find an easy and immediate access to those who had the power of relieving and removing them. (*Hear.*) He said that certain documents had been laid before the Court of Proprietors, purporting to be all the documents which had passed between the Resident at Hyderabad and the Nizam's Government respecting a certain transaction: it now turned out that the documents laid before the Court were not all the documents which had passed; that they were garbled documents, and garbled for some purpose, which, though not avowed, was clearly perceptible. If these facts were true, the present motion involved a principle of no slight importance to the Company, and which was shortly this:—"Was the Court of Proprietors to be supplied with partial or general information, on any subject into which it was desirous of making inquiry?" His gallant Friend near him contended that general information ought to be furnished to the Court; the hon. Proprietor opposite maintained that it ought to be content with partial information, and such as their Residents should think it expedient to disclose. The hon. Proprietor had said, that the charge which had been made against Sir C. Metcalfe, for withholding some information about a loan, was a matter regarding which it was not necessary to trouble the Governor-General. A loan, in the estimation of the hon. Proprietor, was a matter of no consequence. Formerly he had treated it as a matter of most serious importance, not to be undertaken without grave consideration, or some great and pressing emergency; now he passed it by as a matter not worth notice. He left the hon. Pro-

prietor to reconcile, if he could, his present with his past declarations; and should proceed to do that which he had hitherto had no opportunity of doing, namely, to state his opinion of Sir C. Metcalfe's conduct with regard to the transactions at Hyderabad. He had no hesitation in saying, that the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe was more extraordinary than that of any public man which had ever fallen under his observation. It was so inconsistent and contradictory, as to prove to demonstration, that he could have no honest object in view; his sentiments changed, as the objects which he pursued changed; and the declarations which he had made of his different sentiments, at different times, now stood before the public as evidence to impugn the rectitude and honesty of his motives. He only regretted that Sir C. Metcalfe was not present, to hear the charges he had to produce against him; if Sir C. Metcalfe had been present, he would have stated more fully the different reasons that he had for declaring that Sir C. Metcalfe was utterly unworthy the situation which he now had the honour to fill. He trusted that the Court of Proprietors would not sanction Sir C. Metcalfe's system of withholding the complaints which he, in his official situation, was called upon to forward to the Supreme Government. In his opinion, a subsequent avowal from Rajah Chundoo Lall, that his former complaint was without foundation, amounted to no defence of Sir C. Metcalfe. In the interim between his first and last declaration, a thousand events might have occurred, so full of danger and disaster, that it would have been impossible to calculate the evil which the suppression of that complaint might have produced to our empire in India. He had before called the attention of the Court to the manner in which their servants in India had withheld from them important public documents: four years ago, he had brought this very subject under its consideration. Some time previously, certain transactions had taken place in India, which had produced considerable discontent. Memorials had been sent to the local Government, from those who either were oppressed or conceived themselves to be so. He alluded to the case of several officers, who, after a long service, found themselves suddenly superseded by a new system of promotion being adopted in their army in India. Three years after this pro-

motion had taken place, several officers who had come home from India to obtain redress, found, upon inquiry at the East India House, that the memorials which they had drawn up had never been transmitted to, or received by, the Court of Directors. On that occasion, when the subject was regularly brought before the Court of Proprietors, justice was done to Lieutenant-Colonel Keble and one or two other officers, by giving them the rank to which their long services entitled them. Other officers afterwards applied to the Court for redress: but whether justice was done to them or not, he was not able to recollect. He did not recollect who filled the chair at that time; but he well recollected the clear and strong expressions which their present chairman had then used. He told them, upon that discussion, that "sound policy and strict justice equally required that a free, easy, and quick channel should be open to all complainants, in order that they might obtain, as soon as possible, a remedy for any grievances of which they had reason to complain." He (Mr. Home) was perfectly convinced of the truth of that position, and had therefore endeavoured to illustrate it as fully as he could. He had pointed out the lamentable consequences which had emanated from the suppression of the complaints which had been made by the people in Madras and its vicinity. He had likewise pointed out the consequences which had ensued from the same misconduct on the part of the local authorities in the province of Cuttack, where a rebellion raged for upwards of three years, owing to the obstructions thrown in the way of all complainants. The individual who had created those obstructions was dismissed, as soon as they were discovered by the supreme Government. He was sent home. On his arrival in this country, he petitioned the Court for redress; but he did not obtain it, because, in point of fact, he did not deserve it. The mere dismissal of that functionary was not, in his opinion, a sufficient punishment for the offence he had committed, in obstructing the channels of complaint. He was sorry to say, that the orders of the Court of Directors were better calculated to obstruct than to open the doors to complaint. In proof of it, he referred to the order of the Court, which was sent in the year 1806 to Calcutta, prohibiting all meetings of the inhabitants without leave of the Governor-General,

on any subject in which their interests were materially concerned. By that order, he repeated the assertion, the inhabitants of Calcutta were forbidden to assemble to consider of any complaints which they might have to urge against the Government, without first obtaining the leave of that very Government against which the complaint was to be presented. The announcement of such an order conveyed to the minds of the inhabitants of Calcutta this idea: that unless they met for the purposes of adulation—unless they assembled to record their approbation of the measures adopted by the Governor-General and his Council, it was not intended that they should meet at all; the order was, therefore, considered by them as a measure subtly devised for the purpose of stifling any attempts they might be inclined to make in order to obtain a redress of grievances. Coupling this order, and the effect it had produced, with the manner in which complaints might be withheld from the supreme Government, he must say, that he considered the present motion to be one of most serious importance to the welfare of India. He conceived that if the Court of Directors had condescended to take the advice which he had formerly ventured to give them, and had declared that every individual neglecting to send home requisite information, should, by that very neglect, be rendered incapable of serving the Company, and should be *pro facto* removed from his office, they would have had no occasion to discuss a matter like that which at present engaged their attention. The utmost facility ought, in his opinion, to be given to the reception of the complaints of those whom we governed. He knew that some backwardness had formerly existed to receive them, and that backwardness he wished to remove. He would not give to any Resident or Deputy-Resident the power of withholding from the Governor-General a single complaint which came to his hands in the discharge of his official duty. It was true that the complaint might be frivolous, groundless, and unfounded; but it should be sufficient that a party declared himself injured, to entitle it to be sent to the Governor-General. The Court would not be doing justice to the thousands who were subjected to its sway, if it did not throw all doors of justice wide open to all claimants. (Hear.) It sanctioned the propositions laid down

by the hon. Proprietor on the other side of the Court, it would put an end to all means of correcting misgovernment, and of checking misrule. If the hon. Proprietor were to express the same opinions as a Director, which he had just now expressed as a Proprietor, he would express opinions which no Director hitherto had ever ventured to assert. They had been told that the government which the Company exercised in India was a system of despotism. For the sake of argument, he would say, be it so. Now, of all despotisms of which he had ever heard or read, none was so absolute as a military government; yet, in a military government, as they had heard from his hon. and gallant friend near him, every subaltern officer—nay, more, every private soldier, could compel his commanding-officer to transmit to the commander-in-chief any complaint which he had to urge against him. If, then, their Government in India were the despotism which it had been asserted to be, still he would advise them to give to every soul who lived in it under their sway, that right which belonged to the meanest soldier in the army,—that of transmitting an account of their grievances to those who were supreme over them. He did not know whether the sentiments he had expressed would be supported by the Court; but he knew that the motion of the gallant Officer near him was rendered advisable by the course of recent events, and that, if it were carried, it would prevent the repetition of similar occurrences. At the same time he would admit, that it might be expedient not to press it at the present moment; it might be supposed that it was meant as a charge of neglect against the executive Government. (*Hear.*) Still, before he would advise the gallant Officer to withdraw it, he must hear whether the Court of Directors were inclined to rectify such abuses in future. If they were so inclined, and would declare themselves to be so, the object of his gallant friend's motion would be answered without pressing it further; for the discussion of that day would teach all their Residents in India not to exercise such a discretion, with regard to the communication of complaints to the Government, as had recently been exercised by Sir C. Metcalfe.

Mr. WILKING rose to explain. He hoped that no person, except the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, had misunderstood the observations which he had submitted to their notice.

The hon. Gentleman had put words into his mouth, which he had never uttered, and had then amused himself by commenting upon them. Whatever might be the imperfection of the hon. Gentleman's memory, he trusted the Court would recollect that, in the outset of his argument, he had admitted, in the fullest manner, the propriety of giving the utmost facility to those who felt aggrieved, in the transmission of their complaints to the Supreme Government. (33) His reasoning only went to show, that Sir Charles Metcalfe had been no impediment to so useful a practice, and that the motion before the Court was totally uncalled for. (34)

The CHAIRMAN would suggest to the gallant General the expediency of withdrawing the motion which he had proposed, assuring him that it was an invariable rule that the subordinate authorities in India should communicate to the superior all the information which came to their knowledge. This rule, of course, applied also to the regular transmission of all official documents, and few seasons occurred in which the Court of Directors did not take occasion to impress upon their servants in India the necessity of attending to it; and the Court themselves were in the habit of calling for any explanation which they thought requisite to the most complete elucidation of the papers they received. He trusted that the motion would be withdrawn; he should be truly sorry if it were persisted in, because he thought that the pressing it at the present moment would be highly inconvenient. Honourable Proprietors ought to recollect, that the Court of Directors could not always send out to India such despatches as they might themselves wish. There was a controlling power provided by the legislature, to which they could not but submit their own opinions. Under these circumstances, he should be sorry

(33) Yes; he admitted this principle in the abstract, but flattered it away to nothing when he began to apply himself to the case of Sir Charles Metcalfe. If he is so inconsistent as to baffle his professions by his practice, are others to be blamed for misunderstanding him? Or, rather understanding him aright by his practice, and giving his professions only that weight they deserve.

(34) He modestly takes this credit to himself; although, in sooth, he showed neither the one nor the other; unless the repetition of the word "childish," &c., be taken for profound reasoning.

to resist the motion of the gallant General; but should be much better pleased if he would consent to withdraw it. (*Hear.*)

Mr. TRANT conceived, that if this motion were to be withdrawn, it must be by the consent of the Court. After the grounds of accusation which had been laid against Sir C. Metcalfe by the hon. and gallant Officer opposite, justice would not be done to Sir C. Metcalfe unless a few words were heard in his defence. His hon. friend near him had alluded to particular parts of the Hyderabad Papers, as exculpating the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe, but had not been able to put his finger upon them immediately, in consequence of his not having expected such a discussion as that in which they had just been engaged. He would, therefore, with permission of the Court, read those passages to which his hon. friend had only alluded. For the benefit of those who were not present at the late discussions on the Hyderabad Papers, it would be necessary for him to premise a few words, in order that they might know who the Rajah Chundoo Lollwas. He was stated to be the minister of his highness the Nizam—

Mr. TWINING rose to order. After the intimation which the Proprietors had received, that the withdrawal of the present motion would not be unacceptable to the Court of Directors, and after the silent announcement of the gallant General, that he had no objection to accede to the course which the Chairman had suggested, he begged to submit, with all due respect to the hon. Proprietor, whether it would not be most advisable to abstain from such a discussion as that into which he appeared desirous of entering. (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir JOHN DOYLE merely rose to say one word. He trusted that after what had fallen from the Chairman, the good sense of the gallant Officer would see the propriety of withdrawing the present motion.

General THORNTON said, that he was much disposed, in consequence of the recommendation of the Chairman, seconded as it was by that of the gallant Officer near him, to accede to the wishes of the Court of Directors, and to withdraw his present motion.

Mr. LOWNDES rose again, amid cries of "*Spoke!*" As the character of one of their servants had been attacked, he thought that the Court ought to hear it defended. In common fairness, when an attack was made, the party attacked,

or his friends, if he were absent, should be allowed to enter into his defence. (*Cries of Spoke, spoke!*)

Mr. S. DIXON rose to order.

Mr. TRANT said, that he would submit to the Chairman.

(*Great clamour, amid which*)

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN rose, and said, that nothing had given him greater pleasure than the words which had just fallen from the hon. Proprietor; namely, that he would submit to the Chairman. (*I laugh.*) He hoped that the hon. Member who had brought forward this motion, would indulge in the same feeling of submission to the Chair, and that he would permit him to say, that the Court of Directors were most anxious to establish a system of complete information, as to every thing which related to the concerns of the Company abroad. On every occasion, when any deficiency of information was evident in the despatches received from India, they pointed out the deficiency to the local Government, and enjoined them to use every exertion to supply the defect, and to avoid a repetition of it in future. There was no objection, behind the bar, he assured the Court, to the motion of the gallant General, except that, as the constitution of the country had given to the Directors the power of originating all despatches for the governance of their dominions in India, and to the Board of Control the power of approving or disapproving them, it would occasion great difficulty and inconvenience if the opinions of individual Proprietors should be laid down as the standing rules and orders of the Company. If the gallant General withdrew his motion, the present Court would, he was sure, separate satisfied that the Court of Directors would, for their own sakes, take care that the object of it was fully accomplished; for there was no point on which they were more anxious, than to receive the fullest information of every thing which took place in India.

Mr. TRANT rose amid great confusion. He did not wish to enter into a discussion disagreeable to the Court; he only wished to say five words. ("Yes," exclaimed a Member, "but those five words may lead to five hours' discussion.") If he had not been interrupted, he should already have concluded what he had to observe. (*Great outcry.*) If he were permitted to go on, he thought that he could remove from the mind of the Court all doubts as to the rectitude of Sir C. Metcalfe's

motives. (*Cries of Hear, and No, no!*) As the debate continued, the hon. Member at last sat down.

General THORNTON then formally withdrew his motion.

BURMESE WAR.—CONDUCT OF LORD AMHERST.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed the question, that this Court do now adjourn.

Mr. LOWNDEN asked what security there was that the agreement made with the Nizam about the 70,000*l.* a-year, would not be withdrawn?

No reply was given to this question.

Mr. HUME.—One motion had now been disposed of; he trusted that the Court had not forgotten that he had given notice of another. He had, on a former occasion, declared his intention to bring under their consideration the conduct of Lord Amherst in India. It was his opinion that Lord Amherst ought to be recalled from that country, in consequence of his inability to discharge the duties imposed upon him. He had only to ask at present, first, whether any document or information had been received from India by the Court of Directors, or by the Secret Committee, respecting the origin and progress of the Burmese war? And secondly, whether any Report of the Court of Inquiry, which had sat upon the cruel massacre at Barrackpore, had yet arrived in this country? He hoped that he should not be considered as acting prematurely in putting these questions, when it was recollected that eighteen months had elapsed since the commencement of the war with the Burmese, and that the country was still ignorant of the progress which had been made in it.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply to Mr. Hume, observed, that certain papers relating to the origin and progress of the Burmese war had already been laid before Parliament, and had been printed pursuant to a vote of the House. With respect to the other question which the hon. Proprietor had put to him, regarding the Report of the Court of Inquiry into the mutiny at Barrackpore, he must reply, that no such Report had yet arrived in this country. Having given these answers, he should move that this Court do now adjourn.

Mr. HUME could not allow the Court to adjourn at present, as he was not altogether satisfied with the answer he had received from the Chairman. He should, therefore, submit a motion, which he thought the present situation

of their affairs fully warranted. He could not find words to express the regret with which he rose to bring forward a charge imputing blame to an individual, whose justification they could not hear on account of his absence. He was informed, however, by authority, which he had no reason to doubt, that Lord Amherst, had written privately to some of his friends on the subject of the Burmese war. In those letters he had communicated his opinions as to the cause and progress of it, and had stated his views in it from first to last. Now, if what those letters stated were true, a great culpability rested, in his opinion, on the Government of Bengal, which had engaged in a war from mere views of conquest and aggrandizement, contrary to an Act of Parliament, which expressly declared, that the commencement of a war, upon such grounds, was contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm. [Here the hon. Member read the preamble to the Act of Parliament.] Now, while that statute remained on the statute-book, it behoved the Proprietors, if they were impressed, as they ought to be, with a sense of the impolicy and of the injustice of such a proceeding, to consider how it was that a Government, acting in direct violation of the law, delayed to lay such a statement before the Court of Directors as appeared to justify the line of policy which it had determined to pursue. He was of opinion that, under existing circumstances, the Court was bound to pass a vote of censure on the Bengal Government, for neglecting the duty imposed upon it by the legislature. For what had been the conduct of that Government? Not only had it declared war against a power which had not committed hostilities upon us, and carried our army from its own territories into those of another power; but it had also placed the British forces in a situation in which they had never before been placed in India, and he never wished to see them placed again. They had marched our troops to Rangoon, where, from the month of January down to the latter end of April, they had been in a state of complete siege, having done nothing in all that time except making a few sallies upon the forces of the enemy. It was, therefore, matter of importance that something should be done to rescue the British arms from the disgrace which the Bengal Government had cast upon them. As to the papers which had been printed by command of Parlia-

ment, respecting the origin and progress of the Burmese war, he had only one word to say. If there were no other cause for that war except the cause assigned in those papers—if the war were carried on for the small income derived from the Island of Shapuree, which, he was told by the right hon. the President of the Board of Control, when he moved in his place in Parliament for a return of the revenue derived from it, did not exceed one farthing,—he suggested that he was already in a condition to submit to the Court a vote of censure on the Government of Fort William; though he was not in a condition to move a vote for the recall of Lord Amherst, for not sending home all the papers in their possession, to explain the causes which had led them into so difficult a war, for an object in itself so insignificant. Connected with that subject was another, which required the serious consideration of that Court, if any subject ever did: he meant the massacre—for he knew no other name to call it by—which had taken place at Barrackpore. No subject ever claimed greater attention from that Court; and yet no information had yet arrived as to the result of the inquiry instituted into it. It was upon these grounds, exclusively of the expense which this war must throw upon the funds of the Company, that he could not allow the Court to separate without expressing some opinion on the conduct of the Bengal Government. He should, therefore, conclude by proposing a motion, of which he would dictate the words to the Secretary. [The hon. Member here began, but desisted as soon as he saw the Chairman rise to address the Court.]

The CHAIRMAN said, that the communications and despatches from India relative to the Burmese war, came home in the secret department; and that such of them had been published as had been deemed proper by the competent authorities. He wished to recall to the memory of the hon. Proprietor, and indeed to that of the Court at large, that in the beginning of most of our wars in India, even of those which in their termination had been most successful, they had appeared in England to be unpropitious. He, therefore, was of opinion, that until the Court received further despatches from India, it would be well for it to withhold the declaration of its opinion, especially during the time that preparations were carrying on. He would

recall to their memory another circumstance, which he trusted would lead them to the conclusion he wished. They would all recollect the situation in which that gallant officer, Lord W. Bentinck, had been placed. He was of opinion that great injustice had been done to that gallant officer, by the opinions which were, crudely and hastily formed of his conduct. With that fact as a warning before them, he cautioned them not to come to a hasty and precipitate judgment; for it would be wrong to impeach the conduct of the Governor-General, without having more experience to act upon.

Mr. HUME said, he fully agreed with what had fallen from the worthy Chairman respecting the case of that meritorious officer, Lord William Bentinck. The measures taken with regard to that gallant individual were harsh in the extreme, because subsequent events proved that they were entirely undeserved. If he could have supposed that any such results were likely to accrue from his rising on the present occasion, he would not have risen. He had before stated that he was most unwilling to rise, and he must again repeat, that he was at a loss about what he ought either to say or to do. Though the documents which he wanted to see had been long in coming, they might still come at last, and that considerably heightened the reluctance which he had just now felt at having to address them. Lord Amherst was, in his opinion, unfit for the situation which he now held; and therefore it was a matter of serious consideration, whether the Court ought or ought not to move an address for his recall. He was so completely at a loss as to the nature of the motion which he ought to make, that he rather felt inclined to yield to the suggestion which the Chairman had proposed to him.

Sir CHARLES FORBES said, that though his hon. Friend, the member for Aberdeen, was inclined to let the matter pass by him without further discussion, he could not consent to allow it to be so disposed of. He was very much surprised at the conduct of his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume.) His hon. Friend seemed to think that he had not yet got sufficient grounds to act upon; but he was of a different opinion, from recollecting the old proverb,—“What every body says, must be true.” He challenged any man to lay his hand upon his heart, and to say upon his honour that he considered

Lord Amherst to be a fit man to be entrusted with the supreme government of India. The feeling of the whole country, when he was appointed to that distinguished situation, was astonishment; not unmingled with a feeling of alarm. The appointment was attributed to private interest alone. It was his firm belief that such was the cause of it. It was said that the Court of Directors disapproved of it. If the Court did not disapprove of it, let any one of its members come forward and answer this question upon his honour:—"Was Lord Amherst, in your opinion, a fit man to be entrusted with the affairs of the East India Company on the continent of India?" He begged that he might not be misunderstood. He was speaking of Lord Amherst only in his public capacity: of Lord Amherst in his private and individual capacity he had heard nothing but what was correct, virtuous, and amiable. It was an able statesman, however, more than an amiable man, whom the East India Company wanted as the Governor of India. He begged the Court to consider the situation of its affairs in India. After a war of eighteen months' continuance, were they in the same situation as at its commencement? No such thing: would to God that they were! They were in a worse situation, for their army of 12,000 men had dwindled away to 1,300. Even the despatches of its commander, Sir A. Campbell, warranted that inference; but the private letters from the scene of warfare warranted an inference still more melancholy. Was it not notorious, that two regiments of Europeans, which had left Fort William 1,000 strong, had been reduced to less than 100 men each? How had that happened? Was it by some unforeseen calamity of the field, some unexpected accident of nature? No such thing: it was evident to the common sense of almost every man acquainted with India, that the Government was sending to their grave every soldier, not merely European, but Native, whom they were sending at that season of the year to the marshes of Rangoon, a locality than which there is none more pestilential in all the territory to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. While such was the fate of the army at Rangoon, what were the proceedings of the army on the Chittagong frontier?—None at all. The Chittagong horse had, it was true, gone a little way into the Arracan

country, when they found themselves opposed in their progress by the sea. Yes, the Chittagong horse found themselves, as another portion of our army once found itself, at the Burrampooter river, obstructed by the sea, or at least by the Arracan river, of which (so little was the country known) nobody knew the source. Such was the report of the proceedings of the Chittagong force, as detailed in private letters; and it was even added, that that force was detained on the banks of the Arracan river until pontoons could be sent for and brought from Calcutta. As to any advance of our army from the north-east frontier, it had been abandoned as impracticable; and yet they were opposed by nothing but an impenetrable jungle. Where, now, was Sir A. Campbell and his force? He had been told that he had made an advance into the country, in the hopes of joining with General Morrison's horse; but that he had been obliged to retrograde, in consequence of their not being able to form a junction with him, owing to the obstacles he had just mentioned. What expectations, then, ought they to form regarding the issue of the present campaign? He would briefly inform them. In six weeks from the date of the last despatches, the rains would have set in at Rangoon. (*No, no.*) In March, the rains would have set in. He could not exactly say what monsoon it would be, as he knew that the commencement of the monsoons was different in different parts of India. He would, however, affirm, that a month, or six weeks at the utmost, was all the time left for the operations of our army. It was his belief, that those operations would terminate in disgrace and defeat. He had made that declaration on the very first day of the session of Parliament. On the occasion to which he had just alluded, he had regretted that ministers had not instantly recalled Lord Amherst, for wantonly engaging in a war so unpolitic, so unjust, so unnecessary, in every point of view, (*Murmurs of disapprobation.*) Why had he regretted it? Because he looked upon Lord Amherst as a man every way unfit, by education, habit, and character, to be entrusted with the administration of affairs in India. (*Murmurs continued.*) If, in what he had just said, he was saying that which was not the feeling of that Court, or of any other public body, or of the country at large, let him be met and controverted by fair argument. Let

the man, he pointed out to him who would declare upon his honour that Lord Amherst was a fit man to govern India.

Mr. TWining said, that he rose with feelings of great respect, to call the hon. Bart. to order. It was with regret that he interrupted the hon. Bart.; but he felt it necessary to appeal to him (Sir C. Forbes) whether, at the conclusion of a quarterly Court, which, he allowed, was open to the discussion of the general affairs of the Company, but at a time when the Court was nearly empty, it was right to enter into a discussion of such grave and important subjects as those which the hon. Bart. had submitted to their notice. If such a discussion were right and proper, still he would suggest to the hon. Bart., whose candour he well knew, whether in the absence of Lord Amherst he ought not to decline bringing on this question, until he had given the friends of his Lordship full intimation of his intention and design.

Mr. Lowndes attempted to address the Chair, but was immediately called to order by the Court.

Sir C. Forbes said, that with all due respect to the hon. Proprietor who had called him to order, he could not but express his concern that the hon. Proprietor had thought it necessary to interfere with him. Was it his fault if the Court was at that moment thinner than it was three hours ago? As to the gentlemen who had left the Court without waiting for his observations, they were perfectly welcome to do so, all he objected to was, that their absence should be attributed to him as a fault. After the Chairman had stated the dividend on their stock, what was doing in India became a matter of no interest to them. They went to eat their beef-steaks at taverns and coffee houses, and considered what he had to say as the wild phantom of a diseased brain. Be it so: he only wished, that if he were mad upon this subject, he could bite a few of the gentlemen whom he saw sitting around him. (*Great laughter.*) In that case, matters of such importance as the present would not be treated with the present lamentable lukewarmness. He would now proceed to tell the Court, that though their forces had been reduced by the pestilential marshes of Rangoon, the Governor-General had issued orders to recruit the European forces stationed there, He had ordered a European regiment from Madras, another from Ceylon, and a third from

the Isle of France, in order to send them to Rangoon, where they would just arrive in time to reap, as their predecessors had done, the advantage of its unwholesome atmosphere. In another place he had been told that May was the proper period for the arrival of troops at Rangoon; but he did not expect to find any body in that Court willing to blazon his ignorance of India by repeating so senseless an assertion. Let those who thought May the proper season for a campaign in Rangoon, try the experiment in their own persons; but let not that Court give any sort of sanction to the folly by which they were possessed. The hon. Bart. then adverted, in terms of great severity, to the manner in which the Governor-General was managing the financial affairs of the East India Company. He was tantalizing the Indian public with bills, and was exhibiting a pettifoggish, weak, paltry, and ineffective conduct, which was unworthy the high situation he filled. In what would his measures end? In emptying the treasury of the Indian Government, in order to send home specie to the Court of Directors, as he had been desired in certain despatches sent out to him, shortly after his first arrival in India, under very different circumstances from those which existed at present. What did the Court think was one of the wise measures which his Lordship had adopted?—Being in want of silver to pay the troops, he issued bills to obtain it, which bills he promised to pay in specie, as soon as ever they became due. What was the consequence?—The holders of the bills carried them to the Government on their becoming due, and demanded specie for them;—thus showing the Governor-General that there was little use in robbing Peter to pay Paul. By this measure, the East India Company was compelled to commit an act of bankruptcy; they were obliged to suspend payment for one hour, until they could obtain funds from the Shroffs to take up their bills. That was one specimen of Lord Amherst's financial arrangements. He should like to ask the Court, what opinion they had formed of Lord Amherst's character as a financier? He now came to the unfortunate affair at Barrackpore, in speaking of which he could scarcely trust his feelings. For two months past they ought to have been in possession of the report on that melancholy affair. What could they say in defence of, the

Governor-General, when they came to consider the delay that had taken place? What excuse could they make for this not having furnished them, at this late period of the day, with a document of such melancholy importance? He had been told that the report of that Committee of Inquiry, formed as it was of only three officers, Major-general Watson, the Adjutant-general, and the Town-major, was most distressing. It was said to be highly favourable to the unfortunate men whose lives were sacrificed at Barrackpore. This must be felt as a most deplorable circumstance by all those who felt an interest in the welfare of India. Now this omission of the Governor-General, in not forwarding the report to England, deserved, if it stood alone, a decided vote of censure. He was convinced that a petition to His Majesty's Government to recall Lord Amherst, would meet with the approbation of the country at large. Eighteen months had now elapsed since the commencement of the Burmese war, and nothing had yet been laid before the proprietors to justify it. Who would not, having considered these things, come to this conclusion—namely, that the recall of Lord Amherst should be moved for? They could not go into society without hearing expressed, over and over again, the sentiments which he had that day uttered. What he wished—what would meet the approbation of the country generally, and would be hailed with delight by every man in India,—from the Indus to the Barampoota—aye, even to Rangoon—was, that the noble Marquis, who lately returned from India, should be solicited to resume the government of that country. (*Hear!*) His presence would inspire universal satisfaction and confidence. (*Hear!*) If he were at the head of affairs for one twelve months, such was his opinion of the talents of the noble Marquis, that he was quite certain he would retrieve all the errors of his predecessor. (*Hear!*) All he had heard and he had seen written from India, proved that the greatest anxiety prevailed there for the return of the Marquis of Hastings. (*Hear!*) He would restore peace and confidence from one end of India to the other. He was the only man who could remedy the fatal blow which had been struck against the British power in that empire. (*Hear!*) On certain points of the noble Marquis's administration, there might be a difference of opinion; but he would again press on the Court the

necessity, the importance, with a view to the interests of India, and the welfare of the vast population of that empire, of taking into immediate consideration the propriety of hastening the return of the Marquis of Hastings to India. (*Hear!*) Let them do as they had done on a former occasion, when the return of a former Governor-General was not wanted nor called for. Let them act in the same manner as they had done when the Marquis Cornwallis was requested (he thought most unfortunately) to resume the government of India. He was sure that the Marquis of Hastings would sacrifice the remainder of his brilliant life, if he thought that, by doing so, he could serve his country. His presence would create unbounded confidence in the civil and in the military departments, but, above all, it would produce confidence amongst the natives. (*Hear!*) He had not the least hesitation in saying, that if some measure of this nature were not resorted to, they would, ere long, hear of more serious disasters.

THE DEP. CHAIRMAN—"I confess, sir, I am a good deal astonished, that the hon. Proprietor has not concluded by making some specific proposition to the Court. This I conceive to be necessary; because then, and then only, this conversation can be carried on with propriety. There is, at present, no question before the Court, and therefore the proceeding of the hon. proprietor is somewhat irregular. He has indulged in a long string of invectives, which I heard with a great deal of regret, as proceeding from a member of the Court of Proprietors. (*Hear!*) I now beg to know whether the hon. Proprietor, having made so accusatory a speech, does not mean to conclude it by offering some motion to the Court?"

SIR C. FORBES said, he felt perfectly justified in having made to the Court the speech which had been alluded to by the hon. Bart., and no less justified in declining to follow it up by any motion. He should like to ask the hon. Bart. whether, after the sentiments which had been expressed by him (Sir C. Forbes's hon. friend on the other side of the Court (Mr. Hume)—sentiments which appeared to meet with the concurrence of the Proprietors—it would have been fitting for him to proceed farther than he had done? He wished to inquire how far it would be proper, after his hon. Friend had withdrawn his motion, for him to institute

a new one? Did the hon. bart. think it would be altogether right or correct in him to submit any motion on this subject at present, after what had occurred? He would say, "No;" and when he thought proper to make a motion on this important subject, he would give due notice of it. At the same time, he would not allow himself to be precluded from submitting a motion, *instantly*, if he deemed it necessary. This, it should be observed, was a Quarterly General Court, and was open for the discussion of every subject which related to the interests of India and the rights of the proprietors. (*Hear!*) He had, as he was authorized to do, made use of the right which he possessed, to state his sentiments on the present situation of India; and he would always assert that right, whether his sentiments were or were not palatable to the gentlemen behind the bar, or to the hon. bart. If the hon. bart. regretted that he heard his (Sir C. Forbes's) speech, he could not help it. He had not the smallest doubt that he had uttered some unpleasant truths, which perhaps the hon. bart. might wish to have been kept out of view. The hon. bart.'s feelings towards the present Governor-General, arising perhaps from personal respect, might be very kind: with that he had nothing to do. He viewed this question as a public one—as one which appeared to him to be of the utmost importance to the interests of the Proprietors and the country at large; and so viewing it, he had availed himself of the right which he possessed to speak his sentiments. He had asserted precisely the same right in the House of Commons, in going into a Committee of Supply—and would, perhaps, do the same thing again. He should very much like to know what the hon. bart. had to say in defence of his friend, the Governor-General of India; but he knew not why the hon. bart. should question his right to declare his sentiments as he had done: it was a right which every Proprietor was entitled to, and one which he should ever maintain.

The DEP. CHAIRMAN.—"I will satisfy the curiosity of the hon. bart. by assuring him, in the first instance, that I never was in the company of Lord Amherst three times in my life; and, therefore, I may be allowed to say, that I am connected with his cause by no ties of private feeling. I only view Lord Amherst as a servant of the East India Company—holding a high and important situation—entrusted by the

Company with the charge and direction of their affairs, and therefore entitled to their respect. (*Hear!*) Certainly, but little respect has been shown to Lord Amherst on the occasion. Indeed, I must say, that I never heard such a string of invectives from the mouth of any man, in any place, as has this day been levelled by the hon. bart. against Lord Amherst—those invectives being professedly founded—on what?—on 'I am told,' or else 'private correspondence,' which has recently been received from India. (35) (*Hear!*) The hon. bart. commenced his speech by telling us, that 'what every one says must be true.' Now, I will answer him by observing, that I believe 'common fame is very generally found to be a common liar,' so here there is one wise saw for another. (*Hear!*) I will ask of the hon. bart. and the Court—I will ask of any reflecting man—whether our affairs are likely to be well conducted in India, while such an attack on the Governor-General, as that which had been made by the hon. bart. goes forth to the public of India, through the medium of the newspapers which are sent to our Eastern possessions? (*Hear!*) If the hon. bart. had taken a manly and dignified course—(Sir C. Forbes: 'I did!')—if he had concluded with a motion of some description, his conduct would have been more regular and consistent. (36) If a motion of censure had persisted in, I, however, would have said that it was very ill-timed. In my mind, it would be better at once to move for the recall of Lord Amherst, since the censure of this Court must of necessity

(35) This is "good—very good." The press being gagged, and the official channels of intelligence apparently obstructed, (as the Directors can give no satisfactory information about the war, and none about the Barrackpore tragedy,) it is very well now to ridicule "private correspondence"! If this also could be put an end to, they might then envelop their Indian atrocities and follies in an impenetrable cloud of darkness, so as to be completely veiled from European eyes.

(36) How absurd it is to complain of no motion being made, when it is well known that whatever it had been—a vote for the production of papers—a vote of censure—or of recall—the Court would have been very anxious to get rid of it in any way; and the Deputy-Chairman himself would have been the first to condemn it as "ill-timed," or to beg it might be withdrawn as "inconvenient."

be attended with loss of confidence, of character, and of respect in the eyes of the individuals whom he is appointed to govern; and, bereft of confidence and of respect, how could he govern effectively? (37) (*Hear!*) Observing the course which the hon. bart. had been pleased to take, I must say, that it would have been better, after he had indulged so largely in invective, if he had concluded his speech with a direct motion for the recall of Lord Amherst. I am, however, as ready as the hon. bart. is himself, to admit that the military proceedings which have grown out of the present war have been as unpromising and as unfortunate as could well have happened; but I am not, therefore, prepared to say, as he has prophesied, that it will be a war of disastrous termination. (*Hear!*) There are many gentlemen in the Court who may recollect the commencement of as glorious—as distinguished—as successful a war as was ever carried on in

India. I speak of the Nepal war. (*Hear!*) Gentlemen must recollect that there were, in the commencement of that war, disasters and failures, which created a general feeling of despair, not only in this Court, but throughout the country; and yet no war was ever concluded more honourably or more successfully. (*Hear!*) In the present war disasters have occurred. To such disasters all wars are liable. But I hope that the hon. bart. will prove to have been a very indifferent prophet, when, at the commencement of the Session, he predicted so much misfortune as the inevitable consequence of this war; and no man, I am sure, will rejoice more in the failure of his prophecy than the hon. bart. himself will do. (*Hear!*) I do not profess myself to be the advocate of the Governor-General, farther than is incumbent on me (holding the situation which I have the honour to fill) to prevent that noble lord from being run down by the observations which have been made this day—observations which, if suffered to pass unnoticed, must tend greatly to diminish his authority. (*Hear!*) I will not enter into a discussion on the merits of Lord Amherst, or the policy of his measures; but I hope he will be treated with that consideration, fairness, and urbanity, which every public man, holding an elevated station in society, is justly entitled to claim." (*Hear!*)

The Court then adjourned.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

ADJOURNED SITTINGS AFTER TRINITY TERM, BEFORE THE
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ABBOTT AND A SPECIAL JURY.

1

Guildhall, London, July 13, 1825.

LIBEL—QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM *versus* JOHN MURRAY.

Two special jurors only having answered to their names, Mr. Scarlett prayed a *talea*, when ten jurors out of the common jury list were called, and the following jurors were then sworn:

Special Jurors.

BENJAMIN HOPKINS, Merchant.
WILLIAM FARMER, " Do.

Talesmen.

JAMES REYNOLDS.
EDWARD FINNEY.
SOLOMON ROBERTS.

JAMES STRATFORD CLARKE.
HENRY CHERRINGTON.
REUBEN EDWARDS.
STEPHEN CLARKE MORRIS.
WILLIAM MORRIS.
JAMES FRITH.
WILLIAM WHEELER.

Mr. M. D. HILL.—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury,—In this case James Silk Buckingham is the plaintiff, and John Murray is the defendant. The declaration states, that the

plaintiff is the author of a certain work, entitled, 'Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, east of the River Jordan,' and that the defendant did, on the 1st day of June 1822, publish, in a work known by the name of *The Quarterly Review*, several false, scandalous, and malicious libels, of and concerning the plaintiff, and of and concerning the said book of travels. The libels are thus set out: [Here the learned Counsel read the libels.] To this declaration the defendant has pleaded, first, that he did not publish the libels set out in the declaration; and, secondly, he justifies the charges as true. [Mr. Hill then read the several pleas, which went to justify each of the libels in the Index, and in the body of the Review, after which, he continued.]

The plaintiff, by his replication, joins issue upon the defendant's first plea; and as to the other pleas, he denies the truth of the averments in those pleas, or that, by reason of any thing alleged in those pleas, he ought to be barred from having and maintaining this action; which is the question you have to try.

Mr. SCARLETT.—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury,—My learned Friend has opened to you a case which, in consequence of the justifications which the defendant has thought fit to put upon the record, in answer to the plaintiff's demand for redress, presents for trial before a jury questions which are of very rare occurrence before the public tribunals of this country.—Gentlemen, there is scarcely any thing which interests mankind, that does not fall, at some time or other, under the consideration of a judge and jury; and when such things do fall under your consideration, you are bound, whatever may be the novelty of it, or the difficulties with which it may be surrounded, to deal with it, with assistance from the Bench, according to the best of your judgment, and to administer impartial justice between both parties. I may say now, that I have had a pretty long experience in courts of law; but I must confess to you, that I have never, in the course of my experience, known a cause in which a greater variety of issues have been introduced, a cause which afforded greater latitude for observations, or a cause in which the difficulty of knowing the precise point which the defendant wished to bring before the judge and jury was greater than in the present case. For these reasons, I must deal candidly with you, Gentlemen, and confess, at the outset, my embarrassment in not knowing which side—what end of this complicated cause I ought to begin with. My desire is, to state the facts of this case as perspicuously as possible, and, at the same time, to deal with it with that brevity which I am more or less

accustomed to use, when it is practicable;—not to waste either your time, or that of his Lordship, in general and fruitless discussions, but to come at once to the precise point for your consideration. However, in a case of this kind, I do not think I should do justice to either party, by merely stating the facts as they are placed upon the record, and the evidence which I intend to produce in support of them. It will be, therefore, necessary for me to go more into detail, for which I must claim your patient attention.

The plaintiff, Mr. Buckingham, is a gentleman who has passed many years of his life in India; and he, being a gentleman of considerable talent and information, had, during his residence in India, published in England a work entitled, '*Travels in Palestine, and through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, east of the Jordan.*' The plaintiff had visited many places which had not been visited before by any European, or, at least, if they had been so visited, of which no more than faint and imperfect accounts had been published; and he was therefore of opinion, that, by laying before the world his observations and descriptions of those regions, he would add something to the stock of novel and valuable information. These Travels, on their first appearance, both in this country and in India, excited a considerable degree of interest and attention, and, in the opinion of those who had criticised them, acquired for the author no inconsiderable portion of literary fame. With this addition to his literary fame, and the pecuniary emoluments derived by Mr. Buckingham from the publication of the work, he instructs me to state, that he and his friends were perfectly satisfied, and that he does not stand here to-day to demand at your hands reparation for any injury sustained in this respect. The complaint which Mr. Buckingham makes this day is, that the defendant, who is the proprietor and publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, (a work of great circulation and of great popularity,) not content with attacking the literary pretensions of Mr. Buckingham, with pointing out to that class of readers who were satisfied with the shallow information to be derived from criticisms in Newspapers or in Reviews, the errors, the mistakes, or the literary defects, of the publication in question, has deviated from the line of his duty, and made use of that popular engine (which he, in his character of Reviewer, wielded, to attack his private character, to calumniate him as a man, to hold him up to the contempt of mankind, and to render him an object of infamy and detestation. This is the general nature of the charge which Mr. Buckingham makes against the defendant.

Gentlemen, the plaintiff instructs me to state, that if the defendant had in this Review, popular as it is, confined himself to a mere literary criticism on the work—had confined himself to his fair province, (which, by the by, would have given an ill-natured man a sufficient opportunity of venting his private spleen against the author,) if the defendant had indulged to the greatest latitude in difference of opinion, or in severity of remark—if he had represented the work as the production of a man unlearned in the ancient languages—as the work of an author not having sufficient knowledge of the elements of science, to fit him for publishing such a volume—and had pointed out in the work itself materials to justify his criticism, he would be the last man in the world to complain in a court of justice. In such a case, the plaintiff would have thought, however severe and galling might be the remarks, that the defendant had done nothing more than he had a right to do in his character of reviewer, namely, to write a just and fair criticism upon every work published, either for the amusement or the information of the public; he would content himself with the praises bestowed upon his production by the other journals and reviews of the day; would be content to let mankind judge between these conflicting testimonies, and would never have troubled a Judge or a jury of his country with the consideration of any remarks which such a reviewer had made. But, Gentlemen, when the plaintiff finds that the author of this review has done more than he has a right to do—has gone beyond the bounds of fair criticism; when he finds that the author (who, I believe, is not Mr. Murray,) has made his review the vehicle of private malice and of personal slander, he feels that he has been ill-treated—that he has not been attacked with the fair weapons of literary warfare—that he has not been attacked as a candidate for literary fame—but that this engine, powerful as it is popular, has been employed to degrade him as an author, to crush him as a man, and to destroy his moral character. Gentlemen, you will agree with me, that if the plaintiff has good grounds for the feeling which he entertains, he has just cause of complaint against the defendant, and it is your duty to take care that the grievance, of which he complains, does not pass without redress.

(It has rarely happened to any man in ordinary life, to arrive at Mr. Buckingham's age without meeting with persons from whom he differs, nay, with persons who entertain enmity (whether ill or well founded) towards him; that every man must expect in ordinary life; and the more extended the circle of his acquaintance, the more likely he is to

meet with such persons; but every man at the same time, has a right to expect that those differences of opinion, or the enmity, should not be made the vehicle of attack by persons who had no connexion with him. Every man has a right to expect that such persons should not be at liberty to resort to the press for the purpose of destroying his moral character by anonymous attacks. God knows, the author of a criticism in a popular review has sufficient latitude to indulge his ill-nature against an individual, even when he confines himself to his fair, his just, his legitimate province. It is an old observation, Gentlemen, that "the task of criticism is much easier than the task of execution." All mankind think themselves capable of judging; but most of them feel that they are incapable of acting. I believe it is no uncommon thing for a reviewer to sit down to his task with no materials of knowledge on the subject on which he is to write, except such as are furnished by the work which he sits down to criticise; and yet, by selecting from the work, the only information which he can procure at the moment, by picking out one paragraph here and another paragraph there—by hinting his doubts upon one subject, and by hesitating to pronounce an opinion upon another, he makes a saleable article, and satisfies ordinary readers, who do not look farther than the surface, that he is possessed of more knowledge upon the subject than the author, and in many instances that the author is an assuming and ignorant pretender. But to those who look deeper into the subject, it will be quite clear that the ignorance is on the side of the reviewer; that he had no knowledge upon the subject, except such as he had derived from the work itself; that the party who attacks, and not the party attacked, is the presumptuous dabbler in science and in letters. For my own part, Gentlemen, I confess that I think there is, in criticisms of this nature, a want of good faith towards the public, which cannot be too severely reprobated; for, as the occupations of mankind generally prevent them from reading all the new books which are daily published, people anxious to ascertain the nature of any work, its merits, and its defects, are contented with reading the reviews, without ever taking the trouble of reading the work, and forming their judgment accordingly. All reviewers are aware of this, and they therefore know that they are generally safe from detection (except perhaps by the author and his friends) when they make false quotations, and wilfully distort and falsify the meaning of the writer whose work they undertake to review. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to sound and honest criticism, that a re-

viewer, who is base enough to gratify his private spleen towards an author, by misleading the public, and by abusing the power with which circumstances have invested him, should be held up to the scorn and the detestation of mankind. When I say this, Gentlemen, I do not mean to say that if the reviewer had confined himself to a distortion and falsification of Mr. Buckingham's book, that such distortion or falsification would be made the subject of consideration in a court of justice; it certainly would not. But when the reviewer accompanied the falsification of the plaintiff's work with an attack on his private character, the plaintiff felt as every man would feel—as each of you, Gentlemen, would feel in a similar situation—that he ought to appeal to a jury of his country for redress.

Before I come to that part of the libel which is an attack upon the private character of Mr. Buckingham, it is but fair to state to you the particular grounds selected by the reviewer for the purpose of attacking my client; and, for that purpose, I must present you with some outlines of the travels of Mr. Buckingham, to which I must beg to claim your best attention. Do not be alarmed, Gentlemen, at the declaration which I have made; for I can assure you, that I am not going to censure the work, but merely to give such an account of it as will render the remainder of my observations intelligible.

It appears then, that Mr. Buckingham being, in the end of the year 1815, at Alexandria, in Egypt, a treaty of commerce, for the purpose of establishing a commercial intercourse, as formerly, between Egypt and Bombay, through the Red Sea, was entered into, between Mohammed Ali Pasha for himself, the British Consul for the British merchants in Egypt, and Mr. Buckingham on behalf of the merchants of India. To carry this treaty into effect, it was necessary to make the merchants at Bombay acquainted with the sanction given by the Pasha to such commerce, and whether the pledges of protection given by him were sufficient to warrant them in sending their goods by such a route. It was justly thought that great advantage would be derived from personal communication with the merchants of India; and it was therefore proposed, as part of the plan, that Mr. Buckingham, who was a nautical man, and well acquainted with the navigation of the Red Sea, should proceed to India with this treaty, and that he should take charge of the first ships which might be sent to Egypt, to re-open the trade. It was also part of the plan, that Mr. Buckingham should be established at Suez, as a factor, and that he should receive a commission upon all goods forwarded to Alexandria by that route. I had forgot-

ten to state to you, Gentlemen, that Mr. Buckingham had travelled a great deal in Egypt, and that he was such a perfect master of Arabic, as to be able to travel among the Arabs without an interpreter. Under these circumstances, he was the fittest person that could be selected for such a mission; and he, having furnished himself with letters from a mercantile house in Alexandria, and with two copies of the treaty with the Pasha, in order to avail himself of any chance which might arise of forwarding one copy by a route different from that which he intended to take, left Alexandria for India, in December 1815.

I am aware, Gentlemen, that the proper route from Alexandria to India is by sea, (if practicable,) from Alexandria to Latakia, from thence by land to Aleppo, and from Aleppo, by the direct road, to India. I understand, however, that the navigation of the Syrian shores is, in winter, very precarious, and that for months together, no vessel navigates them; chance, however, threw into Mr. Buckingham's way a vessel bound to Bahrain, a port not far from that which he intended to reach, and he took his passage in that vessel; which, after having encountered the perils of the sea for several days, was obliged, by stress of weather, to put into the port of Soor, which is situated between Latakia and Alexandria. Upon his landing at Soor, Mr. Buckingham discovered that the vessel must undergo some repairs, and from the want of a proper supply of workmen and materials, in such a place, the repairs must take up several weeks. In consequence of this circumstance, the plaintiff took it into his consideration whether he might not be able to effect his passage by another route; but to this proceeding he found a difficulty opposed: the Pasha of Damascus had lately died, and the Pasha of Acre and the Pasha of Tripoli each looked to succeed him in the vacant Pashalic. In those countries such an event is productive of considerable changes, and a disputed Pashalic produces great confusion. Mr. Buckingham discovered, that under those circumstances, he could not pass from Soor into the interior, without having first procured a passport from each of the Pashas through whose dominions he intended to travel. It then struck him, that a native of the country would have less difficulty in travelling through it than an European, and he, in consequence, intrusted a native, who was recommended to him, with one set of the letters, with a duplicate of the treaty, and having furnished him with the means necessary for defraying his expenses, gave him instructions to proceed to Aleppo, from whence the despatches were forwarded across the Desert to Bombay. That Mr. Buckingham

was not mistaken in his conjecture, is evident from the fact, that the letters sent by the native messenger arrived at Bombay in the spring of 1816, long before Mr. Buckingham, who was prevented by illness and other causes, from reaching it until the latter end of the same year.

From Soor Mr. Buckingham went to Acre, in order to obtain a passport from the Pasha of that place, but on his arrival there, he was told that the Pasha was at Jerusalem, and Mr. Buckingham was therefore obliged to take a journey to that city. At Jerusalem Mr. Buckingham had the fortune to encounter Mr. Bankes, a gentleman of family, of fortune, of considerable learning, and who has, at present, the honour of representing the University of Cambridge in Parliament. The plaintiff and Mr. Bankes passed a week together; and during that period they visited two or three places, to which I shall, by-and-by, have to direct your attention. The routes of these two gentlemen lay in the same direction for a short time; and when they parted, Mr. Buckingham pursued his journey to India; but in consequence of the state of the country, and of a severe illness, he was obliged to return to the point from which he had set out, and to pursue a different course towards Damascus. At Damascus he again met Mr. Bankes, and having spent a few days in his company, they parted—Mr. Buckingham to proceed to Aleppo, and Mr. Bankes to pursue his own schemes. At Aleppo, Mr. Buckingham again met Mr. Bankes, with whom he passed a few days, and then proceeded on his journey to Bombay, where, as I have before stated to you, he arrived in the latter end of the year 1816. That Mr. Buckingham had been guilty of no neglect or delay in transmitting to Bombay the documents with which he was intrusted, is best proved by this fact, that as early as the month of November 1816, the documents so forwarded by Mr. Buckingham actually arrived in London. Those documents contained unaccepted bills on London, with which the merchants at Alexandria proposed to pay the merchants at Bombay for their merchandise; but the Bombay merchants not liking such payment, or perhaps being unwilling to intrust any thing to the good faith of the Egyptian merchants, refused to send any goods to Alexandria; and thus the object of Mr. Buckingham's journey was unattained.

I have now, Gentlemen, shortly traced the history of Mr. Buckingham's journey. Some time after his arrival at Bombay, a gentleman of the firm of Briggs and Co., of Alexandria, the house that had supplied Mr. Buckingham with the means of defraying his expenses, finding that the object of the mission had failed,

and that no fruit was likely to be derived from the treaty entered into with the Pasha, — required Mr. Buckingham to return the money advanced to him by that firm in Alexandria for the promotion of their mutual interests. Some discussion took place in consequence of this unjust demand made upon Mr. Buckingham; but I shall prove to you, that the result was the payment by Mr. Buckingham of half the money advanced to him at Alexandria, partly by a sum of money, and partly by a letter of credit upon the British Consul at Aleppo; and that this settlement was entirely to the satisfaction of Messrs. Briggs and Co., the parties with whom it was made. This is part of the history which is necessary for the explanation of the libel.

Mr. Buckingham having brought to a termination the business upon which he visited Bombay, passed over to Calcutta. I must here state to you, Gentlemen, that Mr. Buckingham is a most laborious note-taker, and has contracted the habit of putting down on paper even the most minute things that attract his attention. Such a man, Gentlemen, you must naturally suppose, kept a journal of his travels through countries seldom trodden by an European foot. Mr. Buckingham having in Calcutta shown his notes to several eminent persons, and, among others, to the late pious Bishop of Calcutta, he was recommended by them to publish his journal, which, in their judgment, contained much novel and useful information. The plaintiff, yielding to the recommendation of his friends, resolved to publish it accordingly. Such, Gentlemen, are the auspices under which the work, which is the remote cause of this action, saw the light. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Buckingham intrusted the manuscript to a friend of his returning to England, with instructions to offer it for publication to the defendant, Mr. Murray, upon certain terms. Mr. Murray received the manuscript, had it inspected, and agreed to publish it, on terms highly advantageous to Mr. Buckingham, but Mr. Murray afterwards retracted his agreement, in consequence of some circumstances that subsequently occurred, which are not connected with the question you have now to try; but which, if they were connected with it, I should feel myself justified, from personal motives, with which some who hear me are acquainted, in abstaining from making a part of the present discussion. In consequence of Mr. Murray's refusal to publish the work, Mr. Buckingham's friend offered it to another bookseller, who, after a very long delay, having investigated the causes which led Mr. Murray to reject it, and having received from India, in the mean time, satisfactory proofs of the insufficiency of these causes, undertook the publication of the

work, which, upon its appearance, had received from almost every literary Review in the country, I may almost say, unqualified praise. It was reserved for the Quarterly alone to make the attack; and I again say, if that attack had been confined to the literary pretensions of the work, it would never have been made the subject of inquiry in a court of justice. I think it is a fair question, however, for your consideration, whether or not a bookseller, who had a feeling of hostility towards an author whose work he had rejected, may not have made use of his Review, not merely to puff works published by himself, but also to throw discredit upon the publications of others? Whether or not such practices exist, literary men know best. I do not mean to state that I can prove the fact; but I suggest it as a question for your consideration. I belong to a profession which, it is the fashion of late to say, is so excluded from the world, as to know nothing whatever of literature. That may be true, or it may not; but this I will say, that, in my younger days—in my literary days—I have heard (I do not now speak of the Quarterly) that ten guineas had been given to the editor of a popular Review, for inserting a complimentary criticism upon a wretched novel, the name of which I no longer remember. I have also heard, (but I do not vouch for the fact) that for the trifling consideration of a hundred guineas, a bookseller had allowed a man to insert in a Review a virulent attack upon the character of another, against whom he entertained a feeling of hostility. All those arts, if pursued, reflect much of dishonour upon reviewers, are productive of considerable disadvantages to those who are the objects of the anonymous slander, and are of no benefit whatever to the public, who have a right to expect from a reviewer candid and rational information respecting the work which he undertakes to review.

I shall now show you, Gentlemen, how the privilege of a reviewer has been exercised upon the present occasion, and how this attack has been commenced, by stating a direct and positive falsehood. I do not make this the foundation of my complaint, but I merely state it to show you the motives of the reviewer; and I trust I shall be able to convince you that his object was not candour and truth, but calumny and detraction. Turn, Gentlemen, to page 3 of Mr. Buckingham's book, and you will there find that he says:

The vessel in which I had embarked was one of those called a Shuktoor, and seemed peculiar to the navigation of the Syrian coast. Its length was about thirty feet, and its extreme breadth fifteen; but being of shallow draught, its burden could not have exceeded forty tons. Small as it was, it had three masts, two of them being fixed nearly at the extreme points of the frame,

and the principal one a little before the centre of the hull. On the fore and main-masts were carried a latteen sail, exactly similar, in shape and form, to those worn by the Egyptian jermas, and on the main-mast were a square course, a top-sail, and a top gallant-sail, all fitted like the central sails in a polacca ship, and the mast rigged in the same way.—To which is appended a note: "See Vignette at the head of the Chapter."

If you turn to the vignette, Gentlemen, you will find a vessel correspond-ing, as precisely as drawing could make it correspond, with the description given by Mr. Buckingham. Here are two latteen sails (of the triangular form, similar to that called by our navigators a jib) at each extremity of the hull, and at the head of the jib the upper extremity of a mast is seen; the rest of the mast is hidden by the latteen sail. But although a stroke for the mast does not appear, it cannot be supposed that the latteen sail could be supported without a mast, or that Mr. Buckingham meant to represent in the vignette a vessel without such a mast. Now look at the candour of the reviewer. It is possible that none of you have ever read Mr. Buckingham's book; and Mr. Buckingham must excuse me when I say, that I had never read it until after I received my instructions in this cause; but I certainly did read the Review, and my whole knowledge of the merits and demerits of the work was derived from the article in that Review. The reviewer begins by stating a falsehood. He says:

The fraud is as clammy as it is gross; for had we never met with Le Bruyn, nor suspected our author to be no draughtsman, his own descriptions would have enabled us to pronounce, that the views do not belong to his work.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—Is this passage stated in the declaration?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—No, my Lord.

MR. SCARLETT.—It is not, my Lord: but there are some general terms in the justification, which will enable my learned Friend, the Attorney General, to pick out any passages of the Review he may please, and to rely upon them for his defence. I therefore wish to show the *animus* with which this libel was composed. To the passage which I have just read from the Review, there is appended this note:—

The very last vignette offers an amusing instance of this. We turned to the vignette, and found two vessels represented there, of which the one has one mast only, and the other two! It would be hard, however, to blame Mr. Le Bruyn for not having represented Mr. Buckingham's boat with fidelity.

Here, Gentlemen, is a bare-faced unqualified falsehood, which you or I could not discover without referring to the work itself; a falsehood introduced for no other purpose than that of giving the writer an opportunity of saying, that the vignettes in Mr. Buckingham's work

were pilfered from Le Bruyn; here is a distinct charge of fraud made against Mr. Buckingham. He is charged with having attempted to give to the public as his own drawings those which he knew he had taken from others. Let us see how this charge can be refuted; for its refutation I have merely to call your attention to Mr. Buckingham's preface, which is, in my humble judgment, a part of a book of which a reviewer ought not to be wholly ignorant. There are twenty-eight vignettes in the work; and Mr. Buckingham, in speaking of them in his preface, says:—

Many of the vignettes are from original drawings made after sketches taken on the spot; and as this is the least expensive and humblest way of adding graphic illustrations of the text, appropriate subjects have been selected from other sources, but invariably with a view to the elucidation of scenery, costume, or manners, and the accurate representations of places spoken of in the body of the work.

Here was a candid admission by the author at the outset, that *several* of the vignettes were taken from *other sources* than his own; an admission which the reviewer ought to have noticed, but to which he seems to have wilfully shut his eyes for the purpose of stating to the public, that Mr. Buckingham had committed a fraud, and a fraud I must say the most inexcusable that can be committed by a man who pretends to give information to the public. This is one instance of the candour of this reviewer. I shall now beg leave to direct your attention to another wilful misstatement: Mr. Buckingham, in company with Mr. Banks, visited the ruins of Geraza, which is called by the moderns Jerash. Mr. Buckingham, in speaking of those ruins, gave it as his opinion, that they were the ruins of the ancient Geraza, but the reviewer gives it as his opinion, that those ruins were the ruins of Pella, and in alluding to that visit, the reviewer uses these words;

That Pella and Geraza were places distinct from each other, there are abundant passages to prove. We have stated the pretensions of Pella. Upon the side of Geraza, we know but of one passage that makes it at all probable that these are its remains. It is that in which Ammianus Marcellinus praises the walls of Geraza, comparing them with those of Bosra. It is surprising that Mr. Buckingham should have missed this passage, since it might be found in the index to Gibbon.

Gentlemen, what will you think of the candour of the reviewer when I tell you, that in the account given by Mr. Buckingham of the ruins of Geraza, he gives the following account of this very passage from Gibbon:

Gibbon enumerates this city among the line of fortresses from Bosra to Petra, which formed the frontier of the Syrian provinces in the lower Empire, and the barrier which was opposed to the Saracen invaders of that country from the East.

Gentlemen, can you imagine it possible that the reviewer, if he had ever read the book which he pretended to criticise, could have passed over the passage I have just read to you? Certainly not. You must therefore agree with me, that his object in omitting that passage was to show, that Mr. Buckingham was so ignorant of the places about which he was writing, as not to know that it had ever been mentioned by that most accurate writer, Gibbon. I think, Gentlemen, I have given sufficient specimens of falsehood and misstatement to enable you to form an opinion of the motives which influenced this reviewer, and the object which he had in view; but there is one other misstatement which I cannot abstain from noticing in this part of my case.

Mr. Buckingham paid a visit to the ruins of Oomkais. In his book he enters into a disquisition as to whether those ruins are the ruins of Gamala or the ruins of Gadara; he gives the authorities on both sides, and draws from those authorities his own conclusion, that they are the ruins of Gamala. With that conclusion Mr. Buckingham has since had reason to be satisfied. His opinion is supported by the authority of an eminent traveller, whose works have been published by Mr. Murray, since the appearance of Mr. Buckingham's book. I allude to the volumes of Mr. Burckhardt.

Now, Gentlemen, I beg of you to pay particular attention to the words used by the reviewer, respecting Mr. Buckingham's account of those ruins. The reviewer says:

We cannot help feeling a sort of pity for a traveller who can have wandered through the singular sepulchres of Oomkais, and have bathed in its hot waters unconscious that those were the tombs, and this the bath of Gadara; for doubtless it was among these very tombs that the Demoniac of the Gospel resided, and that our Lord performed his miracle.

If any of you, Gentlemen, were to read this paragraph, and inquire no farther, you would think that Mr. Buckingham's work was the production of a man ignorant of the place about which he professed to write; of a man who did not know of those objects which must necessarily have attracted the attention of every one who had ever visited the place; and that instead of looking up to such a man for information, you ought to look upon him as an object of pity, I should rather say of contempt, for I know of no man more deserving of contempt than the man who, for the sake of putting a few pounds into his pockets, adds to the delusion under the false pretence of adding to the information of mankind. But, Gentlemen, what must be your astonishment when I tell you, that Mr. Buckingham, with all the reverence which the

recollection of such a passage must excite, thus speaks of it in his book.

The account given of the habitation of the Demouiac from whom the legion of devils was cast out here, struck me very forcibly, while we were ourselves wandering among jagged mountains, and surrounded by tombs still used as dwellings by individuals, and whole families of those residing there.

This is another instance of the dexterity with which this reviewer handled a passage in the book which he pretended to review. He falsified it first, for the purpose of having an opportunity of abusing it afterwards. I make these general observations, and select these passages, for the purpose of showing you the unworthy artifices to which the reviewer has resorted to effect his main object; that object, towards which every observation of his that I have read to you tends, namely, to misrepresent, degrade, and destroy the reputation of the author and his book.

I shall now come to the most material parts of this review, which constitute the libel complained of, and which you will agree with me were intended to degrade and destroy the reputation of Mr. Buckingham as a man, quite as much as the passages which I have pointed out to you were intended to destroy his reputation as an author. You are, Gentleman, most probably aware, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to state to you, that every two numbers of the *Quarterly Review* form a volume, and that each volume is closed by an Index of the contents. The number containing the libel which is the subject of this action, was the second number of the volume, and contains the Index, in which is condensed, within a very small compass, all the malice that is diffused over a very lengthened article, purporting to be a review of Mr. Buckingham's book. The libel commences thus:

Buckingham, (J.S.).—*Travels in Palestine*.—Notice of an egregious blunder in the title-page of this work.—Remarks on the blunders in the preface.—Geographical blunders respecting the site of Ramah and Bosor.—Specimens of his ignorance and book-making.—Profane and infidel allusions to the Scriptures.

Profane and infidel allusions to the Scriptures! Gentlemen, as far as I have read, I have met with no such allusions in this book. Mr. Buckingham has endeavoured to explain passages in Holy Writ by a reference to the places mentioned in those passages, and which places he had visited; but I defy the most fastidious person to find in this work, which is not a short one, any thing that would justify him in charging Mr. Buckingham with having made any disrespectful and profane allusions to the Holy Scriptures. The best evidence which I can give you, Gentlemen, of the falsehood of this charge, is, that the defendant has not even ventured to justify it,

although he has thought fit to put it in that shape in which it would be most likely to catch the reader's eye, and has given it a prominent place in the summary of the slurs which he is pleased to impute to Mr. Buckingham. The Index then proceeds:

His account of the Lake of Tiberias false.—Blundering account of the ruins of Cesarea.—Ignorance of Arabia.—Incorrect account of the Convent of Jerusalem.

Shall I tell you, Gentlemen, the meaning of those words, "incorrect account of the Convent of Jerusalem." Mr. Buckingham, who, as I shall prove to you, is a most minute observer, and takes laborious notes of all he hears or sees, states in his book, that the person who acted in the capacity of cook to the monks at Jerusalem, was a religious person; and he was led to state this from the fact, that this cook in question wore a cowl, like the monks, and was dressed in a religious habit. Surely this mistake, into which any man, the most accurate observer, might have fallen, is not so heinous, that he ought on account of it to be drawn and quartered in the *Quarterly Review*. Mr. Buckingham also states in his book, that a house in the neighbourhood of the convent, which had been left as a legacy to the friars by some pious Christians, was let out by them to ladies of easy virtue. How this is, I cannot say; but I have no reason to doubt Mr. Buckingham's authority. It does not follow that there is no such place near the convent, because some travellers have not mentioned it; it does not follow, that because the reclusive and chaste moralist, who seldom or never stirs out of his convent, has not found out such a house, that a person of different habits could not find it out. Mr. Buckingham draws from this fact within his own knowledge, the inference, which, whether justified or not, it is unnecessary now to inquire,—that the landlords take an interest in the success of their tenants. But even admitting for the moment, that Mr. Buckingham is wrong in both these surmises, a man of common candour sitting down to criticise a work with which they have no connexion, would have passed them over, and not have treasured them up in the catalogue of Mr. Buckingham's sins. The Index proceeds:

Liberal disparagement of Nathaniel Pearce.—Dishonourable conduct of Mr. Buckingham towards his employers and Mr. Banks.

Mark, Gentlemen, the word "employers;" that word is used ironically; it is used for the purpose of giving the reader to understand, that Mr. Buckingham was employed in a subservient capacity; but I shall prove to you this day, that on the occasion to which this passage in the Index refers, Mr. Buckingham was the bearer of letters from

persons with whom he was in partnership, to establish and promote a trade, in the success of which he was more deeply interested than any man living. So much at present for the word "employers." The Index then states:

The arrival of the latter gentleman and of Mr. Buckingham, at what the latter calls the ruins of Geraza, which most probably are those of Pellin.—Blunders committed by Mr. Buckingham in his account of the Antiquities actually discovered there.

Mark the word "blunders," Gentlemen. With respect to "blunders," if there be any, Mr. Buckingham stands on high ground. I have told you before that Mr. Buckingham visited the ruins of Geraza in company with Mr. Bankes; but I must now inform you, that he afterwards, unaccompanied by Mr. Bankes, paid a visit to them; that, upon this second visit, he made drawings of them—took their relative bearings—one from another, and with the greatest care and attention measured their dimensions and extent; so that if there be any blunders, I think they are more likely to be found in drawings made in a hurry, than in drawings to which much attention has been paid. But to proceed with the Index.

His plan of them, and transcripts of inscriptions, pilfered from Mr. Bankes.

The exposure of that statement I shall not now go into; a more appropriate opportunity will present itself in the course of the observations which I intend to make during the progress of this cause.

Further specimens of Mr. Buckingham's blunders—The ruins at Oomkous—Remarks upon the ignorance displayed in his plates, which are pilfered from those of former travellers.

Gentlemen, I do not understand how a man, who says expressly in the outset of his work, "*many of the vignettes are from original drawings made after sketches taken on the spot, and others have been selected from other sources*," can be said to have pilfered from the works of another. What sketches Mr. Buckingham has taken from the works of other travellers he caudally avows. Those which he has taken are from the works of a traveller long since dead. Allow me here to state to you, Gentlemen, that a sketch of this kind is public property; and that any man who chooses has a right to copy, provided, when he does so, he does not allege that it is his own; and it is only when he alleges that to be his own which is not his own, that he can be justly accused of pilfering from the stores of another. What right then, I ask you, Gentlemen, had this reviewer to state, under such circumstances, that Mr. Buckingham had pilfered from the stores of another?

I have now read the libel which is contained in the Index. Of that libel

Mr. Buckingham complains, and, in my opinion, with perfect justice. Mr. Buckingham says to the reviewer, "You are not content with attacking my moral character—with misrepresenting my text—with making false and unfounded charges—with charging me with ignorance, in the body of your work; but you have gathered together, in the small compass of an Index, a string of charges against my moral character, which no man can read, if he believes you to be honest, without thinking me the basest and most contemptible of mankind. You represent me to be a man, who not only pretend to learning that I do not possess—to have visited places which I have never seen—but you have represented me to be a betrayer of confidence—a violator of private friendship—a plunderer of my employers—a pilferer from the works of others—and a monster of ingratitude towards my benefactor. Oh this I complain, and look for redress to a jury of my country."

The libel thus set forth in the Index was, I am quite satisfied, more likely to injure Mr. Buckingham than the libel to which it referred in the body of the work; at least, this was certain, that many persons would read that who would have passed over the libels in the Review, for the lazy readers generally look into the Index to ascertain what is worth reading and what is not.

I come now, Gentlemen, to the body of the work, and I must beg you will go through it with me with the greatest attention, as it is the part in which my client thinks his character is most wantonly and unjustifiably attacked. You recollect, Gentlemen, that in the Index an allusion is made to Nathaniel Pearce, of whom I understand Mr. Buckingham has spoken in his work as a man who could hardly read or write. The reference in the Index is to page 382, and upon turning to that page, I find this passage.

That Pearce had been a common sailor is true, but he was very far from being a common man, and not only could he read, and that in French as well as in English, but he wrote a very beautiful hand; he has left behind journals of all that passed during his long residence in Abyssinia, which, when given to the press, as we trust they will be by Mr. Salt, to show care he bequeathed them, will, perhaps, throw more light upon the actual state of that singular country than any other work that has been published. Gladly would we exchange ten such quartos as this, got up by this "Member of so many flourishing Literary Societies," for a few pages from this "common sailor, who could hardly read."

Surely Mr. Buckingham, who only pronounced a judgment, ought not to be accused for not knowing any thing of a journal which, according to the reviewer's own statement, was not then, and has not even yet been, published, and which Mr. Buckingham has never seen. The libel goes on—

The charge of "low origin and ignorance," (with however odd a grace it might come from such a quarter) is not restricted to Nathaniel Pearce: two respectable Germans, who seem to have committed no other offence than that of having been assisted by Mr. Bankes, in the very same manner as the writer himself was almost immediately afterwards, are described as "young men who were evidently persons of low origin and confined education, and then manners were dreadfully vulgar." "Although travelling," he indignantly adds, "without any professed object beyond their own pleasure, they were both so poor and destitute as to suffer Mr. Bankes to pay their expenses."

The word "*suffer*," Gentlemen, and the word "*sufferance*," in the subsequent sentence, are printed in small capitals, in order to lead the reader to infer that Mr. Buckingham had suffered Mr. Bankes to pay his expenses, but which Mr. Buckingham most positively denies. The libel goes on—

It is to be hoped that Mr. Buckingham does not intend to uphold them, in this place, with a degree of sufferance which he soon found it convenient to modify, more especially as we have the best assurances, that these young men neither violated the confidence of any employer, to whom they were answerable, nor abused the indulgence of their benefactor. I mind the word benefactor, Gentlemen, as I shall have an observation or two to make, by-and-bye, upon that word, by procuring facings from his papers, in order to turn them interwards to account.

Now, Gentlemen, I say it is impossible for any man to read this article without seeing at once that the reviewer intended his readers should infer, that those two young Germans had not availed themselves of Mr. Bankes's kindness to a greater extent than Mr. Buckingham, and that they had not betrayed the confidence of their employers, nor abused the indulgence of their benefactor, Mr. Bankes. If such be not the fair and obvious meaning of that passage, I defy any one to say what the meaning is; but if there should be any doubt as to the meaning of the reviewer in penning that sentence, I shall read to you a note to the review, which will dissipate any doubts you may by possibility entertain. I shall, however, before I come to read this note, make an observation or two. If this question were put to me—Do you believe Mr. Murray to be the author of this libel? I should answer, No. And I beg you, Gentlemen, to keep in mind, that I do not ask you for a verdict on that ground, because I well know that it is not Mr. Murray's business to write articles in his Review, but to make money of them when they are written. I will again say what I have before said, that I do not believe Mr. Bankes is the author of this libel. I have not the honour of a very particular acquaintance with Mr. Bankes; but I know him to be a gentleman, and that is sufficient to convince me that he could not descend to such unworthy means of indulging his

hostility, if he entertained any, towards Mr. Buckingham. But this I do believe, that the author must be acquainted with Mr. Bankes, and that, in loose conversation, something may have fallen from Mr. Bankes, which the author has distorted into the shape in which it now appears in the Quarterly Review; but that Mr. Bankes is the author, I again repeat that I do not believe it, nor will I believe it, unless I hear Mr. Bankes state it on his oath. I am positive in my belief from this circumstance, that if Mr. Bankes actually had been the benefactor of Mr. Buckingham, (which Mr. Buckingham positively and solemnly disavows), Mr. Bankes, who I believe to be a gentleman of high character, could not, under any circumstances, come forward and reproach a man publicly with having been his benefactor; and, least of all, could he descend to come forward, and publicly and anonymously reproach Mr. Buckingham with having been his debtor. Mr. Bankes has the education and the feelings of a gentleman—he could not stoop to an act of such self-degradation—he could not do that which no gentleman would do. I will even suppose that Mr. Bankes has cause for resentment against Mr. Buckingham; but if even so, I think too well of him to imagine, for a moment, that he could descend to such means,—that he would wish to gratify his resentment by an anonymous attack in a public Review. The more I consider it, the more confident I am that Mr. Bankes never was, never could be, the author of such an article. The following is the note appended to the last sentence that I have read from the Review.

Mr. Buckingham had undertaken to carry letters for a mercantile house to India, overland, by the most direct and expeditious route, and with all attention to economy, the firm agreeing, on their part, to pay all his expenses.

I request of you, Gentlemen of the Jury, to mark how invensively the words "to carry letters" are introduced, thereby intending to represent Mr. Buckingham as the mere letter-carrier of a mercantile firm, of which he was a partner, and a partner whose interests were more deeply concerned, from various causes, than those of any other person. The libeller goes on.

From the first moment, however, of his setting his foot on Asia, we find him acting as if both his time and his funds were his own. How he may have since transacted matters with his tried and well-loved friends at Alexandria, we know not, but this we do know, that as soon as his conduct reached their ears, Mr. Barker, the British Consul at Aleppo, was authorized to take from him the despatches, and to dismiss him, and that, he being now already on his way to Bagdad, a Tartar was sent expressly after him for his recall, but he died accidentally upon the road, so that it is to the timely death of this Tartar (that the "Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and the Literary Societies at Madras and Bombay," are indebted for their distinguished

Member? His transactions with Mr. Banks seem to have been an episode in his plan: we have not only the statement of that gentleman with respect to them, but have seen also the deposition, upon oath, of his servants, (the same who are spoken of in this work,) that Mr. Buckingham bore no part whatever either in the disposition or the expenses of the journey beyond the Jordan, &c., that he never made a single sketch during this time, nor had materials for doing so, and has moreover been heard to lament his inability; that the plan which is the ground-work of that here given of *Ijjerash*, was made by Mr. Banks, and traced, by his permission, at a window of the Convent of Nazareth, by Mr. Buckingham, upon a direct promise that it should not be published.

I trust what I have now read is a sufficient illustration of the first part of the libel contained in the body of the work. It contains a direct and positive charge, of the most infamous description, against Mr. Buckingham. It is saying that Mr. Buckingham was employed as a letter-carrier; that he violated the confidence reposed in him by his employers; that Mr. Banks was his benefactor, and had allowed him to make tracings of a sketch at Nazareth, which is the ground-work of the plan of *Geraza* published by Mr. Buckingham, who, by such publication, abused the indulgence of his benefactor, who permitted him to make the tracings upon an express promise that the sketch should not be published.

Before I comment, Gentlemen, upon the infamy of this paragraph, and show to you the utter improbability of these statements being founded in truth, I must beg leave to make two or three remarks, in which I shall feel disappointed if every man of candour, every man of literature, every man possessed of a liberal education, or of that polish and urbanity which it produces, will not agree with me. I have always understood, indeed I have heard the doctrine laid down by my learned friend the Attorney-General, who appears for the defendant, that a reviewer, publishing a criticism on a work, has no right to introduce into that criticism any private slander, for the purpose of injuring the private character of the author, by allusion to matters not to be found in the body of the work itself. Suppose, for instance, that I were to publish a work, which exposed me to severe and just criticism as an author, what right, I ask, has any reviewer to publish facts which the work itself does not disclose?—what right has he to introduce into his critique, rumours and suspicions, for the purpose of calumniating me? Observe the danger of admitting the existence of such a right; nay, see it exemplified in the present instance. In the first place, it is anonymous. What then? Where is the author? Where is the person from whom the party attacked is to seek redress? The author of such an article is seldom discovered; but, in the mean

time, the slander goes forth; it circulates through the kingdom, not only through the empire, but through every portion of the globe where British literature is cultivated, because Reviews are necessarily circulated in those parts. The libeller takes the most extensive means of decrying the work, not as a literary performance, not as a work upon which the judgment of the public ought to be set right; for if the reviewer had only done this, he would have acted within his proper province, and my client, however severely he might feel the criticism, would be the last man living to bring a reviewer to answer for his conduct in a court of justice. This critique is sent into almost every corner of the globe, not for the purpose of correcting public taste—not for the purpose of putting the public mind upon its guard against the errors of the work—not for the purpose of giving information to those whom the errors of the work may have misled, but for the purpose of circulating accusations, which, whether true or false, must do a great and serious injury to an author whom they describe, not merely as a bad writer and an illiterate man, and therefore unworthy of public patronage, but as a base violator of private confidence—an ingrate to his benefactor—and, in short, as a man who has been guilty of so many crimes, that he must be excluded from society, even though his rank were that of a gentleman, and his literary attainments those of an accomplished scholar. I have heard it said, and I think truly, that a newspaper goes out of its proper province when it indulges in private slander, and for this reason principally, that the attacks in a newspaper are anonymous; the editor of a newspaper has no name by which he is known to the world. Such attacks upon private character would be very rare, if the party making them were obliged to put his name to them; because men, whom no other consideration on earth could restrain, would not have public shame and public obloquy. If this then be true of a newspaper, which generally lives but for a day, and is then forgotten, how much more true is it of a work of such extensive circulation and popularity as the *Quarterly Review*? I can say for myself, that if I had my choice, if I were unhappily placed in that dilemma, that I must make an election between having my moral character assailed in a newspaper of the greatest circulation, or in a Review standing equally high in public estimation, I should say at once, and without hesitation, "Let the attack be made in the newspaper." I would make that choice for this reason, that slander published in a newspaper is read on one day, talked about on the next, and, in all probability, is forgotten on the third;

but slander published in a *Review*, lives, at least, for a quarter of a year. It is, during that period, food for the literary mind, and the subject of general conversation, until a new number brings forth some fresh subject of merriment or excitation. Besides, *Reviews* are handed down to posterity; they are bound up and placed in libraries, in order that the curious, in future ages, may, by taking down the volume from their shelves, know the opinion which was entertained of any author by contemporaneous writers, by those among whom he was living and moving. What then will this *Review* inform future generations, unless you, by your verdict, proclaim the statements to be untrue? It will do this, Gentlemen, it will hand down the plaintiff to future ages, not only as a bad writer, but a man of the most infamous character, as a man not fit to mix with society. Am I, or am I not right, Gentlemen, in saying that the plaintiff is so represented by this libel? I am sure you will all agree with me, that such is the fair, the obvious meaning of the passages that have been read to you.

Reviews, when they confine their labours to their own province, and criticise a work with severity, but, at the same time, with justice, ought not to be complained of by any person. In doing this, indeed, they perform a great service to mankind. God knows, the press, like every other matter that engages public attention, is made a source of traffic; and many of the works which issue from it, confer no benefit on the world. The reviewer, therefore, who informs the public of the defects of such productions, and brings their authors down to their proper level, performs the contract which every reviewer enters into with the public, and deserves well of the community. For my own part, Gentlemen, I prefer the severity of criticism, to that false feeling which often passes over in silence works that can neither convey information nor amusement. I am one of those who are willing to give to reviewers the widest latitude for the exercise of the fair weapons of literary criticism; but the moment a reviewer steps beyond the extreme line of literary disquisition, and, under the mask of criticism, attacks the moral character of an author, against whom he may be actuated by feelings of resentment however just, or, perhaps, by some other feeling, which we all know is a strong incentive to excitation; the moment a reviewer so attacks the author's moral character, (more especially when they form no part of his work,) he converts his *Review* into an engine of private malice and personal detraction, into a nuisance which every man who wishes well to mankind, who sets any value upon the peace of society, ought to en-

deavour to abate and to extinguish. If reviewers were not punished when they stepped beyond their proper province, what would be the consequence? It would be this.—Any of you, Gentlemen, might feel an enmity towards a man who wrote a book, and you would only have to go to the defendant, or to any other reviewer, and get your neighbour's character destroyed by paying down to the reviewer 100 guineas; that would be considered, by some persons, as a delicate, yet cheap revenge. I know that one man cannot, at times, help entertaining feelings of enmity towards another; but I would say to such a man, if I were the object of his enmity, "Deal honestly, deal openly with me; do not stab me in the dark." If, therefore, you, Gentlemen, shall find that the defendant is not able to establish the truth of these libels which you have this day heard read, I say you are bound to award to my client exemplary damages, for the sake of morals, for the sake of decency, and for the sake of all that belongs to questions of this particular description.

I now come to the most important part of the libellous accusations, namely, the alleged conduct of the plaintiff towards Mr. Bankes; but as I have already occupied a considerable portion of your time, though no more, I assure you, than the interests of my client appeared to me to require, I shall state as briefly as possible my observations upon this part of the charge. I have already stated to you the nature of Mr. Buckingham's connexion with the house at Alexandria; and if my learned Friend, the Attorney-General, should venture this day to support, by evidence, that part of the libel which states that Mr. Buckingham was the servant of those gentlemen, I shall offer evidence which will establish, beyond a doubt, the truth of my statement, that Mr. Buckingham was, in the transaction mentioned in the *Review*, a partner of equal rank with those gentlemen; and if the project had succeeded, his remuneration would have been as ample as theirs. I have also told you, on more than one occasion, that the plaintiff and Mr. W. J. Bankes travelled together. In the plaintiff's book, which I have now before me, Mr. W. J. Bankes is spoken of as a gentleman of high honour and character, of the strictest integrity, and of considerable literary and scientific acquisitions. Indeed, throughout the whole volume, (which is not a small one,) it would be difficult to find a passage that does not redound to Mr. Bankes's honour. It appears by this book, that Mr. Bankes and Mr. Buckingham set out together from Jerusalem to visit Geraza, that they paid two visits, one of which was very short, but the other was for half a day. It is now stated,

that during those visits Mr. Banks took a plan of the ruins of Geraza; that Mr. Buckingham was permitted by Mr. Banks to trace that plan, under a promise that it should not be published without the permission of Mr. Banks; that Mr. Buckingham, without having obtained that permission, published the plan; for which he is reproached with having acted ungratefully towards his benefactor, towards the man who had paid the expenses of then common journey. In the first place, Gentlemen, let me suppose the facts stated to be true—let me suppose that Mr. Banks had obtained a plan of those ruins, that he had permitted Mr. Buckingham to trace it, upon an implied promise (I do not now state how that question stands; you will hear it in evidence by-and-by) that he would not publish it—and let me suppose that Mr. Banks, having cause to suspect that Mr. Buckingham had published or intended to publish the plan of those ruins—had, in the course of conversation, mentioned his impression of the subject to some person, who afterwards related the anecdote to the reviewer—I say to some person who related the anecdote to the reviewer, for I cannot imagine that Mr. Banks himself could descend to such an act. What ought the reviewer to have done under such circumstances, before he ventured to hold out the plaintiff to the world as a man void of all moral character? He ought, if possible, to have satisfied himself as to the truth of the anecdote, but he ought at least to have satisfied himself that the plan published by Mr. Buckingham *was* the plan traced by Mr. Banks's permission. What will you say, Gentlemen, when I tell you that the plan published by Mr. Buckingham is not Mr. Banks's plan, nor any thing like it? What do you think of the reviewer, who, without having taken the trouble of ascertaining that which might be ascertained by one minute's inspection, namely, whether the plan published by Mr. Buckingham was that taken by Mr. Banks, has ventured to calumniate Mr. Buckingham as he is calumniated in this libel. According to Mr. Buckingham's statement, in support of which I intend to offer you evidence, he, after having parted with Mr. Banks, pursued his journey towards India for a week; but in consequence of the then disturbed state of the country, and his own illness, he was obliged to return to Geraza, where he passed a day and night; during which time he made full and elaborate notes of every thing he saw there, (which notes are now in Court,) and he made sketches of the ruins; (I do not mean to say that Mr. Buckingham is as finished a draughtsman as Mr. Banks; indeed in the book which lies before me, Mr. Buckingham gives to Mr. Banks the most unqualified

praise as a draughtsman, and speaks of his drawings with admiration)—he took all the different bearings and distances necessary for a complete plan, and, in short, corrected the whole information which he had before collected in common with Mr. Banks. In consequence of the additional information thus acquired by Mr. Banks, he considered that Mr. Banks's plan was not sufficiently accurate. I shall prove to you, that the plaintiff communicated to a gentleman in India, the notes which he had taken, and the sketches which he made, on his last visit to Geraza; and that the plan and views now published were constructed from those notes and sketches, those bearings and distances, which are here in Court, to be exhibited. Fortunately, Mr. Buckingham has kept the plan given to him by Mr. Banks, which will also be submitted to your inspection; and I venture to say, that on looking at the description of the buildings, and the bearings in detail, in each of these separate plans, it will be impossible, for any judge of the subject, to say that one plan has any connexion with the other, or at least, that one plan could have been constructed upon the other. There is thus an end then of the charge against Mr. Buckingham, of having published, in his book, a plan pilfered from the stores of Mr. Banks.

In another part of the libel, Mr. Buckingham is charged with having abused the indulgence of his benefactor. The meaning of this charge, or the origin of it, Mr. Buckingham could not himself discover; but you will remember that it is explained by a part of the libel, which I have, in the course of my observations, read to you. With respect to that charge, Mr. Buckingham's statement, in support of which I shall also offer evidence, is this: he says, that Mr. Banks is a gentleman of considerable fortune; that he was travelling with his suite, consisting of three persons, at the time when he first met him at Jerusalem. Mr. Buckingham had his own horse, but no servant or interpreter; and when he joined Mr. Banks, the whole party, consisting of five persons, travelled together from Jerusalem to Geraza. You are aware, Gentlemen, that in that country there are no public inns, and that the Arabs either treat those who travel among them with great hospitality, or cut their throats. A journey, in such a country, cannot be very expensive; but, trifling as the expense was, so minute a note-taker is Mr. Buckingham, that he entered the expenses of that journey in a book, which I shall this day produce to you, and you will see that the expenses incurred by that journey amount to 216 piastres. Mr. Buckingham says, it is impossible that Mr. Banks could have paid the whole ex-

penses. What do you think, Gentlemen, is the value of those 216 piastres? You will be surprised to hear that it is not more than five pounds sterling; of which Mr. Buckingham's proper share was just one-fifth, or twenty shillings. Now, Gentlemen, supposing it to be true that Mr. Bankes paid the whole expenses, which Mr. Buckingham asserts and believes not to be the case; for Mr. Buckingham contends that, instead of paying only twenty shillings, his just share of the expense, he paid the half of the whole sum. But, supposing it to be true, that Mr. Bankes, an English gentleman of fortune, traveling with three persons in his suite, falls in with another English gentleman, in a foreign country, travels with him for a week, is entertained by his conversation, and pays the whole expenses of their week's excursion, which consist of some trifling presents to Arabs in the way—could he be therefore entitled to be called the benefactor of Mr. Buckingham? Was he, for so paltry a service as this, to assume the pompous title of Mr. Buckingham's benefactor? Was he to be allowed to say to the plaintiff, "You rogue, behold in me your benefactor! you know I fed you for a week!" Gentlemen, such an assumption is too ridiculous to be listened to for a moment. Mr. Bankes is incapable of holding himself out as the benefactor of Mr. Buckingham on such a ground. Mr. Bankes is incapable of doing that of which every English gentleman would, and ought to be, ashamed. I would not believe that Mr. Bankes could have done so, even, I had almost said, if he were to get up in the witness-box to prove it on his oath. I can believe that some loose conversation between Mr. Bankes and some other person, upon this subject, may have found its way to the reviewer, but I again repeat, that I do not believe that Mr. Bankes ever did hold himself out to the public as the benefactor of Mr. Buckingham, upon the ground of having paid for him the sum of twenty shillings, under the circumstances which I have stated to you; the thing is too ridiculous, too low, too contemptible, to be believed. I would not assume, for a moment, that Mr. Bankes could have so acted; and I shall therefore dismiss this charge of ingratitude towards a benefactor, with this observation. What renders it the more difficult to believe that Mr. Bankes ever could have made such a statement, is this: that at Damascus Mr. Bankes had in his own hands the very book in which the expenses of this journey were entered, and in which the plaintiff is stated to have paid the half of the whole sum. That book I shall this day produce to you, Gentlemen, for your own inspection, if my learned Friend, the Attorney-General, should

venture to offer evidence in support of that part of his justification.

I ought, Gentlemen, to have stated to you, that, with respect to the plan which Mr. Bankes claims as his own, my client, Mr. Buckingham, declares to me that he measured all the distances, and took all the bearings in it, whilst Mr. Bankes was, through fear of the Arabs, (who, from a too superstitious observance of the second commandment, object to any drawings being made in their presence,) safely sheltered in an obscure place, taking his sketches of the ruins. I do not pretend to say, Gentlemen, how these facts are, but I merely state to you what Mr. Buckingham has already said in his work, and what he authorizes me to repeat to you here. He says also, that he, being but a sailor, and accustomed to take bearings and distances of objects, for the purpose of constructing charts and plans, was not perfectly satisfied with the plan which Mr. Bankes had laid down from their joint labours. He therefore took considerable pains, when he returned alone to Gezira, to take the bearings and distances more accurately; when he discovered that many of those laid down in the former plan were wrong. From the more elaborate notes taken on the third visit, the plan now published and given to the world was constructed. These notes are still in existence, and will be submitted to the inspection of your Lordship, and to you, Gentlemen of the Jury. A great part of this Review assumes that Mr. Bankes's plan varies correctly with the plan published by Mr. Buckingham, but this is not the fact, as any one may see by an inspection of both; and it deserves to be mentioned also, that a plan of these ruins, since published by a very eminent traveller, Mr. Buckhardt, resembles Mr. Buckingham's plan much more than it does that of Mr. Bankes, and goes therefore strongly to corroborate the superior accuracy of that of my client.

I now come, Gentlemen, to the last part of this libel of which my client complains, and which I think will convince the most sceptical that the object of the reviewer was not to give to the public a fair criticism of the work;—that his object was not candour and truth, but calumny and detraction. It is well known to geographers, that Monsieur D'Anville has published, among many other maps, a map of Palestine, and that, from the want of sufficient information, this map of Monsieur D'Anville is less accurate than most of his other works. To that map Mr. Buckingham refers in his Preface, in these words:—

The ancient map of Palestine is taken with very trifling alterations from D'Anville, as the most generally known and approved authority

on this subject, and the one most frequently referred to.

The ancient map here spoken of, Gentlemen, has not been published at all. It is true that it was Mr. Buckingham's original intention to have published that map along with his own; but he, being in India when the work was published, and the bookseller here not thinking it necessary to let the ancient map of D'Anville accompany the modern one of Mr. Buckingham, the former was not published; and the map upon which the reviewer has thought fit to make the following observations, is Mr. Buckingham's own,—a map by a man, who, as I shall prove to you, is as capable of constructing a map as any man in England. The reviewer says, in the concluding sentence of this libel:—

The map is D'Anville's, with all its errors; for it is one of the least correct of the productions of that extraordinary genius, and the ground-plans of Jerusalem are taken out of a translation of Josephus. Upon the whole, we are compelled to say of this dull and tasteless volume, which we have gone through with more care than it deserved, that the plates are worthy of the letter-press, and both of them, we verily believe, of the author.—“So much for Buckingham.”

Now, Gentlemen, I beg of you to look at the first sentence of this quotation, and then tell me your opinion of the ignorance of the man who pretends to review a book of travels, and cannot distinguish between a map of ancient Palestine, published by Monsi^r D'Anville many years ago, and a map of modern Palestine, constructed by Mr. Buckingham, and never before published. I shall prove to your perfect satisfaction, that the map upon which this reviewer has pronounced his judgment, is the improved map of Mr. Buckingham, and not the ancient map of D'Anville. Yet this ignorant reviewer says, “The map is D'Anville's,” and adds, “with all its errors.” So much for the honour, the fairness, the candour, and the sincerity of the reviewer.

I have now gone through as much of this case as I deem necessary in the outset. I have cautiously forborne from alluding to circumstances which may probably form a subject for future animadversion. I wish to say, that on all subjects of difference between Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Bankes, I would rather abstain from making any remarks, for reasons which I need not mention to many who now hear me. I believe Mr. Bankes to be a man of honour and a gentleman. He will perhaps be called as a witness in this case; but before he gets into that box, I must state, that any thing which he may say there cannot alter my opinion of him. All I can say is, that long after the visit to Geraza, Mr. Bankes had the highest opinion of

Mr. Buckingham; that he considered him fit to be his companion, and a man capable of assisting him in his pursuits; that nothing since has passed, to the knowledge of Mr. Buckingham, which ought to incur the forfeiture of Mr. Bankes's good opinion. Whatever may have occurred to Mr. Bankes, to justify his suspicions of Mr. Buckingham, I cannot tell; but this I will assert, that if Mr. Bankes be produced as a witness, and will state those reasons, I shall be able to show him that he labours under a mistake—I say a mistake, for that is the harshest term which I should be justified in using. But, even should Mr. Bankes this day state his reasons for entertaining such suspicions, I am quite certain that whatever may be the feelings of Mr. Bankes's own mind, he would never send forth slander against Mr. Buckingham in the shape of an anonymous publication, to destroy the character of a man whom he had once thought worthy of his friendship. I do not believe that he has done so; and I should not have adverted to the circumstance, were it not for the purpose of expressing my hopes of being able to show, that any difference of opinion between these gentlemen is founded in mistake. I am instructed to say, that although, in Mr. Buckingham's work, doubts may be expressed respecting the names of ancient places, the style of architecture, and probable date, and history;—though on all these subjects there may be great difference of opinion between him and others who have travelled through the same countries; yet he has furnished, in the work itself, sufficient grounds for coming to a different conclusion from those who have gone before him; and if Mr. Bankes would read it through, the mistake under which he now labours, of any portion of it being his, would be entirely dispelled. I have thought it necessary to say thus much in the outset of what I intend to show, provided Mr. Bankes shall be called as a witness. I am also instructed to state, that the most elaborate examination of this work will not trace any thing that may not be discovered by a man seeing with his own eyes, or from those corrections which men, in communicating their ideas to each other, suggest, and which may be adopted by either one or the other party, without any imputation on the character of either as literary men. Mr. Buckingham says that he has given assistance to Mr. Bankes, and that he should have felt highly honoured if Mr. Bankes's intention, which he once had, of sending forth to the public a joint work with Mr. Buckingham, had been carried into effect. Whether the reasons which have since operated to prevent that design being carried into effect, were sufficient, it is not for me to say; but my client is

satisfied that the mistake into which Mr. Bankes has fallen, respecting his conduct, when he suspected him of an intention to make use of any of his materials, will be rectified by an accurate examination of the work itself, in which no such materials will be found.

Gentlemen, I must now apologise to you for the length of time which I have already occupied. I may, however, be called upon to occupy still more, when it shall come to my turn to address you in reply to the witnesses that may be called by my learned friends on the other side, in support of the justification which they have put upon the record. But if my learned friends should think fit to do that which they are entitled to—not to call any witnesses to prove the justification—but to rely upon such general observations as might suggest themselves in mitigation—the time has now arrived for me to call upon you for such damages as may have the effect of deterring the defendant, and all persons in his situation, from making their Reviews the vehicle of the private malice—the foul calumnies—of an anonymous slanderer.

JOHN PETERSON examined by Mr. Brougham.

What are you? I am clerk to Mr. Clarke.

What is he? He was formerly the attorney for the plaintiff in this case.

Where did you buy the book produced? At Mr. Murray's shop, in Albermarle-street.

When did you buy it? On the 21st of December, 1823.

(The book, which was then put in, was the 52d Number of the Quarterly Review, from which the Hon. Mr. Abbott read the whole of the Index notice.)

Mr. PARKER, for the defendant.—Your Lordship sees that the index only has reference to parts of the work itself, and which parts are not here set out on the record. The parts to which they refer would qualify the statements in the Index, and I therefore submit that those parts to which the Index refers should be set out on the record.

Mr. BROUGHAM, for the plaintiff.—I submit, my Lord, that it is not at all necessary to do that which my learned friend says ought to have been done. Every passage in the Index is accompanied in the declaration with an *inuen-do*; for instance, "egregious blunders," (meaning thereby that the plaintiff had been guilty of egregious blunders,) and that I submit is quite sufficient.

Mr. PARKER. But you ought to have set out the parts referred to, which would qualify the unqualified assertion in the Index.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE. I think the Index (if it be a libel at all) is a distinct libel, and therefore the part which qua-

Oriental Herald, Vol. 6.

lifies it need not be set out. I admit, that if one passage cannot be properly understood without reference to another passage, you must then read both the passages; but if one passage, which is unqualified, be intelligible by itself, you need not set out a passage to which it has reference, and which may perhaps qualify it. The meaning attached by the defendant to the words "egregious blunders" in the Index is, "if you look to such or such a page of the work, you will find egregious blunders." Now, if the blunders are not there, why do you state in your Index that they are? Let the cause proceed.

Mr. BROUGHAM. I propose to have the libel in page 382 of the Review read.

The Hon. Mr. ABBOTT here read the passage referred to, which ended thus:—

His transactions with Mr. Bankes seem to have been an episode in his plan; we have not only the statement of that gentleman with respect to them, but have seen also the deposition upon oath of his servants, (the same who are spoken of in this work,) that [Mr. Buckingham bore no part whatever either in the disposition, or the expenses of the journey beyond the Jordan, &c., that he never made a single sketch during this time, nor had materials for doing so, and has, moreover, been heard to lament his inability, that the plan which is the ground-work of that here given of Dierash, was made by Mr. Bankes, and traced by his permission at a window of the Convent of Nazareth by Mr. Buckingham, upon a direct promise that it should not be published.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Now turn to page 373, "The ground plan."

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—Is that passage in your declaration?

Mr. BROUGHAM.—No my Lord; but I wish it read to show the *quo animo*.

Mr. ABBOTT then read the following passage

The ground-plan given of Jerash is founded on a tracing obtained from Mr. Bankes at Nazareth, but so little did the borrower comprehend what he copied, that hasty and incorrect as the original necessarily was, its errors are multiplied tenfold, both on the general plate, and in those of separate edifices, which are only enlarged from it. There is a zeal for deception in this altogether extraordinary, for the alteration is systematic and not accidental.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Read the last paragraph, page 391.

Mr. ABBOTT read the following passage:

The map is D'Anville's, with all its errors; for it is one of the least correct of the productions of that extraordinary genius; and the ground-plans of Jerusalem are taken out of a translation of Josephus. Upon the whole, we are compelled to say of this dull and tiresome volume, which we have gone through with more care than it deserved, that the plates are worthy of the letter-press, and both of them, we verily believe, of the author.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Read the note to that page.

Mr. ABBOTT.—"The first vignette—"

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL now rose,
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and said—It is not necessary to read any thing further in this case. I am here, my Lord, together with my learned Friends, Mr. Gurney and Mr. Parke, as Counsel for Mr. Murray; and after the temperate manner in which this case has been opened, I am authorized, in the name of my client, as publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, to express his regret that any work published by him should have been made the vehicle of private slander on so respectable an individual as Mr. Buckingham. As a proof of the sincerity of Mr. Murray's regret, he consents to abandon his justification, to pay all the costs, and to submit to a verdict for £50.

Mr. SCARLETT.—I am instructed by my client to accept that offer; and to say, that he is satisfied that the matter should terminate in this way; as all that he desires is, to establish his innocence of the charges alleged; to maintain his reputation; and to stand well in the opinion of the public.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—The result of this case is a proof of the advantages of conducting causes with that temper and moderation, with which I am happy to say, causes in this Court are generally conducted.

A verdict was then taken for the Plaintiff, Damages £50.

Guildhall, Thursday, July 14.

BUCKINGHAM *versus* BANKES, SENIOR.

This was an action against the defendant, Mr. Henry Bankes, the Member for Corfe Castle, for a libel on the plaintiff, Mr. James Silk Buckingham, contained in a letter written by the defendant to Mr. Murray, the publisher.

The cause was called on the first in the morning, to be tried by a special jury. None of the special jurymen, however, answered to their names; and

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE said: Set the cause down as a *remanet*.

The Counsel on both sides appeared to be taken by surprise; and, after a short consultation,

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said. My Lord, it would be a great convenience if this cause could be disposed of now: both Mr. Brougham and myself will be obliged soon to attend the Privy Council.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—The Court has made it a *remanet*, and it must be so.

Mr. GURNEY.—Perhaps your Lordship will allow it to be taken by consent, as a common Jury case.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—Yes; and you may interpose at any convenient

moment, whilst the next trial is going on.

The Court then proceeded with another cause, but no application was made to have the previous cause tried by a common Jury, because, although Mr. Buckingham signified his consent to try by a common Jury, Mr. Bankes refused to agree to this.

In the course of the morning, Mr. HILL (for Mr. Buckingham) said My Lord, we are ready to serve the other side with notice to go to trial to-morrow, with your Lordship's permission.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—I cannot listen to you, Mr. Hill.

Mr. HILL.—My Lord, I make the motion under very peculiar circumstances.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—I cannot do it, it never was done. Other causes stand for to-morrow which must be tried, because my presence will, almost immediately, be required in another place.

Here the matter ended; and the cause accordingly stands over for the next sittings in October.

A FEW WORDS OF EXPLANATION TO THE ENGLISH READER.

SOME explanation may perhaps be deemed necessary for having ventured to introduce to the English reader the report of the foregoing case, which he may deem an unnecessary intrusion on his attention of a mere personal affair, having little or no connexion with the public questions with which it is the duty as well as interest of an Editor to occupy his pages. To Indian readers no such explanation can be necessary, for there is not one among them all who will not instantly perceive its close connexion with the whole course of proceedings adopted

towards the Public Press of that country. For the information of the former, however, the following brief statement will, it is hoped, suffice:—

In the year 1818, the MS. of the "Travels in Palestine" was sent from Calcutta to London for publication, and subscriptions were received for it in India. In the year 1819, instead of the printed work coming out, as was expected, intelligence reached India that Mr. Murray, after having engaged to publish it, had subsequently declined to do so; 1st, because Mr. Gifford, the then Editor of

the *Quarterly Review*, had, after a private reading, declared the work to be full of blasphemy and sedition. And, 2dly, because Mr. Bankes had simultaneously set up a claim to the whole or the greater part of this blasphemous and seditious work, (of which, however, he had not seen a single page,) as stolen from his materials!

The effect of this intelligence, which was soon widely spread throughout India, was, in the highest degree, injurious to the author. Many persons, who had no means of correcting such an error, believed it to be true; and the principal members of the Government of India, especially, encouraged the general belief among all those over whom they possessed any influence; because they hated the author, as advocating that freedom of discussion on the acts of public men which they dreaded and shunned; and being unable to combat his arguments with reason, rejoiced at so good an opportunity of assisting to degrade his character by the propagation of calumnies which represented him as a blasphemer and a thief. A warfare of the most virulent kind, founded chiefly on this basis of misrepresentation, was carried on against him by the Newspapers in the Government interest in India for nearly two years, from which it was impossible but that many who read only the accusing statements, and never saw the explanations or replies, must have believed him to be guilty, and, as such, unworthy of public sympathy or support. In the course of this period, however, evidence had been sent from India to England to rebut the assertions of Mr. Gifford, and the claims of Mr. Bankes, which were deemed so satisfactory, that Messrs. Longman undertook the publication of the work.

In the year 1821, the 'Travels' appeared in England; and, soon after, the virulent and libellous article in the *Quarterly Review*, which professed to be a criticism on the work, was published. The arrival of this article in India was the signal for fresh hostilities, of the most rancorous and deadly kind. A writer (a thousand times asserted, and never once denied, to be the Reverend Doctor Bryce, of controversial notoriety) commenced, in the *John Bull* of India, a Series of Letters, under the signature of "A FRIEND OF MR. BANKES," which not only repeated all the foul and unfounded calumnies of the *Quarterly Review* as true, but added to them, by plausible and ingenious, but, at the same time, the most wicked and malignant perversion of facts, dates, and circumstances, accusations of the most unwarrantable nature; and, at length, by dint of perseverance in the most unbridled career of falsehood and defamation, succeeded in making a large portion of the English society in India believe the author of the "Travels in Palestine" to

be the greatest monster of iniquity that ever trod the earth. In pursuance of this determined and insatiable spirit of persecution, the heads of all virtuous families, and the stewards of all public assemblies, were called upon to expel him from their society, as a disgrace to his species! Nay, every man was threatened with similar denunciations, who would not turn his face from the polluted individual, and avoid him as a convicted criminal! And, lastly, the Government itself was called upon to do a public service to the community, by banishing from the country, as unworthy to remain longer in it, a man, whom this pretended "Friend of Mr. Bankes" assumed to himself great credit for having covered with obloquy and disgrace, and stamped with an infamy from which he could never recover!

The names of these moral assassins were demanded, but they had not the virtue or the courage to avow themselves even to the individual whom they had prevailed on the largest portion of society to desert. The publishers of the paper which spread their calumnies to the world were then of necessity proceeded against in a Court of Law; and although there never were perhaps more justifiable grounds for proceeding *criminally* against any set of men than here, and shutting them out entirely from the power of justification, yet they were proceeded against *civilly*, in order to give them the fullest opportunity of proving the truth of their accusations; in which case they would have triumphed, and the accused have been justly condemned.

It was at this important crisis that the Indian Government, under whose patronage, and with whose undisguised sanction and approbation this atrocious persecution had been from the commencement carried on, stepped in to effect the purpose which, from the first, these denunciations were, no doubt, intended to render easier of execution. These calumnies, and the threats which were held forth to those who would not believe and act upon them as if they were true, had already cut off from the victim intended to be offered up on the shrine of Despotism much of the public sympathy; and the leading men in Parliament and the Board of Control, as well as the Directors of the East India Company, having been thus taught to believe that Mr. Buckingham was altogether unworthy of the countenance or protection of any honourable man—the moment was seized, while he was yet before the Court of Justice, seeking redress for his wrongs, and giving his accusers an opportunity of establishing the truth of their charges, to banish him without a trial or a hearing, from his property, his pursuits, and the few friends who remained sted-

fast in their attachment to his private as well as public character to the end.

After his ignominious transportation from the country as a felon, (without the benefit allowed even to murderers and traitors—a trial by his peers,) the action against his slanderers was proceeded in; and though the cause laboured under every possible disadvantage from his absence, the result was such as to show the total inability of his accusers to substantiate any single charge by the least tittle of evidence, legal or moral. The Judge characterized the libels of these Indian calumniators, as too atrocious to be even thought of without honor; and a verdict was recorded, which completely established the guilt of the parties uttering them, and the innocence of the accused.

It was said, however, by the convicted libellers in India, "It is easy enough to obtain a verdict against *us*, who have not the means of obtaining the proofs of our charges, because the juries on whose authority they rest are chiefly in England. But Mr. Buckingham will not dare to prosecute his accusers there. He will not venture to bring an action against the *Quarterly Review* or against Mr. Banks, and give *them* an opportunity of establishing their accusations by proof; or, if he does, he is certain of being overwhelmed with odium and covered with disgrace!" Many persons in India still cling to this hope; and the Government, who wished to keep alive the belief that the man they had unjustly banished was a monster of iniquity, and wholly undeserving of either public or private sympathy, were among the foremost to encourage this persuasion.

Mr. Buckingham, however, had no sooner set his foot on his native soil than he commenced legal proceedings against the three accusing parties—the Publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, Mr. Banks, the Member for Corfe Castle; and his son, the Member for the University of Cambridge. A period of two years has elapsed since the actions were first commenced, during which time, every aid that money, legal talent, and influence with those in high places could command, has been brought into operation; so that nothing has been left undone that could in the slightest degree serve the cause of those who were thus put upon their defence. Every witness whom Mr. Murray could desire was in attendance. Mr. Briggs, of Alexandria, was himself in Court; Mr. Banks, the father, was present; and Mr. Banks, the son, in attendance also; Mohammed, the Albanian Interpreter; and Antonio, the Portuguese groom, were each in Court—to produce in the witness-box: nor was there a single person whose evidence had ever been alluded to that was absent on the

occasion. And what was the result? So convinced were the Attorney-General and his learned colleagues, who were counsel for all the three defendants in the three several actions pending, of the hopelessness of their case, that they dared not venture to put even one of these witnesses into the box, well knowing, no doubt, that their evidence was wholly inadequate to sustain the charges made; and that, by cross-examination and counter-evidence, such facts would be elicited as would prove the utter groundlessness of all the imputations which formed the libels then under prosecution. They had the wisdom therefore to advise, and the defendant the prudence to adopt, the only course left, that of abandoning all attempt at justification, submitting to a verdict, without going into a defence, and expressing a sincere regret that his publication, *The Quarterly Review*, should have been the vehicle of private slander against an individual whom all parties now admitted to be "highly respectable," and altogether undeserving of the calumnies heaped upon him by the writer of the libellous article in question.

Nothing need be added to this brief sketch of the rise, progress, and termination of the cause here adverted to, except perhaps these two remarks:—1st. That what the learned Advocate of Mr. Buckingham rightly deemed impossible for any man, assuming the character of a gentleman, to do,—what he describes as so low and so contemptible, that he would hardly believe it of Mr. Banks, even if he were to state it on his oath, is, nevertheless, *undeniably true*: namely, that he assumed the pompous title of Mr. Buckingham's benefactor, and stated, in a letter which he has admitted to be in his own hand writing, that he so considered himself, because he bore the expenses of a journey of seven days, the whole arrangement for which, in guides, provisions, &c. were complete before Mr. Buckingham joined it; and, for which reason alone, his presence could not, by any possibility, have added even twenty shillings to the expense of the whole party. 2dly. That the fact of Mr. Banks being himself the writer of the article in the *Quarterly Review*, which the learned Advocate also thought impossible, because no one pretending to the character of a gentleman could be guilty of such an anonymous attack on a person with whom he had had some difference of opinion—is, nevertheless, *undeniably true*—resting upon evidence the most undoubted, and such as will, ere long, be substantiated in a way that must convince the most sceptical.

It remains to be seen what will be the issue of the causes still pending against the father and son. The former has been postponed from the unwillingness of the

defendant to try by a common jury: the latter is delayed until a commission can be sent to India, and evidence obtained from thence of the publication of the letter on which the action is grounded. The consent of the Court to the sending out such commission has been granted at length, on condition however that the plaintiff shall defray, not only the costs of proceedings in the action up to a certain date, but also the costs of the Mohammedan and Portuguese witnesses still kept here professedly for evidence on *this* trial, though not ventured to be called into the witness-box on that just terminated, where, whatever they might have to say would have been of equal value—two items, which have alone involved the payment by the plaintiff of nearly 300*l.* for the witnesses of the defendant, independently of the ordinary expenses of proceedings on his own behalf. The ends of justice are thus delayed, and the evil day put off, with all the chances of death, miscarriage of letters, failure of funds, and other contingencies in favour of the delaying party. But the moral triumph is already complete; and the day will come at last when the legal issue will be as satisfactory, no doubt, as that of the action just brought to a close.

It remains to be seen whether the pretended "*FRIENDS OF MR. BANKS*," who sprung up in India, as the warm supporters of a man utterly unknown in that country, and who has not yet met with one public advocate in this, where all his connexions are on the spot, and where he himself might fight his own battle if he chose:—It remains to be seen whether these pretended "*FRIENDS*" will make the *amende honorable*, of which their great oracle, the *Quarterly Review*, has set the example:—whether they will render justice, however tardy, to the individual whom they did their utmost to hunt down as a beast on prey, on grounds that are now admitted by the very source from which they emanated to be utterly incapable of proof, and destitute of all foundation. If they do *not* do their utmost to make reparation for the evil they have thus unjustly inflicted, the world will know what to think of them and their pretensions.

But, above all, it remains to be seen, whether Mr. John Adam, who will be in this country by the time these pages issue from the press—whether Sir Francis Macnaghten, who is already here—and Mr. Fergusson, who is said to

be in Scotland—will unite their wealth, their influence, and their labour, to obtain redress and reparation for an individual, to the total ruin of whose private fortune each has contributed his full share: the one by banishing him without trial from his property in India—the other, by passing a law, enabling the Government to destroy that property entirely—and the last, by failing to redeem his pledge of guarding the interests of his banished client, and, by such neglect, cutting him off from all hope of that legal redress which the evidence within his power to procure would have, in all probability, obtained for him against the late temporary Governor-General of India.

It remains to be seen also, whether the Indian Government abroad, and the Court of Directors and Board of Control at home, who were, no doubt, influenced in their harsh and cruel rejection of all Mr. Buckingham's remonstrances as to the total ruin of his property in India, and his petitions for leave to return to that country to gather up the wreck, and begin the world anew—by the belief that he was the worthless private character which his accusers had represented him to be.—It remains to be seen, whether *they* also will not feel it their duty, late as it may be, to render tardy justice to one who, they must themselves now admit, has fallen a victim to the grossest misrepresentations of a malignant and secret enemy,—who has endured a career of almost unexampled persecution,—who has finally been deprived of all his hard-earned property, the fruits of years of labour, mental and bodily, of no ordinary kind;—and is not only refused compensation for the losses of the past, but denied the only reasonable hope that remained of his repairing those losses by the labours of the future;—and all this infliction of pain and misery has been justified on grounds that have since been proved to be utterly untenable, on assumptions that were unwarrantable from the very beginning, and have been shown to be false to the very end!

If there be yet one spark of moral feeling—one atom of the sense of justice remaining in the bosoms of his persecutors and oppressors—they will hasten to repair the evils which they have thus heaped on the heads—for there are more than one who have borne the burthen and sunk beneath its weight—of innocent and unoffending individuals.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

MADRAS.

Mr. A. F. Bruce to be Head Assist. to the Principal Coll. of the North Division of Arcot; Sir James Home, bart. to be Register to the Zilla Court of Salem.—Feb. 17. Mr. C. R. Cotton to be Sub-Coll. and Assist. Magistrate at Canann;

Mr. J. Goldingham to be Assist. in the Office of Board of Revenue.

CEYLON.

Jan. 15.—John Huskinson, Esq. Civil Service, to be Extra Assist. in the Office of the Commission of Revenue.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Jan. 3.—Assist.-Commissioner Joyce to have charge of Advance Department of the Army on Chittagong Frontier.—4. Capt. R. Fernie, 27th N.I. to be Brig. Major to 1st Brig. Infantry in room of Capt. White.—6. Lieut. E. B. Blake to act as Adjutant and Quarterm. to Bengal Artillery Detachment under Sir A. Campbell, vice Lieut. O'Haulon, deceased; Major-Gen. Dick to have command of Dinapore Div. of the Army; Lieut. Wilson to act as Quarterm. to Divis. of Artillery at Mhow, on departure of Lieut. Johnson.—7. Brevet Capt. B. Woolley, 59th N.I. removed from 2d Grenadiers to 2d Light Inf. Batt.—8. Ensigns Lloyd and Hyslop to do duty with 2d Europ. Regt. at Dinapore; Cap. Eagleheart, 2d Gren. Batt. to act as Brigade Major to troops at Dacca.—12. Ensign E. K. Spilsbury, 5th N.I. to do duty with 51st Regt. at Jubbulpore.—13. Lieut.-Cols. J. Burnet, J. O'Halloran, W. G. Maxwell, to be Brigadiers on District Staff of Army in Post of Augmentation, authorised by G. O., 12th August, 1824; Brevet Capt. Johnstone, Interp. and Quarterm., appointed to act Adjutant to 27th N.I., in room of Lieut. Dunbar, permitted to resign.—19. Brevet Capt. W. Warde, 5th Light Comp. to be Dep. Paymaster at Benares, vice Snodgrass, deceased.—21. Lieut. R. Ware, H. M.'s 35th Regt. to be Fort Adj. at Rangoon, vice Mitchell, deceased; Capt. Boyd, 50th Regt. N.I. to officiate as Major to Brigade at Rajpootana Field Force, on departure of Brig. Major Taylor, on Medical Certificate.—22. Brigadier Generals and Brigadiers are appointed to command as follows: Brig. Gen. Price to Benares Division; Brig. Gen. Adams to Sihind Frontier; Brig. Gen. Mac Keller to Chittagong Station; Brig. Burnet to Agra and Muttra; Brig. O'Halloran to Dacca; Brig. Maxwell to Oude.—21. Lieut. R. Riddell, 33d N.I. to be Interp.

and Quarterm.; Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. H. Waldron, 46th N.I. to be Interp. and Quarterm., vice Richardson, deceased.—25. Lieut. Dickson to act as Adj. to Engineer Detachment with Sir A. Campbell, during absence of Lieut. Tindell on Medical Certificate; Lieut. P. Craigie, 38th N.I. to be Baggage Master to Brig. Gen. Shuldham's Division from 16th Jan.—26. Artillery. Lieut. E. R. Watts to be Adj. and Quarterm. to Saugor Division, vice Scott, gone to Europe; Lieut. R. D. H. McDonald, 8th L. C. to be Adj. vice Kempland, resigned; Capt. F. M. Chambers, 3d N. I. to be Commandant of Chumpanun L. I., vice Maj. G. Cooper, promoted.—28. Lieut. Barton, 4th L. C. to be Adj. to 6th Local Horse.

Fort William, Jan. 28.—Lieut. F. T. Boyd, 65th N.I. to be Agent for Timber at Nagpore, vice Gerrard, promoted.—Feb. 11. Lieut. F. W. Trant, H. M. S. to be Dep. Assist. Quarterm.-Gen. to the 1st Class with the Forces under Brig. Gen. Sir A. Campbell.—14. Lieut. G. Ridge, 2d L. C. to be Adj. of the 4th Corps of Local Horse.—15th. Lieut. and Adj. M'Kenly, 60th N. I. to proceed to Lucknow, and do duty with the 6th N.I. until the arrival of his own corps.—16. Lieut. Cox, 62d N.I. to take charge of the Detachment belonging to H. M.'s 44th and 54th Regts. proceeding to Chittagong.—18. Capt. J. Graham, 21st N.I. to the Command of Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers, vice Montgomerie.

Calcutta, Feb. 18.—Capt. J. B. Pratt, 7th N.I. to be Dep. Judge Adv. Gen. on the Establishment.

The under-mentioned Officers, whose admission to the Service and promotion are notified in Gen. Ord. of the 11th inst. are appointed to do duty with the Corps specified opposite their names:—

Capt. A. Montgomerie, 34th N.I. Commanding the Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers, is transferred to the Pension Establishment; Ensign G. Farmer with the 20th N.I. at Barrackpore; Ensign W. Michell with the ditto, at ditto.—19. Ensign

Stafford to act as Adj., Lieut. Irwin to act as Quarterm. to the African Wing of H.M.'s 87th Regt. during its separation from Head Quarters; Lieut. and Adj. Payne, 30th N.I. to act as Station Staff at Chittagong, during Brig. Maj. White's absence.—21. Lieut. Fitton's appointment to act as Adj. to Pioneers is continued.—22. The Officers appointed to the situation of Dep. Assist. Adjs. Gen. of Divisions are posted as follows:—Capt. Showers to the Merut Division; Capt. Park to Cawnpore ditto; Capt. James to the Saugor ditto; Capt. Fry to the Benares ditto; Capt. Broadbent to the Dinapore ditto; Capt. Worsley to the Presidency ditto; Brig. Maj. Campbell to the Rajpootana Force, Nusserabad, vice Taylor on leave of absence previous to furlough; Brig. Maj. Pogson to the Agra and Muttra Frontier, vice Fry, appointed Dep. Assist. Adj.-Gen.; Maj. Auriol to proceed to Dinapore with the Detachment of the 2d Europ. Regt.—23. Lieut.-Col. Eltrington to the Command of the Brigade of H.M.'s 17th and the 16th Regt. Madras N.I.; Capt. and Brig. Maj. Pogson to officiate as Dep. Assist. Adj.-Gen. to the Presidency Division, as a temporary arrangement until the arrival of Capt. Worsley; Lieut. M. G. White, 66th N.I. to be Adj. to Capt. Savage's Detachment of Recruits at Dacca, belonging to regiments serving in Arracan.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, Jan. 13.—Major F. A. Weston to be Lieut.-Col., vice Knight, transferred to Pension Establishment, dated Jan. 6, 1825; Brevet Capt. and Lieut. P. Johnson to be Capt. of a Company; Ensign C. W. Haig to be Lieut. vice Weston, promoted ditto.

Artillery.—2d Lieut. R. G. McGregor to be 1st Lieut., vice Burrows, deceased, dated Dec. 28, 1824; Messrs. J. Skinner, jun. and Comyn are admitted to the service with the rank of Local Lieut. and Adj. to fill vacancies in 1st and 8th Corps of Local Horse.

5th N.I.—Capt. J. Gerrard to be Maj., dated Jan. 6.

26th N.I.—Capt. J. Elliot to be Major, dated Feb. 4; Lieut. P. B. Fitton to be Capt. of a Company; and Ensign W. E. Robertson to be Lieut. dated Jan. 28, 1825, vice Trotter, transferred to Invalid Establishment.

3rd N.I.—Jan. 13.—Ensign R. Riddle to be Lieut. vice Erskine, deceased, dated Jan. 7.

46th N.I.—Ensign W. Brownlow to be Lieut. vice Richardson, deceased, dated Dec. 27.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Feb. 25, 1825.—With reference to the 3d clause of G. O. G. G., 2d May, 1823, (No. 8.) under the head Local Horse,

with the table (No. 2) annexed, the Adjutants of those Corps, when Infantry Officers, will be allowed for a second horse in all situations.

1. In order that Government may be fully acquainted with the talents, industry, and official character of Staff Officers generally, the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council is pleased to extend the principle of the Report, as published in General Orders, Nos. 102 and 222 of 1824, to the whole of the General and Garrison Staff of the Bengal Army.

2. It will be the duty of General and other Officers commanding Divisions, Brigades, &c. of the Army, and Commandants of Forts and Garrisons—Of the Secretary to Government in the Military Department—of the Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, Auditor-General—Commissary-General, Surveyor-General, Judge Advocate-General—of the Military Board, the Medical Board, the Board of Superintendence, and the Clothing Board—to transmit, on the 1st of January of each year, to the Chief of the Department with which they usually correspond, viz. the Secretary to Government in the Military Department, or the Adjutant-General of the Army, as the case may be, a report in conformity with the directions contained in the second paragraph of General Order No. 102 of 1824, above-mentioned.

3. As these Reports will have considerable influence on the future prospects of the Officers concerned, his Lordship in Council desires that the following declaration shall be subjoined to each:—

'I do hereby declare, upon my honour, that the above Report is made without favour or detraction, and that to the best of my judgment it is correct.'

4. The Reports are to be marked *confidential* on the envelope, and are to be received and treated as such. Those received by the Secretary to Government in the Military Department, will be submitted to the right hon. the Governor-General in Council; those by the Adjutant-General of the Army from the Departments transacting business with that Officer, after having been laid before the Commander-in-Chief, will be forwarded to the Secretary in the Military Department to be taken up to Government.

5. General Officers and others Commanding Divisions and Brigades of the Army, and Commandants of Forts and Garrisons, will report on all General and Garrison Staff under their immediate Command.

6. The Secretary to Government in the Military Department, on the Officers of this department; he is also directed to offer any observation which may be necessary, on the manner of conducting business in the departments which correspond with Government direct.

7. The Adjutant-General of the Army

on the Officers of his department; and to offer observations as above explained, on departments under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief.

8. The Auditor-General, on the Officers of his department, and on the Deputy Paymasters.

9. The Commissary-General, the Surveyor-General, and the Judge Advocate-General, on the Officers of their departments respectively.

10. The Military Board on their Secretaries and Assistant-Secretaries; the Gun Carriage Agents, and those for the manufacture of Gunpowder, the Superintendent of the Foundry, the Ordnance, Commissariat, and the Department of Public Works.

11. The Board of Superintendence, on their Secretary, and the Officers of the Staff.

12. The Medical Board on their Secretary, on Superintending Surgeons, the Apothecary, and the Officers in charge of the Medical Depots.

13. The Clothing Board, on their Secretary, and the Clothing Agents.

14. The first series of Reports are to be sent in on the publication of this Order.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Calcutta, Jan. 12.—Lieut. J. S. H. Weston, Dep. Judge Adv.-Gen. posted to Saugor Division of Army.—21. 1st Lieut. T. Hickman from 3d to 4th Troop Horse Artillery, vice Burrowes, deceased; 2d Lieut. F. Dashwood to 3d Troop Horse Artill. vice Hickman, removed; Lieut. Sotheby to proceed to Dacca, and relieve Lieut. Dashwood from that command; Capt. C. P. Kennedy from 7th Company 1st Batt. to 3d Comp. 2d Batt., vice Pereira from latter to former; 1st Lieut. H. Ruthertford from 7th Comp. 1st Batt. to 4th Comp. 2d Batt., vice Delafosse; 1st Lieut. H. Delafosse from 4th Comp. 2d Batt. to 4th Comp. 3d Batt., vice Torkler; 1st Lieut. P. A. Torkler from 4th Comp. 3d Batt. to 7th Comp. 1st Batt. vice Ruthertford; 1st Lieut. G. R. Scott from 7th Comp. 1st Batt. to 20th Comp. 4th Batt.; 1st Lieut. R. G. McGregor (new promotion) to 7th Comp. 3d Batt., vice Scott; 2d Lieut. F. Gait-skill to 4th Comp. 3d Batt. from 3d Comp. 2d Batt.—25. Lieuts. and Adjs. W. P. Welland and A. Chitty allowed to exchange Corps; the formerly is accordingly removed to Moorsshednabad Prov. Batt., and the latter to Cawnpore Prov. Batt.—26. Lieut. Vincent, 8th N.I. (Adj. to Chittagong Prov. Batt.) removed to Dacca Prov. Batt., of which he is appointed Adj.—Feb. 14. Lieut. Barton removes from the 4th to 6th L. C., and Lieut. Key from latter to former.—18. Lieut.-Col. G. Cooper (late prom.) is posted to the 69th Regt. N.I. at Benares; Lieut.-Col.

W. G. Patrickson from the 69th to the 33d N.I.; Lieut.-Col. F. A. Weston (late promotion) is posted to the 8th N.I. at Baitool; Local Lieut. W. Martindell, 2d in Command of the 1st Corps of Local Horse, removed in the same grade to the 8th Corps, dated Jan. 1, 1825; Local Lieut. and Adj. R. Grueber to be 2d in Command of the 1st Corps, from the same date, vice Martindell, removed; Local Cornet J. M. Turnbull is promoted to the rank of Local Lieutenant, and removed to the 8th Corps.—22. Lieut.-Col. E. Cartwright removed from 1st to 2d Europ. Reg. and to join it at Ghazepore; Lieut.-Col. J. George from the latter to the former.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Jan. 3.—Assist.-Surg. J. Logan to place himself under the orders of the Superintend.-Surg. at Chittagong.—13. Assist. D. Harding placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief; Assist. B. C. Sully directed to relieve Surg. Mathews in medical charge of 22d N.I.—25. Super.-Surg. Hunter appointed to Saugor Division; Super.-Surg. A. Ogilvy appointed to Berhampore.—Feb. 11. Mr. Ch. Billings, Officiating-Apothecary, confirmed in that rank, dated July 14, 1819; Mr. J. Barker temporarily to do duty as Assist. Surg. on this Estab.—18. Mr. R. Macfarlane, Surgeon, temporarily to do duty as Assist. on ditto.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Jan. 21.—Assist. A. Murray to be Surgeon, vice Chalmers, who retires, dated Jan. 6.

MEDICAL REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Jan. 3.—Surgeon. J. H. Mackenzie posted to 3d L. C.; Assist. D. Harding to 67th N. I., vice Mackenzie; Assist. Campbell to Gardener's Horse to Mirzapore; Assist. H. T. Sanders to ditto.—21. Surg. A. Hall to 2d L. C. vice Tweedle, removed to 6th L. C.—26. Assist. T. E. Dempster to 45th N.I.

FURLONGHS.

Calcutta, Feb. 16.—Lieut. J. W. Colquhoun, 32d N. I. to Singapore for health for nine months.—21. Capt. Griffin from 6th March to 6th Sept. previous to his making application for furlough.—24. Lieut. Croker to Europe for health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 31.—Lieut. J. Briggs, 13th N.I. to the 1st class of the Surrey Branch, dated Aug. 28, 1824; Lieut. G. H. Southby, 34th N.I. to the Engineer Department as Surveyor, dated Aug. 29; Lieut. James Forest, 29th N.I. to be Cantonment Adj. at Palaveram,

vice Cooper; Capt. Hasker, 32d N.I. transferred to the Invalid Estab. (own request).—Jan. 7. Lieut. G. A. Brodie, 3d L.C. to act as Quarterm. Interpr. and Paymaster to the Inf. Recruit. Depot at Wallajahbad; Lieut. S. Bullock, 3d L.C. to act as Brig. Maj. in the centre Div. of the Army, in the absence of Capt. Aloes, on foreign service; Dep. Assist. Capt. J. Noble to be Assist. Commis.-Gen., vice Webster resigned; Sub.-Assist. Lieut. W. Powell to be Dep. Assist. Commis.-Gen., vice Noble; Lieut. A. McCally, 41th N.I. to be Sub.-Assist. vice Briscoe, returned to Europe; Lieut. D. H. Eaton, 2d N.I. to be Sub.-Assist., vice Powell, prom.; Lieut.-Col. Commis. G. Wahab, 39th N.I. to Command the Presidency Cantonment; Lieut.-Col. A. Fair, 16th N.I. to Command at Vellore on the termination of the foreign service on which he is at present engaged; Capt. E. Cadogan, 33d N.I. to Command the 2d Batt. Pioneers, vice Richardson, dec.; Capt. E. Fitzpatrick, 19th N.I. to act as Dep. Assist. Quarterm.-Gen in the centre Division of the Army, during the absence of Capt. White on foreign service; Capt. R. L. Highmore, 5th L.C. to be Aid-de-Camp to Lieut.-Gen. Bowser, Commanding the Army in Chief; Brevet Capt. and Lieut. F. H. M. Wheeler to be Adj. to the 1st Batt. Pioneers, vice Campbell, dead of his wounds.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 31.—3d N.I.—Sen. Capt. A. Turner to be Major; Sen. Lieut. E. J. Johnson to be Capt.; Sen. Ensign J. Johnson to be Lieut., vice Walker, killed in action, dated Nov. 30, 1821.

26th N.I.—Sen. Ensign O. Reynolds to be Lieut., vice Bradfield, deceased, date ditto.

42d N.I.—Jan. 7. Brevet E. Macpherson to be Capt.; Sen. Ensign J. C. G. Stewart to be Lieut., vice Webster, resigned, dated Jan. 1.

49th N.I.—Sen. Lieut. Swaine to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign J. T. Lugard to be Lieut., vice Swan, retired.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 4.

Ordered, that the following extract from the Hon. Company's General Letter to the Military Department, dated 16th June, 1816, be re-published.

'In consequence of the numerous applications which have been preferred to us by our servants, on leave of absence in this country, for advances of money on loans, we think it proper to recal your attention to our orders of the 26th of February, 1808, upon this subject. Those orders declared our determination not to make any pecuniary advances to Officers at home, beyond what they are allowed by the existing Regulations of the Service, and you will be required to publish them in General Orders to the Army; but as a resolution of this description, in order to be generally known to a body, which is continually receiving an accession of new members, should be occasionally re-published; and being fully persuaded that a strict observance of this resolution will prevent much trouble and inconvenience, besides loss, to the Company, we direct that our orders above adverted to be in future circulated, for the information of the army, in the month of January every year; and we shall take the necessary steps for reminding Officers, who may arrive in England upon the length, of our determination upon the subject in question.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

BENGAL.

[From the *Indian Gazette*.]

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta, Feb. 19.—Royal Regiment.—Lieut. Pictet, 2d Batt. to be extra Aid-de-Camp to Lieut.-Gen. Bowser, Commanding the Army under the Presidency of Fort St. George.

41th Foot.—1st Lieut. Gray, H.M.'s 41th Regt. to be Baggage-master to Brig.-Gen. Morrison's Division.

47th Foot.—Feb. 23.—Capt. P. Forbes to be Brig.-Major under Lieut.-Col. Elrington, dated Jan. 7.

67th Foot.—Feb. 24.—Lieut. Deane to be Military Sec. and Aid-de-Camp to the Hon. Governor of Penang.

PROMOTIONS.

Calcutta, Feb. 14.—4th Light Drag.—Paymaster W. Wilkey from half-pay 40th

Foot, to be Paym., vice R. Kerr, who exchanges, dated Aug. 12, 1824.

14th Foot.—W. L. O'Halloran, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice La Roche, who resigns, dated Jan. 11, 1824.

20th Foot.—Ensign J. G. Young, from 16th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Church, deceased, dated Aug. 12, 1824.

46th Foot.—Jan. 10.—Lieut. J. H. French to be Captain by Brevet.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta, Feb. 23.—13th L. I. to proceed to Berhampore with the Depots of the 13th and 44th Regts.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Calcutta, Feb. 14.—4th Light Drag.—Assist. W. Thompson, M.D. from 59th Foot to be Surgeon, vice Tol, deceased, dated Aug. 5, 1824.

11th Drag.—Feb. 15.—Super. Assist. Campbell to be Assist.-Surg., vice Stute, deceased, dated Jan. 18, to proceed to Raagoon.

FURLOUGH.

46th Foot.—Lieut. Duke to proceed to Europe on Medical Certificate.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENT.

Fort St. George, Jan. 7.—13th Light Drag.—Lieut.-Col. S. Boyse, C. B. to Command at Bangalore.

FURLOUGH.

Fort St. George, Dec. 31, 1824.—Maj. R. Davis, 4th N.V.B. to Europe, to commence from date of embarkation—Jan. 4. Surg. Deau to Europe, from date of embark. from Madras.—5. Ensign A. Mackenzie, 5th N.I. to Europe on sick certificate.—7. Brig.-Gen. H. Frazer, 34th N.I. to Europe on sick certificate; Lieut. Pope, 24th N.I. to Europe on sick certificate; Lieut. Stevenson, 12th N.I. to Europe on sick certificate; Capt. Cra-croft, 43d N.I. to Europe on sick certificate.

BENGAL.

[From the London Gazette.]

PROMOTIONS.

13th Foot.—To be Lieutenants: Ensign C. L. Winfield, vice Bain; Ensign J. Kershaw, vice O'Shea; Ensign W. Flood, vice Darby; Ensign H. Wilson, vice Pe-try; Ensign A. Wilkinson, vice Jones.—To be Ensigns: E. W. Sibley, Gent. vice Winfield; H. C. Hayes, Gent. vice Kershaw; Ensign J. E. Orange, from the 24th Regt. vice Flood; A. A. Brown, Gent. vice Wilson; J. G. D. Taylor, Gent. vice Wilkinson.

14th Foot.—Ensign W. Cockell to be Lieut. vice Meek.

47th Foot.—Assist.-Surg. M. Devitt, M.D. to be Assist.-Surg. vice Griffith.

59th Foot.—Lieut. R. Whittle to be Capt. vice Butler; Ensign M. McGregor to be Lieut. vice Whittle; W. S. Marley, Gent. to be Ensign, vice M^cGregor.

87th Foot.—Lieut. A. C. Cochrane from 48th Regt. to be Lieut.

MADRAS.

[From the London Gazette.]

MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

20th Foot.—Lieut. M. A. Stanley to be Capt. vice Swinton; Ensign J. Bayley to be Lieut. vice Stanley; J. C. Rouse, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Bayley; Assist. Surg. M. Griffith to be Assist.-Surg. vice Devitt.

41st Foot.—Lieut. H. L. Pillichody to Capt. vice O'Reilly; Lieut. R. Hamilton to be Lieut. vice Armstrong.

45th Foot.—Capt. T. Hilton to be Maj. by purchase, vice Martin, who retires; Lieut. R. Perham to be Captain, by purchase, vice Hilton.

89th Foot.—Ensign T. C. Forbes to be Lieut. vice Kennedy; C. Macan, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Forbes.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Drag.—Lieut. D. L. Cox from Half-pay of the 22d Light Drag. to be Lieut. vice Bulkley, who exchanges.

CEYLON.

Ceylon Regt.—Hosp.-Assist. G. Knox to be Assist. Surg.

Royal African Col. Corps.—Nott, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Smith, deceased.

83d Foot.—Lieut. R. Colquhoun, from Half-pay of 16th Regt. to be Lieut. without purchase.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

49th Foot.—Ensign G. Mathew to be Lieut. vice Daxford; T. C. Reignal to be Ensign, vice Mathew.

LEVY FOR INDIA.

By the last returns from the different Recruiting parties in Great Britain and Ireland, it appears that upwards of 4000 men have been enlisted for the British Regiments now serving in India.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—Jan. 7. 1825. The lady of Maj. Sale, H.M.'s 13th L. I., of a son.—Feb. 14. At Bracebridge-hall, Garden Reach, the lady of Lieut. H. Templer, 7th N.I., of a daughter.—17. The lady of Mr. W. Warden, H. C. brig Flora, of a son.—19. The wife of Mr. T. Flushman, of a daughter.—20. The lady of R. Fleming, Esq. Surgeon, of a son.—21. Mrs. James Mackintosh, of a son.—22. Mrs. J. Da Costa, jun., of a son.—23. Mrs. W. D. M. Sinaes, of a son.—28. The wife of Mr. C. Smith, of a son.

Marriages.—Feb. 1. F. W. Barrow, Esq. Commander of the H. C. Ship Hewitt, to Emily Frances, daughter of J. B. Birch, Esq.—3. Mr. H. Cooper, to Jane, daughter of Mr. E. W. Lowrie; Mr. E. Gozzard, to Ann, daughter of Mr. G. Crook, of Sevenoaks, Kent.—5. Mr. J. B. Plumb, to Miss Elmore.—7. Mr. F. Crane, to Miss Ann Bailey.—12. John Dumbleton, Esq., to Miss A. Billon, both of Howrah; Mr. J. De Monte, to Miss Mary De Cruze; Mr. J. Rodrigues, to Miss M. D. Rozario.—14. Mr. J. Powell Parker, to Mrs. Ann Blaney; Mr. G. Allen, to Miss Mary Loomis.—17. Lieut. Locke, 5th L.C., to Eliza Mary, daughter of the late Major J. Scott.—21st. Mr. W. Linton, to Miss M. A. Benson; Capt. P. Roy, to Miss Mary A. Chew.—22. Mr. J. Wells, H. C. Marines, to Miss Mary Wells.—24. A. G. French, Esq., to Miss Bather.

Deaths.—Jan. 19. Mr. M. Rogers, aged 55.—23. Benj. Daverell, Esq.—28. Mr. E. Balfour, formerly of Madras; in Fort William, Lieut. O'Flaherty, H.M.'s 7th Regt.

MADRAS.

Marriages.—Jan. 22. Mr. P. A. Vanderput, to Miss M. Conthing.—27. Lieut. and Adj. Dods, 13th N.I., to Georgiana Henrietta, daughter of A. Flower, Esq.

BOMBAY.

Birth.—Feb. 1. Mrs. G. Trotter, of a daughter.

Marriage.—Feb. 1. Mr. J. Fernandez, to Miss Martha Redon.

Death.—Feb. 7. Capt. R. Balcock, aged 51.

INTERIOR OF INDIA.

Births.—Jan. 7. At Burrisol, Mrs. J. Brown, of a son.—16. At Allipore, the lady of James Shaw, Esq. of a daughter.—18. At Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. G. Ogilvie, 17th N.I., of a son.—29. At Gurwarah, the lady of E. R. Jardine, Esq., 1st Bengal N.I., of a son.—Feb. 1. At Dacca, the lady of R. Leonard, Esq., of a son; at Colabah, the wife of Mr. H. Yates, Apothecary to 1st E. Regt., of a daughter.—2. At Chandernagore, the lady of Major T. G. Alder, of a son.—2. At Palaverum, the lady of Capt. J. F. Palmer, 32d N.I., of a son.—4. At Sultanpore, Oude, the lady of Lieut.-Col. W. C. Faithful, of a daughter; at Keilah, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Doveton, 38th N.I., of a daughter.—5. At Futteghurah, the lady of John Clark, Esq., of a daughter.—8. At Cuttack, Mrs. S. Atkinson, of a daughter.—10. At Berhampore, the widow of the late W. Lock, Esq., of a son.—15. At Patna, the lady of R. M. M. Thompson, Esq., of a daughter.—16. At Colabah, the lady of the Rev. J. Laurie, junr., of a son.—17. At Nattore, the lady of W. A. Pringle, Esq., Civil Serv., of a son.—18. At Arrah, in the District of Shahabad, Mrs. John Birmingham, of a daughter.—22. At Berhampore, the lady of G. Chapman, Esq. of a daughter.—23. At Chowringhee, Mrs. J. D. Smith, of a son.—24. At Dacca, the lady of G. C. Weguelen, Esq., of a son.—25. Near Berhampore, the lady of J. Bell, Esq., of a son.—27. At Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. Read, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 23. At Madras, the Rev. W. Taylor, to Miss S. H. Wheatley.—Feb. 15. At Chandernagore, Chev. Marian, to Madam Pellessier.

Deaths.—Dec. 6. At Poona, in child-bed, Caroline, the lady of Capt. S. Long, Commiss. Dep.—12. At Vepery, the Rev. E. A. G. Falcke, Missionary.—Jan. 8. At Hyderabad, the infant daughter of Capt. J. R. Ardagh.—14. At Mangalore, Ensign H. W. Neale, 50th M.N.I.—16. At Rangoon, Capt. W. Foster, who was accidentally drowned by falling overboard from his own brig, the M'Canilly.—22. At Manamtoody, the son of Mr. J. A. Pinto.—23. At Negapatam, Capt. H. Fullerton, of the Engineers.—30. At Cawnpore, the Rev. H. L. Williams.—Feb. 6. At Tellegur, the wife of Mr. J. Hudson.—16. At Serampore, W. Baldwin, Esq. sen., aged 55.—19. At Chittagong, Lieut. P. Cooke, 16th M.N.I.

CHINA.

Death.—Nov. 25. At Canton, George French, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, aged 42.

CEYLON.

Births.—Jan. 18. At Trincomallee, the lady of Lieut. Warburton, H.M.'s 1st Ceylon Reg., of a daughter.—26. At St. Sebastian, the wife of the Rev. J. H. De Saum, M.A., of a son.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

Death.—Oct. 22, 1824. Capt. J. Mackintosh, late of the Madras Engineers.

ARABIA.

Death.—March 3, 1824. Between Mount Sinai and Tor, on the Red Sea, the Rev. Joseph Cook, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and younger son of the Rev. Joseph Cook, of Newton Hall, Northumberland. After spending some years in the University, with the highest credit and honour to himself, he went to the Continent in 1820. Having visited Holland, France, Germany, and Switzerland, and resided four years in Italy, devoting his time to the public performance of his clerical duties at the English Chapel at Rome, and that of the Ambassador at Naples, and to the study and contemplation of the interesting objects with which those classical shores abound; and having qualified himself for a full and minute examination of those regions, doubly interesting as being the sources of both sacred and profane history, he set out from Malta in August last, on a tour to Egypt and the Holy

Land, accompanied by Doctor Bromhead, of Cambridge, and Mr. Lewis, of the navy. Having penetrated beyond the second cataract of the Nile, the party returned to Cairo, from whence they proceeded to Mount Sinai. The fatigues of this journey, the inclemency of the weather, and the privations inseparable from travelling in those countries, so weakened him, (although he left Cairo apparently in perfect health,) that after stopping a few days at Mount Sinai to recruit his strength, he was unable to reach Tor; and, under circumstances fraught with the most deep and awful interest, expired on his camel, in the Pass Wady Hebran, near Mount Serbal, to the inexpressible regret of his family and friends. His remains were deposited by his companions in the burying-ground of a Greek church, near the Wells of Elim, a spot he had expressed the most anxious wish to visit; and which, to use the words of his friend, Dr. Bromhead, "Could he have foreseen his fate, he would probably have selected as his last earthly abode."

GREAT BRITAIN.

Marriages.—June 21. The Rev. C. Wimberly, Chaplain in the H. E. I. C. Service, to Mary, second daughter of the late Major Gen. C. Irvine.—July 19. Capt. R. Cozens, H. E. I. C. Service, Madras Establishment, to Frances Elizabeth, daughter of J. Heath, Esq. of Paddington.

Deaths.—July 10. At Earl's Wood, Reigate, R. Nuttall, Esq., aged 76, late Transfer Accountant to the H. E. I. C.—13. In Barton-street, Westminster, Catherine, wife of A. Easton, Esq. of the Board of Control.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM THE EAST.

[From the Exchange Price Current.]

Indigo.—At the public Sales, which have taken place since our last, the finer qualities went off with considerable spirit. There are still French, American, and Arab orders to supply, which will take off great part of the fine Indigo, now in the market.—A sale of upwards of 300 chests is declared for Friday, the 25th Feb.—The following exhibits a comparative view of the export of the last and present season, up to this period.

Exportation of Indigo up to 22d of February, 1825.

To Great Britain.....	Chests 11,620 ..	Fy. Mds. 42,785
To other Places	" 5,228 ..	16,279
		59,064
H. Com's Exportation up to		
22d Feb. 1825.....	is Chests 3,332.....	11,971
Total Exportation, Season		
1824, 25.....	Chests 20,181 ..	Fy. Mds. 71,035

Statement of Exportation of last year's Crop up to 24th Feb. 1824.

To Great Britain, inclusive H. Comp.'s Shipments.....	Fy. Mds. 34,825
To other Places	5,460
	<u>40,285</u>

Increase this Season, 1824-25..... Factory Maunds 30,750

Freight to London—May still be quoted at 6*l.* 10*s.* to 10*l.*, at which the ships now advertised appear to be readily filling up.

INDIAN SECURITIES.*Bengal Government Securities.*

Rates of Premium, Calcutta, 24th February, 1825.

Buy.	Sell.
34 4 Remittable Loan.....	32 8
8 8 From No. 1. to 320 of 5 per cent. Loan.....	7 8
4 8 From No. 321 to 1040 of ditto.....	4 0
3 0 From No. 1041 to the last No. issued of ditto.....	2 8

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, CALCUTTA.

Buy.	Sell.
1 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> On London, 6 Months' sight, in Sic. Rs. 1 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> to 2 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	
On Bombay, 30 Days' sight, per 100 Bombay rupees.	92
On Madras, ditto, 94 to 98 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.	
Promissory Notes of the Java Government, bearing interest at 7 per cent., 2 per cent. Premium.	

Bank Shares, Premium..... 5500 to 5550 per Cent.

Bank of Bengal Rates. Per Cent.

Discount on Private Bills	5 0
Ditto on Government Bill of Exchange	4 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date	4 8
Ditto 3 months certain	4 4

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, CALCUTTA.

March 2.

Buy.	Sell.
1 10½ On London at 6 Months' sight, per Sa. Rs. 1 11½	
Bombay 30 Days per 100 Bombay Rupees	92 0 a 93 0
Madras 30 Days per 100 Madras Rupees	94 0 a 98 0
Promissory Notes of the Java Govt. bearing interest at 7 per cent. 2 per cent. Prem.	
Bank Shares, Premium	5500 to 5550 per cent.

BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Government and Salary Bills, discounted at	3 per cent.
Approved Private Bills and Notes, ditto	4 8 ditto
Loans on Deposit of Company's Paper for 3 Months certain	4 0 ditto

CALCUTTA PRICES OF BULLION.

	S. Rs.	M. Rs.
Spanish Dollars, sicca rupees	per 100 211 8 a	212 8
Silver Five Francs	190 4 a	190 8
Doubloons	each 30 8 a	31 8
Joes, or Pezas	17 8 a	18 0
Dutch Ducats	4 4 a	4 12
Louis D'Ors	8 4 a	8 8
Star Pagodas	3 6½ a	3 7
Sovereigns	10 8 a	11 0
Bank of England Notes	10 8 a	11 0

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

Buy.	Sell.
Rs. As.	Rs. As.
33 4 Remittable Loan	32 8
8 0 From No. 1 to 320 of the 5 per Cent. ditto	7 0
4 12 From No. 321 to 1040 of ditto	4 4
2 12 From No. 1041 to the last No. issued ditto	2 8

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>	<i>Date</i>
1825.					
June 27	Downs ..	Exmouth ..	Owen ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 31
July 2	Downs ..	Perseverance ..	Shaw ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 27
July 2	Downs ..	Promise ..	Glasgow ..	Cape ..	Apr. 15
July 14	Off Weymouth	Rose ..	Marquis ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 27
July 15	Off Liverpool	Andes ..	King ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 7
July 16	Off the Wight	Layton ..	Miller ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 12
July 18	Off Weymouth	General Hewitt	Barrow ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 8
July 20	Off Weymouth	Patience ..	Hind ..	Cape ..	May 2
July 25	Off Falinouth	Boyne ..	Stephens ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 15

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>
1825.				
Feb. 14	Bencoolen ..	Larkins ..	Wilkinson ..	Trumrar & Bengal
Feb. 19	Madras ..	Ganges ..	Lloyd ..	London
Feb. 23	Bengal ..	Mediterranean ..	Stuart ..	Ceylon
Feb. 27	Bengal ..	Timandra ..	Wray ..	Ceylon
Mar. 26	Bencoolen ..	David Scott ..	Thornhill ..	Rangoon
Mar. 26	Bencoolen ..	Heroine ..	Neish ..	Nattal & Rangoon
Mar. 26	Bencoolen ..	Windsor Castle ..	Hodder ..	Nattal & Rangoon
May 1	Cape ..	Pyramus ..	Brodie ..	Ceylon
May 8	Cape ..	Sarah ..	Milne ..	London
May 9	Cape ..	General Palmer ..	Truscott ..	London
May 9	Cape ..	Bonco ..	Ross ..	London
May 15	Madaira ..	Lady Nugent ..	Copplin ..	Madras & Bengal
May 16	St. Helena ..	Juliana ..	Fotheringham ..	China
May 16	St. Helena ..	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	China
May 24	Salem ..	George ..	Saunders ..	Calcutta
May 25	Madeira ..	Britanula ..	Bouchier ..	London
May 26	Madeira ..	Sir Edward Paget	Geary ..	London
May 26	St. Helena ..	Georgina ..	Ford ..	Ceylon
May 28	Santa Cruz ..	Royal George ..	Reynolds ..	Bengal

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Destination.</i>
July 2	Portsmouth ..	Julie ..	Heutze ..	Batavia & Singapore
July 4	Portsmouth ..	Cann Brea Castle	Davey ..	Bengal
July 5	Portsmouth ..	Orpheus ..	Finlay ..	Ceylon & Columbia
July 5	Deal ..	Victory ..	Farquharson ..	Madras & Bengal
July 8	Flushing ..	Dephine ..	Martin ..	Batavia
July 8	Rotterdam ..	Vrow Maria ..	Vanderbirg ..	Batavia
July 9	Liverpool ..	Phoenix ..	Blackiston ..	Batavia
July 11	Deal ..	Henry Porcher ..	Thomson ..	N. S. Wales & China

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND—Continued.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
July 17	Deal ..	Upton Castle ..	Thacker ..	Bombay
July 18	Liverpool ..	Perseverance ..	Brown ..	Bengal
July 19	Off Plymouth ..	Hannah ..	Shepherd ..	Bombay
July 19	Off Plymouth ..	Kerswell ..	Armstrong ..	Cape
July 21	Deal ..	George Home ..	Hippins ..	Bengal
July 21	Deal ..	Java ..	Driver ..	Bengal
July 21	Off Plymouth ..	Surat Castle ..	Doverton ..	Rio Janiero & V. Cruz
July 22	Portsmouth ..	Triumph ..	Green ..	Cape and Bombay
July 24	Deal ..	K. Stewart Forbes	Chapman ..	New South Wales

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date 1825.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	P. of Depart.	Destination.
Mar. 1	Near Madras.	Aurora ..	Earl ..	London	Madras
April		Madras ..	Fayrer ..	London	Madras
April 19	6 N. 19 W.	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	London	Mad. & Beng.
May	9.30 S. 31 W.	Atlas ..	Hine ..	London	Mad. & China
June —	3 S. 33	Roscoe ..	— ..	India	London
June 11	41.4 11.24	Columbia ..	Chapman ..	Liverpool	Bengal
June 12	6 N.	Royal George	Reynolds ..	London	Bengal
June 15	40 N. 14 W.	Roxburgh Castle	Denny ..	London	China
June 16		Thos. Gienville	Manning ..	London	Mad. & Beng.
June 19	43 11	Neptune ..	Cumberlege	London	Madras
June 20	41 15	Cambridge ..	Barber ..	London	Bombay
June 20	1.57 N. 19.50 W.	Gilmore ..	Lawes ..	London	Calcutta
June 21	26 N. 32 W.	Milo ..	Blackmore ..	Cape	Bristol
July 9	44 N. 37 W.	Theodosia ..	Kidson ..	Benal	Liverpool

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Rose*.—Messrs. Donnithorne, Bampton, Faddy, and White, widow of Dr. White, Madras Service; Mrs. Turner and Cooper; Miss L. Bishop; Lieut. Col. H. A. Purchas, 37th N. I.; Major L. Cooper, 47th N. I.; Capt. Turner, H. M. 14th Foot; T. P. Biscoe, Esq. Civil Service; Capt. Sinnock, N. I.; Lieut. Charlton, 9th Regt.; Ensign White, H. M. 14th Foot; Wm. L. Grave, Esq. H. C. Civil Service; Mr. R. Smith; Miss Rogers, and A. M. Ritchie, Esq. landed at the Cape; Misses S. Shakespear and Donnithorne; 2 Misses White; Masters Sweetnam, Faddy and Nayler.

By the *Exmouth*.—Messrs. Tombs, Sarjeant, Hobbhouse and child; Mrs. Col. Watson; Mrs. Captain Watson, and Mrs. Jacob; Messrs. Coles, Mardock, and Mackenzie; Mr. Jno. Paik; Mr. Joseph Henry; and Mr. A. Falconer; Masters Stewards, Tombs, Hobbhouse, Walters, Jacobs, and Pollock; Miss

Sinclair, and Misses Tomb; Mr. John Phipps, to St. Helena; Lieut. Col. Brooks; Geo. Jacob, Esq. M.D.; Lieut. Baillie, H. M. 68th Foot; Lieut. Scott, Artillery; Lieut. G. Bern, 54th Regt.; Masters Twentymann and Fitzhenry.

By the *General Hewitt*.—Sir Francis Macnaghten; Lady Macnaghten; Miss Macnaghten; Capt. D. Jones, H. C. Bombay Marines; M. Lumsden, Esq., Professor of Arabic; F. S. Brownrigg, Esq., Palmers & Co.; Capt. J. I. Edwards, of the *Golconda*; Master P. Clark; W. H. Whatford, Mds. H. C. Ship *Rose*; John Hardy, charter-party Passenger; Dr. A. Russell, M. D.; Ensign Croker, H. M. 13th Foot; Capt. A. J. Ellis, H. M. 16th Lancers, in charge of Invalids; 40 Invalids, H. M. 87th and 13th Infantry.

By the *Albion* (expected).—Hon. John Adam; Mrs. Northmore and Child; Miss Paton; Rev. Mr. Northmore; Capt. F. Thompson; Capt. Dalzell, Madras N. I.; Jos. Walkenshaw, Esq.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several communications intended for the present Number are unavoidably postponed till the next. The strictest impartiality will be exercised in deciding on the priority of claim to insertion, whenever the selection of a few from among many is necessary to be made.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The Subscribers to the Oriental Herald, resident in London and its immediate neighbourhood, are requested to communicate their names and address to the present publisher, MR. SANDFORD ARNOT, at No. 33, Old Bond-street, by whom arrangements will be made for the earliest and most punctual delivery of such copies as may be required from the place of publication, and for their being sent as directed whenever a change of residence or temporary absence from town may occur.

ERRATUM.

*Enjoyment—A Sonnet, second line, p. 267, for "When every face," &c., read—
"Where every face we pass is like a mask."*

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 21.—SEPTEMBER 1825.—VOL. 6.

MR. M'CULLOCH'S DISCOURSE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.¹

MR. M'CULLOCH has now been many years before the public: he is known as the former editor of the 'Scotsman' newspaper; as a contributor of some standing to the 'Edinburgh Review';² as the author of some enlightened articles in the 'Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica'; more recently as a public instructor in Political Economy; and the first person appointed to read the Ricardo Lecture. This latter appointment is not so much a matter of weight in itself, (both *that* and the foundation of the Lecture having little, we believe, of a public character or origin,) but, connected with the previous reputation of Mr. M'Culloch, it served to fix the public eye and expectations upon him. It is reasonable, also, that it should attract to whatever he writes on this subject, a more than usual rigour of scrutiny. Above all men, a reader of the 'Ricardo Lecture' must not be indulged in any laxity of principle: heterodoxy in him becomes heresy, and his errors are crimes.

The most general fault in Mr. M'Culloch's works is some defect in logical adroitness, together with an air of inattention and imperfect dedication of himself to the nerve of the question before him. Colonel Torrens is sometimes heavy and cumbersome, especially in his cases of illustration; but this, in him, arises from over-anxiety for the completeness of his development, for his attention is close and concentrated: whereas Mr. M'Culloch is heavy from remissness, diffuseness, and languor; and the Roman reproach of "*alind agit*" is too often suggested to the keen censor. These defects appear very strikingly in the pamphlet before us. In palliation it may be said, that perhaps the pamphlet was chiefly designed as a text-book for his lectures, or rather, as an allowable means of advertising them more extensively. A much heavier complaint we have to make: we find a defect, in more places than one, of philosophic accuracy—not in the results, (where Mr. M'Culloch is not likely to be wrong,) but in his grounds. On the other hand, among the advan-

¹ A Discourse on the Rise, Progress, peculiar Objects, and Importance of Political Economy, &c. By T. R. M'Culloch, Esq. Edinburgh, 1824.

² A Journal which, in the department of political economy, has always commanded more reputable assistance than any other in Europe; and, *thus far*, has the advantage greatly of its English rival, the 'Quarterly Review,' which, upon this subject, has been boaxed by tyros and all sorts of pretenders. It cannot be denied, however, that whatever the 'Edinburgh Review' may have done for the diffusion of the science, it has done nothing to enlarge it.

teagueous characteristics of Mr. McCulloch's writings, one of great value is the extent of his information. Connexion with political journals lays open to a writer infinite details in statistics that would else be liable to escape him. And these opportunities of his situation Mr. McCulloch has improved by diligent reading in other directions, continental² as well as domestic. He has been a regular *student* of political economy, and cultivated it as a man would cultivate his profession. But now ~~to~~ judgment: Mr. McCulloch is at our bar; and he must excuse us if we think that his reputation entitles him not to unusual tenderness, but, on the contrary, to unusual severity, and a jealousy of examination, which, to a writer of less name, might be unjust.

Mr. McCulloch's pamphlet (in the 1st edition) contains 118 pages, of which about fifty (from p. 21 to 72) are occupied with a sketch of the history of Political Economy.

The first score of pages may be said to be wasted; and one score is a great deal to waste out of six. They are merely flash scraps of rhetoric upon flash topics: such as an argument to show that political economy is decidedly a useful branch of study; that wealth also is very useful (a proposition that startled us a good deal); and that Cicero was quite in the wrong box on the theory of profits. We protest we thought as much; and we would bet something, that his principles were by no means correct on the bullion question. Passing over this Introduction, then, let us come to the

1. *History of Political Economy*, (one part of which, by the way, is anticipated at pp. 5, 6, 7, 8). This is a very curious subject; and it is certainly no fault in Mr. McCulloch that he has treated it superficially, for, in one sense, it was his duty to be superficial; that is, not to go anywhere into much detail, which would have violated the proportions: but still he should have pitched the scale of his abstraction equably; and this, we think, he has not done. Secondary facts, for example, should not have been noticed, any primary one being unnoticed; and so on. We complain, also, that the first part of this sketch—that part which respects Greece and Rome—is not learned. The subject is very interesting, and a good deal might be made of it.

Had the Greeks and Romans any such science as political economy, or any idea of such science? Every economist would be glad to know this; and, if not, why not? We answer, No: and many proofs might be given of this. There is a passage in the 'Cyropædia' which states, as clearly as it has ever been stated, the principle of the division of labour. The particular case given in illustration is that of the shoemakers' trade, to which, in the great cities of Persia, Lydia, &c., the principle of subdivision seems at that time to have been as fully applied as it is now in London and Paris. This passage has led some persons to think that

² Except that he is not familiar with German political economy; and, to say the truth, he has no great loss: for our German friends, who are so worthy of being studied in most other walks of speculation, deserve no praise in this. The name of Ricardo is yet unknown amongst them; as will be supposed; they are all superannuated economists dressed in the cast-clothes of England and France; and yet, which makes a grotesque combination, they are all visionaries, and they talk transcendently upon the corn-laws. So that, if any one of them should visit Scotland, we are satisfied he would be "cognosed." What *that* is, we need not tell Mr. McCulloch.

Xenophon was aware of the relation which this principle bears to political economy; and Lord Lauderdale has cited it avowedly on that view of its meaning. This, however, is a mistake; and it is remarkable that this very passage contains the best evidence that it is so. A short Socratic dialogue will set this matter in a right light:

1. S. The shoes were better, you said, Xenophon:—How better? In what respect?

2. X. Better as to appearance; more elegant, and better fitted to the foot.

3. S. Well; one consequence of this last advantage would be a greater durability. Three pair of Persian shoes would outlast, suppose, four of Athenian, and in that proportion would be cheaper. However, this, though true and known to shoemakers, is not self-evident; so I waive it. But you said also that the shoemakers, by this dedication of themselves each to a single department of his trade, acquire greater skill?

4. X. I did.

5. S. And, being more skilful, are they in consequence slower in making a pair of shoes, or quicker?

6. X. Nay, by Jove, in verity, not slower, but much quicker.

7. S. So that if other shoemakers, not practising this subdivision of labour, would make twenty pair of shoes in a month, a Persian shoemaker would make, perhaps, thirty, or some number more than twenty?

8. X. He would.

9. S. But he who makes thirty whilst another makes twenty, can afford the thirty for the price of the twenty, in all that part of the price which respects the workmanship?

10. X. It seems so, Socrates.

11. S. But again, Xenophon: you said that the Persian shoemaker would make better shoes than others. When you said *that*, did you mean that he would make a better pair of shoes for the same price as others, or for a greater price?

12. X. No, by Jove, Socrates; any shoemaker will make a better pair of shoes for a greater price; but the Persian will make a better pair for the same price.

13. S. You say well, Xenophon; but do you not see that he who makes a better pair for the same price, will make an equal pair for a less price?

14. X. Yes, truly, Socrates,—by Hercules it seems so.

Now in this dialogue, the inferences of Socrates in No. 3, 9, and 13, first carry the principle into the region of political economy; but these are just the very inferences which Xenophon overlooks. He saw the principle in its relation to comfort, to social refinement, &c.; the secondary and derivative relation which it bore to price, escaped him. His argument is this: that, as the great king secured a better table by the dedication of one man to ragouts, of another to soups, &c.; so the people of Babylon had the luxury of better shoes, because one person confined himself to making men's shoes, another to making women's shoes; nay, the very same article, as a pair of boots, was distributed among different sets of workmen: one was a boot-closer, another a cutter-out, &c. All this partition of labour was useful in Xenophon's eyes, for this reason: that, if it is useful to have a pair of shoes at all, it is useful to have them good, comfortable, and waterproof; all which they are more likely to be

as the workman grows more skilful by confining himself to one branch of his art; but the *economic* uses of this arrangement, by which not merely better shoes were secured, but also *cheaper* shoes,—shoes which cost the artist less labour, and the purchaser a less sacrifice,—*this* relation of the principle was precisely that which escaped him. He “burned,” to use the technical expression of a child’s game: he was close to the discovery; but just as he touched it, he went off in a tangent.

We have subjected this one case to the sharper examination, because it has been especially insisted on. But the fact is, that ample proofs may be drawn from Xenophon’s professed writings on political economy:

Περὶ προσόδων. Περὶ τῆς Οἰκονομίας, &c.

that no suspicion had entered the Grecian mind of such a science as political economy. As yet it was merely an art,—the art of *housekeeping* applied to the affairs of a state; *i. e.* a set of prudential rules, experimentally ‘made out, and incapable of deduction from *a priori* grounds. Xenophon himself defines it as an *art*; and an art it was, according to the Grecian scheme of it, very highly illiberal, and often knavish. In particular, the ‘*Economics*,’ ascribed to Aristotle, are a collection of swindling tricks, for some of which, in these days, a man would be transported; for others, hung. Yes, the Stagyrite himself would, in England, be sent to the treadmill for practising the more moral parts of his own *Economics*; and, therefore, we are happy to agree with the best critics in acquitting him of all hand in that little tract. Not, however, that he was capable of any thing better in point of science. Aristotle had no exemption from the universal errors of his age, which, in fact, have been the errors of all ages before the present. For two thousand years *after* his time, for instance, it remained a puzzle to the human understanding, in what way any gain could arise from commerce, except by cheating. That men and nations alike must despair of reaping one farthing, except by “lying pretty considerably” (“*nisi admodum mentiantur*”), was by no means an opinion peculiar to Cicero or his contemporaries,—as Mr. McCulloch would seem to insinuate, by quoting that well-known passage. He might safely have come much nearer to our own doors. Mr. Locke, at the beginning of the eighteenth century of the Christian era, might possibly have kicked and plunged a little, if he had been taxed with that same Ciceronian opinion expressed in those naked and indecorous terms; but, in fact, he had no right to any other. “I do not ask,” says a Roman disputant, “what Epicurus says, but what Epicurus says consistently.” Mr. Locke, whose closest connexions happened to be with Great Britain and Holland, would have found it particularly shocking to admit that those nations, being the two most eminent for commerce, were, by implication, the most eminent for lying; but, kick and wince as he might, he had no good reason to show why that inference was other than a fair one.⁵

⁴ A most important point to be remembered, as we shall show further on in commenting upon a capital error of Mr. McCulloch’s.

⁵ We are not here speaking of Locke individually, but of Locke as one representative (amongst others) of the age in which he lived; in all of whose errors and blindness on this subject he participated. Else, speaking of Locke in particular,—and, by-the-by, we might say that, so far from having outstripped his age, and liberated political economy from any errors, (as Mr. McCulloch, in common

An inquiry, therefore, into the absurdities entertained by nations in all matters of political economy, ought not to be made special to Syria and Rome; for it is an inquiry which touches all nations, and in regard to which Rome, at least, is more favourably situated than any other. Mr. McCulloch insists, indeed, upon the degradation of commerce amongst the Romans, and the discountenance shown to it by their greatest men, as main causes of the non-development amongst *them* of political economy. Doubtless a science cannot readily grow up where the very object of that science is despised. But this degradation of commerce, which, in modern nations, has been among their infirmities, in Rome was a philosophic duty of her situation, and no small part of her strength. It is the just and profound remark of Burke, that the modern states of Christendom are, in this respect, better and greater than the ancient republics, with all their grand simplicity; that they adapt themselves to the support of a far more comprehensive body of interests. Rome, above all others of this planet, had a single and exclusive interest assigned to her by her earliest constitution. She, whose basis was essentially martial, whose best means of defence were to offend, and who of all nations was the only one that ever deliberately laid down to herself the broad policy of war supporting war,—had manifestly less need than any other of commercial resources. Not having the need, she did wisely to discountenance commerce; for, though it is true that, in some particular conjunctures and particular parts of her policy, she might have benefited now and then, even as a martial state, by a little of the many aids and facilities which commerce prepares,* still she must have paid infinitely too dear for such benefits, by vitiating the integrity of her vital principle through the arts and tempers of peace, which commerce could not but have prematurely introduced. As well might Attila have encouraged painting upon velvet amongst his Huns, as Rome have patronized commerce, which, though it be life, was not *her* life. In this point, therefore, though economists, we justify the great people for their bigotry; we admire their absurdity; we reverence their stupidity. But when France, under a prince married absolutely to a De Medici, dishonoured and degraded commerce, she knew herself to be in hostility to the genius of the age no less than to her own interest, and obeyed a prejudice of passion—not, as Rome, a grand instinct of her situation.

with other writers, would insinuate, he was, in fact, the greatest old woman in this science that any country has bred,—he was not content with the follies of his age, but had others of his own. For instance, with regard to the question in the text, he had a notion that all *retail* tradesmen were nuisances, and ought to be put a stop to. Merchants and manufacturers, for reasons concealed in his own breast, were to be tolerated; but as to shopkeepers, it was clear to him that they lived by hoaxing people. This opinion he repeats many times over.

* Always remembering, however, that the suggestions of the very best political economy, and supposing Rome enlightened enough to have understood their value, must often have been inadmissible in practice, either from particular institutions, (as slavery,) from particular laws interwoven with the national polity and temper, or from particular prejudices, from which the people were not yet ripe for emancipation, &c. And many other obstacles would be such, that the *wise* economist would not himself wish to remove them. “As far as the purse is concerned,” he would say, “my science demonstrates that your policy is bad.” But he, no more than other men, if he were truly wise, would deny that many objects of national policy may be transcendent to considerations of the purse; and a bad political economy may, under all the circumstances, be a good policy.

Hence we conclude, that, though political economy may have languished in Rome in sympathy with the languor of commerce, — and thus far Mr. M'Culloch may be right, — he is not right in charging that languor as any wickedness upon the policy of Rome, who, if in this she acted in one sense blindly, yet, in her blindness, pursued that course which the fullest light would have justified.

Another cause, which Mr. M'Culloch suggests as hostile to political economy, was the existence of slavery. Undoubtedly it must disturb the general laws of profits and wages in the highest degree; when a man, instead of buying a coat, buys a tailor. And we wish that Mr. M'Culloch had a little more illustrated the particular *mode* in which these malarrangements of society interfere with its sane economy. The precise shape which these disturbances would take, their exact *modus agendi*, are full of interest; and the most practised economist would be perplexed to trace them without a good deal of consideration. It is like calling on a man to assign, off hand, the aspect of every object, if seen from some different centre. To answer such a demand, a man must have leisure to do what in France is meant by *s'orienter*; i. e. to rectify his own position; to determine, that is, not only the position of the new object, but also of the new station from which he is to look at it.

Added to these causes, one of which tended to make political economy (even if it had been called into existence) repulsive, and the other to make it peculiarly difficult, (because complex and unsteady,) there were many national practices, such as the different largesses, donations, and distributions (gratuitous, or semi-gratuitous) of corn, oil, &c.; many laws, as the sumptuary laws, the usury laws, &c.; many circumstances of situation, of police, of the want of police, which would have rendered political economy such a study for Rome as philology might have been in Babel, or logic in Bedlam. Fortunate, therefore, it was for all the Roman economists, *in posse*, that there was no such science *in esse*. But apart from all these reasons, which seem enough to have stifled any science whatever, even if it had reached the moment of its birth, there is a weight of higher and philosophic argument why no science like that of political economy could then have been near to its birth. What we allude to are considerations such as these: 1. The difficulty, in general, for all minds, (and especially for those whom the degradation of the subject would chiefly bring acquainted with the phenomena,) of those sciences which respect, not objects, but the relations of objects. 2. The indisposition to observe and to reflect upon matters of daily and familiar experience, which tempt none but the most philosophic minds, and indeed scarcely exist, as objects of curiosity, to any other; things remote from our customary experience being those which first solicit men to philosophize, and (as Aristotle long ago observed) chiefly by the agency of wonderment. 3. The indisposition to suspect the presence of determinate laws, in what seems to depend upon causes most of all capricious and incalculable, — upon accident and the human will. An unenlightened mind would scarcely conceive the possibility that, in the actions of running, leaping, standing, dancing, laws of the subtlest and most inviolable kind were obeyed, which might require more than even a Borelli to unfold them perfectly. And even at this day, many who write on political economy are manifestly struggling with the old belief, (which is still the belief of the great multitude,) that the human will is omnipotent over the

laws of that science; whence it is that magistrates have, for so many ages, legislated upon wages; parliaments and privy councils upon the *maximum* of prices.

From Greece? and Rome the natural transition was to the Lower Empire; but on this part of his subject Mr. McCulloch is silent, though, even in a sketch, some notice was due to this great off-set of Rome, which occupies so conspicuous a station in history for a period of more than 1000 years. A quarry of interesting matter on this subject, and a quarry hitherto quite unworked, may be found in the Byzantine historians, and in the *Corpus Juris*; particularly in what relates to the mines, the coinage, the embargo laid upon the exercise of certain mechanic arts by the privileges of the imperial family, (a subject which is somewhere treated by De Pauw,) the mode of conducting some branches of distant commerce, and many other interesting topics.

From Eastern Rome the political economist reverts (or wishes to revert) to the New German representative of Western Rome, and the general system of Christian states which grew up about this centre. But the early history of this period belongs to what are called the dark ages; which are those ages (as some writer remarks) about which, whether dark or not, *we* are in the dark. However, we have more light, even upon this section of history, than has yet been used. We would refer the curious student, for the political economy of these times, to the casuists of the Roman church from the 13th century, and, in general, to the writers on practical divinity. This may seem as odd a reference as to the Iliad upon a question of ancient pharmacy, as it existed before the Olympiads. But, in fact, many questions of political economy (for example, upon the lawfulness of taking such an interest, or such a profit, upon capital under every variety of circumstances, and all modes of application) which, as questions of science, could not then have arisen, very often occurred as questions of conscience. And how were the '*Responsa prudentium*' framed; upon what principles? Upon principles of ethics, will be the general answer. But he, who answers this, shows that he is unacquainted with the nature of a case of conscience. In such cases, the question never is about the rule of morality, but about the application of the rule; that is, to speak technically, not about the major proposition, but about the subsumption of the particular case (the minor proposition) under that major. For instance, "May I use poisoned weapons in war?" Here there is no question about the moral principle in the major—that I am to do no injustice even to an enemy. This is conceded; and the only question is about the minor—shall the particular case (using poisoned weapons) be subsumed under the predicate of injustice or not? To determine this, the casuist was obliged to examine the rights of belligerents; and this examination, well or ill conducted, necessarily translated the question from the department of the moralist to that of the jurist: the ultimate purpose of the question still belonged to moral philosophy, but the *means* were sought from some other science. Just so in the questions relating to usury, profit, &c.; or suppose, in this question,

? A contribution of some value to the history of ancient political economy, though written in an angry and acrimonious spirit, has been published of late years in Germany by Boeckh. It is entitled '*Political Economy of the Athenians*,' originally in a single volume, but recently expanded into two.

(which often presented itself in the business of life,) in returning a loan of any commodity, which has altered its value since I borrowed it, shall I return the same quantity, or rather (which, for a purpose of exchange, and not for use, would be the same virtual quantity,) shall I return the same value? Now here the moral principle concerned, which would constitute the major, is not exposed to any question at all. Every body is agreed that no fraud is to be committed. But the question commences about the minor; in this case (as, suppose, returning the same quantity without regard to value,) is it a fraud, or is it not? Now it was impossible to discuss such a question without transferring the investigation from ethics to political economy: "will he, n'il he," and without ever having heard of such an animal, the reverend casuist became a political economist. Of course he made horrible blunders, which would have caused each particular hair upon Mr. Ricardo's head to stand erect with consternation. But, take him for better and worse, an old withered casuist was not always the worst of possible economists: his logic, and his method, were clearly points in his favour; and we number at least one Cardinal, of past ages, that would have been a match for nine Bank Directors of the year 1811. Bad or good, however, in them, we must search for the state of political economy amongst our "dark" ancestors.

Descend we now, from these obscure people of the middle ages, whom Mr. McCulloch despatches in one line (viz. the 11th of p. 21,) to busier and more pretending generations. The origin of the mercantile system is well and ingeniously exposed by Mr. McCulloch as a more refined way of accommodating to the necessities of that century, (the 17th,) the rude old doctrine which peremptorily forbade the exportation of the precious metals under any plea or any circumstances. This doctrine, in this rigour, sheer necessity had obliged the merchants to abandon in practice; what was felt to be indispensable could not be wrong; the understanding was summoned to explain the necessity—but still in reconciliation with the old prejudice, which nobody was yet prepared to abandon. This was done, and with considerable ingenuity for the old "puts" of that day. Gold, said they, must not be exported. Very true. But for the very reason why it ought not generally to be exported, it ought in one particular case—viz. when it goes to purchase commodities, which, being afterwards re-exported, bring in more gold than originally went out. But then all depends upon that point of *more*; the balance must be in our favour: the re-imported bullion must exceed the bullion originally exported, or else the very principle is sacrificed upon which only the departure from the good old rule had been justifiable; and the departure, which had at first been only an apparent one, would now become a real one. Thus arose the "*mercantile system*," as it is called, of political economy, the "*balance of trade*," and all the rest of it. And certainly, though an economist of 1825 cannot but laugh a little at these old quizzes, he must allow that they showed some wit in devising a new theory which suited their own interest, and at the same time kept the old theory in countenance. Paying every sort of homage to the old doctrine, the new one plucked out its fangs; and, whilst conceding its whole speculative absurdity, made it practically harmless.

Thus one error was driven out by a second, with this advantage in favour of the second, that it was a more ingenious error: the intense obtuseness of the old one, which absolutely obtunded the understanding,

was redressed, and the economist had his wits sharpened for further progress. Progress, however, speaking absolutely, there was not much for the rest of that century. A great ferment, indeed, continued in men's minds at intervals; and occasionally, as public questions arose to stimulate the intellect, such for instance as the state of the currency at a very embarrassing crisis of our foreign politics, some useful truths were elicited from the good sense of the nation. But, generally, these were due to good sense only, and had no dependence upon any principles (properly so called) of political economy: in that science all the efforts too much resembled the labours of Sisyphus; just as the burthen, with which the writer struggled, had reached the summit, and was all but lodged in its proper position, weakness came over him, the weight slipped from his grasp, and all relapsed into its old state. And it is remarkable, that, if ever any writer hazarded a liberal opinion upon international intercourse, &c., he started as if detected in some guilty act, and, like Collins's Fear—

Back recoiled, he knew not why,
Even at the sound himself had made.

One exception there certainly is, viz. Sir Dudley North. He is now, for the first time,* pushed forward to public notice by Mr. McCulloch, and certainly, if mere liberality were a sufficient qualification, he must take rank above all his contemporaries. He comes upon the stage with a full plumage of dashing philanthropic sentiments, flaunting before him like a forest of peacock's feathers. And very charming it is; but the question is—how he came by them all? Not honestly we suspect; in fact, he is a mere Joseph Surface; and, however he may persist in singing out his honeyed sentiments, ("The man that," &c.) still (without wishing to say anything disobliging,) we must take the liberty of calling him a prig, (to use a low word,) and a coxcomb. Doubtless it is a good thing to be liberal, but it is a better thing to speak the truth; and we fear that however timely as to the fact Sir Dudley may have spoken, he must have believed in his heart that he was lying. The age was not ripe for such truths; and this, not merely in the ordinary sense, that it was not prepared to receive them, but also that it had no principles from which it could warrantably deduce them. When Pope delivered his rhapsody of Optimism, a philosopher would have said to him, "I doubt not, that as results, for which some time or other philosophy will deliver the adequate grounds, most of your propositions are true. Still, with your permission, I must consider you a prig. For, if they are true, you do not know them to be so; you have no more proof that they are so than your washer-woman. Originally, your opinions are stolen from the *Théodicée* of Leibnitz, where they are delivered with the grounds, though insufficient ones. But you had not the merit even of stealing them—you simply received them knowing them to be stolen; and you have brought them into the market as your own, but detached from every thing which gave them plausibility." Just so of Sir Dudley North; in the words of the proverb, he "says more in an hour than he will stand to in a year;" and our private belief is, that one half of his creed arose in that genial state

* We mean as a political economist; for else he is well known, (and in any other character honourably known,) through his brother's life of him, which is a very interesting book.

of exhilaration (no matter whether from wine or ale), which disposes a man to think all that he wishes; and the other half in a spirit of contradiction to the economists of his own time, whom he felt to be illiberal grubs, though principles were then wanting to prove them such.

From the English writers of the 17th century, (with whom, by the way, Mr. McCulloch does not show a very extensive acquaintance,) a long stride carries us to M. Quesnay, the father of the physiocratic school, or the *economistes*, as they are technically called. To them, as usual, there is far too much compliment; for they were a dull nation—mortal dull; and they gave themselves the airs of philosophers, simply because they perceived that most people found them very wearisome. Nobody knew what they were talking of, or cared to know; it was a secret, and as there was a little cabal to keep up the credit of the secret, and some of them people of distinction, it kept above water until Turgot and Condorcet gave it further *éclat* at home, and Adam Smith in this country. To him it owed the favour of being placed in the light of one of the two poles of political economy; the other, or antagonist pole, being the mercantile system. But this is to throw a false lustre upon both blunders. The particular blunder of the economists was, perhaps, useful to the progress of political economy, as it throws upon the assailant a necessity of wider investigations than mere commercial or financial questions had given birth to. It is, however, a blunder not at all creditable to the understanding; a few steps carry a man into it, a few more carry him out. Accordingly, many others have had the same notion; and even in our days, Mr. Spence re-produced, without knowing it, all that was essential in the doctrine of the economists. Mr. McCulloch himself complains of this “*sameness*,” and, in fact, they may be called a “cyclical” race of writers—perpetually revolving upon their own steps.

But the *minority of Louis XV.*—why have we not one word on the writers of this era? Except Melon, whose name is cited in a note, we do not remember that any one of them is even mentioned. Yet, undoubtedly, they were an ingenious race of men, and struggling with imperfect conceptions of truths which have since been brought to light. The great financial embarrassments in the latter years of Louis XIV.—the various means for redressing these adopted by the Regent, from 1716 to 1720—the schemes of Mr. Law—the confusion which followed—all tended to rouse the attention of able thinkers: and from 1716 to about 1740, there was a series of works produced which fill up the hiatus between the English writers of the 17th century (of whom Locke and Davenant may be regarded as the last) and the French economists.

Of the Italian writers on political economy, to whom the attention of the European public had previously been drawn by a French history of the different systems of political economy, Mr. McCulloch says a little, and perhaps too little. From the era of Adam Smith, (1st edit. 1776,) he pursues the high road down to our own days. The great stages here are of course—1. Mr. Malthus ‘*On Population*,’ (1798).—2. M. Say’s ‘*Economie Politique*,’ (1802).—3. Mr. West’s pamphlet ‘*On the Laws*

* It would have been better to give an entire list of the writers belonging to each period, commenting only on the ablest. Political economy is of such recent growth, that it would be possible, in a very inconsiderable space, to attach even a short analysis and critique to each separate work.

of Rent, (1815).—4. Mr. Ricardo's 'Principles of Political Economy,' (1817).¹⁰ With respect to the first of these, Mr. M'Culloch remarks, that the main principles (though not the application of them) had been anticipated by Mr. Townsend in 1786, by Hubert in 1755, and "frequently" by other writers. We would add, that, perhaps, the most striking of these anticipations is at the latter end of the well-known 'Equisse' of Condorcet; it is there, indeed, connected with some extravagant speculations; but it is the more remarkable that Mr. Malthus's obligations to him should not have been noticed, as Condorcet is one of those whom Mr. Malthus originally professed to answer. In the praise given to Mr. Malthus, we are happy to see that Mr. M'Culloch notices his work on population; and that he has so much regard to truth, as to disclaim "any approbation of that system of political economy to which he has given his support;" many principles of which appear to Mr. M'Culloch "fundamentally erroneous,"—and there we heartily agree with him,—“and to be pregnant with the most pernicious consequences;”—this we are hardly disposed to think. All *incoherent* falsehood is self-destructory; and *that* can scarcely be complimented with the name of "system," of which all the parts are in conflict with each other.

Of the more recent authors in this department, we would wish to decline speaking in this place. Of Sismondi, and some other continental writers of name, Mr. M'Culloch says nothing at all; of Say and of Storch, by many he will be thought to have said rather more than was due to them. But these are cases in which every man is free to have his peculiar biases; because here there is, or may be thought, something like an equilibrium of merit. One case there is, however, of disingenuousness in relation to the writers of our own country, which we cannot but notice. In a sketch, which takes no notice at all of Col. Torrens, a little school-book of Mrs. Marcet's, (*Conversations on Political Economy*;) is distinguished with a praise to which neither as to kind nor degree it has any kind of pretensions. We do not wish to speak with anything like disrespect of that lady; on the contrary, we think that she has a singular talent for explaining¹¹ whatever she understands, and regret, therefore, that she did not more thoroughly understand the elements even of political economy; in that case, we are confident that she would have written a very useful work; as it is, her 'Conversations' are not merely superficial, but in many parts sure to mislead. And we are persuaded, from the tone of modesty and just feeling which prevails throughout her prefaces, that she would herself be the last person to claim for her works that station in which Mr. M'Culloch would attempt to place them.

Having concluded our remarks on Mr. M'Culloch's sketch of the 'History of Political Economy,' which have run to a greater length than we anticipated, we reserve what we have to say on his *doctrinal errors*, for a future Number.

¹⁰ Previously, however, Mr. R. had published his pamphlet 'On the Law of Profits,' which should have made the 4th station.

¹¹ We have seen three works by this lady: one on Natural Philosophy, one on Chemistry, and one on Political Economy. All are of necessity superficial, and do not pretend to be otherwise; but the third is positively erroneous.

STANZAS—WRITTEN IN INDIA

(*In Sickness and Affliction*).

In every change of fortune or of clime,
In every stage of man's uncertain lot,
The more endear'd by distance and by time,
Affection's sacred home is unforget.
There lies the spell that wakes the sweetest tear
In Feeling's eye—that cheers the troubled brow—
The zest of every joy the heart holds dear,
The pride and solace of the Child of Wo.
And cold and dead to Nature's finer sway,
Who, doom'd to wander, weeps not on his way!

From that charm'd circle peace will never fly,
While love and tender sympathy remain
To foil the glance of Care's malignant eye,
And render powerless the hand of Pain.
The restless throng that haunt Ambition's shrine,
And madly scorn the sweet domestic sphere,
Condemned ere long in shame and grief to pine,
And curse their wild and profitless career;
From Envy's scowl, and Flattery's hollow strain,
Turn in despair, and seek repose in vain!

Queen of the Nations! Island of the brave!
Home of my youth! and Idol of my heart!
Though far beyond the broad Atlantic wave,
My boundless love shall but with life depart.
Yet farewell all that brightens and endears!
Forms of domestic joy, a long adieu!
These withered plants but wake my bitter tears,
These foreign crowds my fond regrets renew;
For lone and sad, from friends and kindred torn,
My path is dreary, and my breast forlorn!

Star of the Wanderer's soul! Unrivalled Land!
Hallow'd by many a dream of days gone by!
Though distant far, thy charms my thoughts command,
And gl'am on Fancy's sad reverted eye,
And though no more my weary feet may stray
O'er thy green hills, or down each flowery vale,
Where rippling streams beneath the sunbeam play,
And throw their gladdening music on the gale,
There are fond hopes that will not all depart
Till Death's cold fingers tear them from the heart!

Vain, faithless visions! 'mid each earthly ill
The soul can darken, or the bosom wring,
Why haunt ye thus the lonely mourner still,
And fitful radiance o'er Life's ruins fling?
Meteor that cross my solitary way,
Oh I cease to mock the tempest of despair!
Scourge of the clime! pale Sickness holds her way,
And bids my lacerated heart prepare
To meet in foreign lands the Wanderer's doom—
An early fate, and unlamented tomb!

COLONEL STEWART ON THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA.¹

THIS able and eloquent dissertation has made its appearance most opportunely—at a time when the attention of England ought to be intensely fixed on the great questions of Oriental policy, which it was the object of the author to discuss. For the period is now clearly arrived when the British legislature must determine whether our Indian empire is ever to be established on a secure and solid basis, or to continue the sport of chance, subject to perpetual fluctuation and change; now carried forward by the tide of war, now threatened with destruction by its rebounding shock, and ever ready to be swallowed up in the gulph of internal commotion. Such are the great objects embraced by the pamphlet before us, which was intended, it appears, for distribution only among a select number, and is, perhaps, as yet accessible to few beyond the circle of the author's friends. But, notwithstanding the modesty that may have dictated this course, its contents are too valuable to be withheld from the public, whose interest the writer has so much at heart. Without concurring entirely in all his views, we shall lay the most important of them fairly before the reader, with comments where they appear necessary. He first gives a sketch of the steps by which we arrived at our present position in India, impelled, he thinks, by an irresistible train of circumstances, which left us no alternative but to advance or be annihilated: according to the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, that, "from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation." Lieut.-Colonel Stewart sums up his view in the following words:—

It appears, from our past experience in India, that from the moment we assumed the character of aggressors, every effort was found ineffectual to reconcile, in the first instance, the independent existence of the Company's factory with the independence of the Soubahs of Bengal; and, in the second, that the principle, so far from being weakened by the extent of our dominion, gained strength with the accession of territory; and that after we superseded the authority of the Nuwab of Moorsshedabad, and became the governing power of the principality, neither the genius of Mr. Hastings, nor the firmness and discretion of Lord Cornwallis, nor the forbearance of Lord Teignmouth, could establish any durable relations of peace and security, either by intrigues or terror, or approximations to a balance of power, or a steady adherence to a principle of non-interference; and that nothing but the views of those who looked to the limits of India alone as the boundaries of our influence, actual or indirect, afforded any prospect of permanent repose.

This is, no doubt, a correct representation of the course of events; but as to the secret springs and causes which propelled them in this direction, some difference of opinion may exist. The apologists of the Company, taking their cue from Lord Clive, who first avowed the bold project of seizing upon the Mogul empire, argue the impossibility of maintaining relations of peace with the Princes of the country; and that to leave

¹ Some Considerations on the Policy of the Government of India; more especially with reference to the Invasion of Burmah. By Lieut.-Colonel M. Stewart. London, 1825.

any Native power in Hindoostan capable of opposing us, was, therefore, incompatible with the existence of the Company. . . . Why? Because, said he, "after the length we have run, the Princes of Hindoostan must conclude our views to be boundless; they have such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation." This is the confession of the man who, on the same day that he avowed this intention of seizing upon the country, privately despatched most pressing instructions to England to invest his whole fortune, and as much money as could be borrowed in his name, in East India stock; which, as he foresaw, by his measures of usurpation, was, in the course of a few years, raised from six to twelve per cent.; a confession backed with a proof: that the Native Princes could not, and *ought not*, to consider themselves safe for a moment, while a power, governed by such principles, existed among them. The Company's chieftains, such as Clive and Warren Hastings, were, in respect to their foreign policy, the Buonapartes of the East. Like him, they found they could never be trusted by the surrounding powers, who had already such proofs of their restless ambition, the dread of which was sure to produce continual leagues and coalitions for self-preservation among the Native Princes within its reach, while any yet remained within the line of our frontier, who conceived themselves in danger, and were capable of forming plans of resistance. Thus, every conquest brought with it new dangers; because if it put down one state, it raised up new enemies in others, who could not think themselves safe while their neighbour's wall was on fire. In this manner, the destruction of one foe, like the head of the hydra, was sure to give birth to others, until our arms reached some natural limit, which might serve as a barrier to ourselves as well as a security to the nations beyond it, against the fear of further aggression.

It would be paying too high a compliment, however, to the justice and moderation of the rulers of British India, to suppose that all their wars were dictated either by immediate necessity, or by a remote view of reaching this goal, where the empire might at last find repose. After what we have just stated, who will venture to stand up for the motives of Clive, who first set the example, as those of disinterested public principle? Or, who would undertake to defend the purity of the intentions of Warren Hastings, whom history ranks next to him in the annals of rapacity, treachery, and fraud. They defended their conduct, it is true, on public grounds, and their defence has been accepted by the powerful body which benefited by their guilt; and which knew that, if it did justice, it would be compelled to make restitution of its ill-gotten gains. The best, therefore, that can be said of them is, that in prosecuting their private views, they contributed, as it happened, to the advantage of the East India Company, by which they were liberally rewarded; and the wars they sometimes unnecessarily provoked hastened the perilous course of events, which, through singular good fortune, and the able management of their successors, has still turned out favourably. As usual, the glory of success is too dazzling to the public mind to allow it to judge soberly of the wisdom and justice of those measures by which the object was gained. But if this deep game had gone against us, some of those who played it, and by their ambition or rapacity precipitated the crisis of our fate, would have left behind them names covered with infamy, instead of being rewarded with titles and statues, and held up, as they now are, as

monuments of political wisdom. Col. Stewart states correctly the reason which rendered it impossible that the Company's Government should be conducted on those principles of moderation, which were compatible with the preservation of peace between it and the Native powers:—

The administration of government fluctuating continually; was consistent in nothing but in the unsatiable appetite for wealth, which the *succession of administrators* kept alive, and which was continually glutted only to be renewed.

In treating of the administration of Lord Wellesley, the author adopts the common error, that this nobleman had to combat with a dangerous French interest, then growing alarmingly formidable in India:

The power of the Sultan of Mysore, (says he,) the power of Scindeah, and the power of the French lurking under the cover of both, and of the Nizam, arrayed at the moment against us, might have rendered it doubtful, under feebler councils, whether a French, or a Mohammedan, or a Hindoo power, was to rise on the ruins of the English influence!

Lord Wellesley, to obtain approval from the anti-jacobin and anti-gallican phrenzy of the day, affected to consider the great Mahratta powers as under French influence. He, however, knew better. It is no doubt true, that two successive foreigners, Deboigne, a Swiss, and Perron, a Frenchman, commanded in Scindeah's regular infantry for some years. But the great majority of the officers in Scindeah's and Holkar's service were English, *Hanoverian*, American, and, above all, Indo-British. The sepoys were clothed, disciplined, &c. entirely on the model of the Company. Their words of command, their orderly-books, returns, correspondence, &c. were all *English*. Their tactics were those of the British infantry regulations, as they existed before Dundas's became generally adopted; that being the era of the embodying this sepoy force by Scindeah and Holkar. Finally, on the breaking out of the war with these powers in 1803, the French commander, Perron, and almost every officer, French, English, and Indo-British, came over to us on our proclamation. The sepoys themselves continued faithful to their employers. With the Nizam, it was somewhat different: his very small regular force of sepoys was officered and disciplined chiefly *à la Française*; being, in fact, the remnant of old Marquis de Bussy's party—predominant at Hyderabad since the days of Dupleix and Laurence. Tip-poo also was aided by some half-dozen French, and was certainly in correspondence (ill-advisedly) with the insignificant government of Mauritius. But he had no regular infantry like that of the others, and was under no influence, properly so called; being, indeed, too powerful and able to be the tool of others. And although, from the above circumstance, there can be no doubt he would have been glad to avail himself of the services of Frenchmen, yet danger from them at that period was out of the question.

But, whatever were the immediate causes or pretences of war between the Company and the Native powers, as danger was never far distant from one party or another, they soon bade adieu to peace. From the restlessness produced by mutual distrust and apprehension, the political relations of India could never acquire permanency. The rise of British power in the East was too recent, to have that sanction of legality or legitimacy which time bestows; and the Native Princes of Hindoostan, besides hating us as foreign usurpers, were roused by the apprehension that, as the tide of

conquest had advanced so far, and overwhelmed so many, the next wave might sweep in themselves. The brief intervals of peace, under just and moderate rulers, never being sufficient to allow this feeling of jealousy to subside, the struggle; whether we should have all or nothing, continued with little intermission, and the Company still made advances, till Lord Hastings completed the work, by establishing British supremacy undisputed in the whole circle of Hindoostan.

The sword had now done its business, (says the author,) and time and a steady adherence to the principles which Lord Hastings had established, alone were required to secure and continue the tranquillity of India. From the Delta of the Indus to Sirlund, the frontier is covered by a desert impassable for an army; from the mountains of Caubul to the great angle of the Burham-pooter, the vast ridge of the Himalah extends; and from the angle of the Burham-pooter a strong and difficult country of woodland and of hills stretches to the sea, having interposed between it and the interior of our provinces the great branch both of that river and the Ganges, and all the various channels by which their waters are discharged. In all this immense frontier, extending from the Prythrean Sea to the Bay of Bengal, there are but two possible avenues, and both of them eminently difficult, through which an invading army can penetrate: the one through the country of Cutch, at the mouth of the Indus, the other through the defiles of Caubul; and such are the comparative facilities of the latter, that from Alexander the Great downwards, it has been the route by which every conqueror has entered the country; and to all² the territories lying within this limit and the waters of the ocean, the English power gave law.

Here, then, was a line, at which every consideration which had hitherto required our interference in the affairs of foreign states, required that we should stop: from beyond it no serious danger could be apprehended, and within it our authority was supreme. Had it not been for this natural boundary, there can be no doubt that the same causes of mutual apprehension would have extended with the sphere of our contiguity to other countries, and that we should have been involved in an interminable and hopeless scene of violence and contention.

This is the author's first argument for peace, founded on considerations of foreign policy alone, which show, with the clearness of demonstration, that to persevere farther in this belligerent and aggressive course, must be pregnant with future danger. He then proceeds to examine the internal structure of our Indian empire, to see if there is to be found there any stamina of security under the system of government now in operation. Strange as it may seem, our inherent weakness hitherto has been one great cause of our continual aggressions upon our neighbours; the consciousness of being unable to resist the shock of a powerful enemy, rendering it necessary to anticipate the blow by endeavouring to destroy him. Besides this, a triumph in the field, although it did not consolidate our power, served for the time to deter opposition, and put off the evil day when only new victories could farther remove and ward off the danger of reaction. Even when no powerful prince, or coalition of states, was arrayed against us, enemies were springing up as it were spontaneously from the earth. It was the natural product of the masses

* The Sikhs (as he afterwards allows) have never yet bent to us, or even admitted a British resident among them. They are within this boundary, and masters of its only very weak point. The Scindee Chiefs of Hyderabad and the Delta of the Indus, are also quite unbent and unbent, and were ready to go to war with us in 1820.

of people fermenting around us, with that innate spirit of activity which is unextinguishable in man. While Lord Minto was gratifying our national vanity and hatred, by brilliant but useless captures of other European colonies, and we remained quiescent on continental India, the Pindarees, Mahrattas, and Nepaulese gathered strength:

An immense predatory force of cavalry grew up on the banks of the Nerbuddah, and carried their incursions in all directions for many hundred miles, [down to the coast of Coromandel, up to Gyah, Patna, and Mirzapore,] producing a state of universal insecurity, and precluding the possibility of all improvement. It served as a focus to the desperate characters of the whole peninsula; its numbers were limited but by the extent to which they could be maintained; it counted among its chiefs some Natives of uncommon abilities; and it possessed a sort of equivocal connexion with the governments of the surrounding states, which would inevitably combine with them in the case the moment an opportunity occurred of acting against us with advantage.

By the energetic measures of the Marquis of Hastings this cloud was completely dissipated; but the same kind of elements that formed it still remain, continually liable to be called into action whenever there is time and opportunity for the exciting cause to operate; when the eclat and intimidation of recent victory are forgotten. Putting the bold and independent Sikhs, to whom our centre is continually exposed, out of the question,—as the truth of the following picture of our situation will not be denied,—the conclusion is inevitable:

We have put an end, it is true, to the form which the danger has hitherto assumed, but we have only to consider what our situation is, to be able to judge of its perils: that of five-and-twenty thousand individuals, at the distance of four months' sail from their native country, among eighty millions of people! Although a considerable change has been produced on the population by the operation of our Government, and the series of events which have been described, yet no alteration has taken place that could [can] at all diminish the risks inseparable from such a condition of things; NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN CONNECTING THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE PEOPLE by any of those ties by which their fortunes might be identified; the inhabitants are utterly and entirely excluded from all share in the management of their own affairs; they have no participation in the emoluments or honours which the country affords; without the smallest means of influencing the church establishments, either Mohammedan or Hindoo; professing a different religion—practising peculiar and obnoxious customs—speaking a separate and unknown tongue, and destitute of all individual influence; arriving in the country but to profit by its wealth, and migrating from province to province during our stay to go through the mechanical discharge of the duties of office—what is there in our situation that can be supposed to afford the smallest security against the many causes which exist to occasion discontent?

The grand causes of this insecurity are the want of Colonization, by which we should combine ourselves with the people, and the pernicious revenue system, which prevents them from becoming attached to our rule. But we have lately entered so fully into those subjects, that we must pass them over slightly here. The rude Mohammedan mode of taxation was to take a certain proportion of the gross produce of the soil; and this, which was the baneful principle of their despotic system, has been by us, for the most part, adopted; while the proportion of gross produce exacted is still more enormous, absorbing, in fact, the whole nett produce. The permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, undoubtedly forms a very important exception, and with a degree of humanity

highly deserving praise, it limits the demands of the Government upon the land. But here also the amount at which the taxes were fixed, is so excessive, that the landed proprietors, as they are called, are reduced to mere puppets, undeserving of the name,—a sort of middlemen, or hereditary farmers of the revenue. Such a class, composed of families continually fluctuating, now raised from the dust, and soon sinking again into obscurity, (however well it may suit as an engine of collecting taxes,) being deprived of all permanent respectability,—can have no hold on the minds of the people, so as to add strength to the political establishment. Most of them, especially those who live as absentees at the Presidencies for pleasure, and to escape from the insolence to which they are subjected by the Government functionaries in the interior, can have little more personal influence among the people than the migratory race which governs them. The zumeendars, however, in former times, as Native officers of the Mohammedan Government, armed with magisterial authority, which descended from father to son in pretty regular succession, were, in fact, a very efficient political engine for preserving subordination; being not only a body possessing real power and consequence, but avowedly responsible to, or dependent on, the Government, as its servants or agents, and supported by the revenue of the state. Whether the sovereign was then considered proprietor or not, is a matter of little importance, since the great question, as regards the happiness of the people, is, how much they have to pay, and in what manner it is taken from them. If the Company takes more than their former rulers, and extorts it in a manner productive of greater misery to the cultivators, what will it avail them to be told: “Oh, but your former rulers assumed the proprietary right of the soil, which we do not”? The Natives might reply: “Yes, you give us the name of proprietors, but you reap all the fruits, leaving us only a bare subsistence,—the mere costs of seed and culture,—while you sweep off all the nett produce into your own coffers.” If the Mohammedan rulers were the “proprietors” of the soil, it will be allowed that this word had not the same meaning, as applied to them, which it has in Europe; and that, in so far as it conveys the idea of hardship to the people, it may now, with greater justice, be applied to the British Indian Government. We, in fact, are in the habit of accusing our predecessors of having made themselves the “proprietors,” which serves as a cloak for the Company in making itself, not nominally, but really so, in its most injurious consequences. This is well illustrated by Colonel Stewart in the following passage:

According to the constitution of the (Mohammedan) empire, the sovereign was (he thinks) the sole proprietor of the soil; and we assumed the same principle as the basis of the Government which we introduced; but the principle in the two cases amounted to *two things widely different from each other*. In the one case, it amounted to the right of levying the whole rent of the country, and of distributing it *among the people*, at the discretion or caprice of the individual on the throne; in the other, it amounts to the right of levying the rent, and of *carrying whatever we can save out of it away*.

Again, adverting to the zumeendars, or body of gentry which existed under the Mogul empire, and which were capable of consolidating, as well as adorning the political system, he gives the following picture of the consequences of the Company's rule:

Every thing that was exalted above the vulgar by descent, by wealth, by

actual station, of the respect attached to the memory of former services, have been sinking, by a slow and silent process of misery, to one uniform and undeviating level of poverty and insignificance. . . . Such of the families as had saved jewels or treasure from the days of their prosperity, continued to struggle on, with some appearance of their former respectability, for a second generation; but, in our provinces at least, this whole body of men may be considered as nearly extinct. Nor does the evil end here: every country, as is well known, is "its own best customer" (*Wealth of Nations*); and the large sums in which the revenues were disbursed to individuals, contributed, in some measure, to supply the operation of those principles by which capital, in a mere natural condition of mankind, is distributed and accumulated, and enabled the body of nobility to act as a powerful stimulus to the industry of the country. The wants of the European gentlemen are not their wants, nor those to which the people are accustomed to minister. Many of them are supplied directly from the mother country; and by the remittance of all their savings, there is a steady and constant exportation from the immediate source from which all capital is derived and supplied. How, indeed, can a country prosper, when the wealth which is drawn from the soil, and which *should* descend again, like the rains of heaven, to fertilize and to adorn it, is regularly transmitted to another land?

After tracing the causes of universal impoverishment and degradation overspreading our Indian dominions, he contemplates the mournful stagnation produced in the Native mind, where there is no natural outlet for the springs of enterprise,—no field for the exercise and gratification of that ambition which raises man above the brute or the slave. In "the craving appetite of the active principles of human nature for occupation," he sees our danger, among a people whose minds are filled with the romantic histories of the perpetual revolutions that have been rolling over them, and having no attachment to any settled order of things. The desperate characters scattered over that immense country, who live, even now, by robbery and plunder, are sufficient, at any time, to form a large army; and the mass of the people, accustomed, in the past periods of their history, to see men rise from the lowest classes of society to empire, "naturally consider the title of any enterprising leader, to power, as preferable to ours." Here are the elements of war in vast abundance, only requiring the breath of martial genius to organize the mass, and inspire it with life. Among eighty millions of people, how soon may a Napoleon or a Tamerlane spring up to rouse the smouldering embers into an open flame! Now is our time, therefore, to prepare against the storms which may arise, by establishing our empire on a secure and solid basis; for although the atmosphere may continue for a little while serene, we are at the mercy of every tempest. This is the author's just conclusion; and the remedy he proposes is free trade, colonization, and the introduction of a better judicial system into India. In regard to what is the foreign policy, which an enlightened regard to our own interest and to the welfare of India would recommend, he observes:

Would it not be to disarm the habitual jealousy of eastern states, in the countries by which we are surrounded, not by vain professions of moderation belied by the whole tenor of our conduct, but by exhibiting, practically, steadily, and invariably, that we wish to intermeddle no farther in their domestic concerns; and to found on the confidence which the experience of our sincerity must beget, that extensive command over the commerce of the East, which our situation enables us so easily to obtain.

Such are the strong considerations against our entering into war at present, even supposing it to be just and necessary. But how much more

powerful must they be against one of the most unprovoked and uncalled-for aggressions ever committed? The author, however, does not enter into that question; but allowing that "a necessity *may* have existed of resorting to hostilities," and admitting "the paramount duty imposed upon the Government, of affording effectual security from foreign violence to the people whose public revenue we have appropriated, and whose arms we have taken out of their hands,"—he contends, that this view *alone* ought most religiously to limit all our wars, and that a departure from this principle will infallibly bring on its own punishment. Now where, let us ask, was the necessity in the present instance? A Mug, one of our subjects, is killed on the frontier river by a foreigner, who makes his escape from the Burman authorities: are we, therefore, to make war upon the Burman empire, because this man has offended us, and remains unpunished? We do what is equivalent in their eyes, by occupying, with a military force, an island which had been either neutral (as we admit), or (as they assert) belonged to them. They maintain their right to this island, or mud-bank; but although we have seized it by mistake, and our troops cannot live upon it, we declare that our honour will not suffer us to give it up. This miserable dispute, by dint of pertinacity, we work up into a national war, in which many thousands of our Native subjects have already needlessly perished, and millions of the wealth drawn from them in taxes are uselessly squandered. Surely no man will pretend that such war was commenced for their benefit,—a line of defence which must instantly fall to the ground. We could easily show, if it were necessary, that, instead of receiving provocation from the Burmese, they have had infinitely greater reason to complain of aggressions committed on them by persons sheltered in our territories, who repeatedly carried war across the frontier, causing much confusion, devastation, and bloodshed.³ Yet when they asked us to surrender up the disturbers of the public peace, we positively refused to do so; and now we make it a pretence for going to war with our neighbours, that one of our subjects has been killed by a man whom they are unable to surrender. The other complaints mixed up with it, to disguise so gross an absurdity, being equally frivolous or ill-founded, are hardly deserving of notice.

However, if it really had been necessary to chastise the aggressions of the Burmese, as falsely pretended,⁴ the best mode of doing so would remain to be considered. This the author discusses both as a measure of policy and as a military operation; in doing which, he meets the argument conveyed in the official despatches from Bengal, lately laid before Parliament by the East India Company, tending to show that we were in danger of an invasion on our eastern frontier. Granting that this boundary were less impregnable than it has been proved to be, by the great difficulty which our troops find in surmounting it, even when they

³ What the author afterwards remarks, applies very well here: "It is vain to suppose that we can ever place the frontier of India, or any frontier whatever of such vast extent, bordering on rude or imperfect governments, on such a footing of security as will prevent occasional acts of violence, or avoid the necessity of recurring at times to defensive operations." Must we annihilate a state whenever any of its borderers, although unauthorized, kill one or two of ours, or interfere with the border elephant-hunters?

⁴ Although Col. Stewart does not give his opinion on the subject, it is evident, from the whole tenor of this production, that he considers the war unnecessary and unjustifiable.

have no enemy contesting their progress; supposing that the country had, on the contrary, been open, it would have been better, he contends, "to have fortified the whole line from the Garrows to the sea, than to have carried the army into an enemy's country, with the view of reducing it to subjection." As the opinion which Lieut.-Colonel Stewart has frankly declared, as a military man qualified by his local experience of India to pronounce on the subject, is valuable, we shall quote it more at length:

Nature, however, had rendered any such measure (of defence) unnecessary: the country is, in general, covered with a thick and impenetrable jungle. From the elbow of the Burhanpooter, downwards, the hills, though less lofty, continue to the coast, to the southward and eastward of Islamabad [Chittagong]; and between this country and our more interior provinces come all the multitude of streams by which the waters of the Ganges and Burhanpooter are dis-embogued. In all this line there is, I believe, but one road communicating between the territories, and that a very bad one,—Sylhet; and if there be any paths by which small bodies might have passed the limits, they cannot be numerous, nor the danger apprehended from such incursions be serious. The facilities for defensive operations were therefore great: bodies of cavalry stationed at those inlets where cavalry could act, and of light infantry where they could not, must have afforded a certainty of cutting in pieces whatever dared to violate the security of the British territory; and by blockading the mouths of their rivers with a few small cruisers, they might have been taught, at little expense, the evils of provoking our enmity.

The reduction of both Rangoon and Martaban, (the most important of the operations that have been yet accomplished by the ruinous Rangoon expedition,) were obviously, he observes, within the compass of such an armament as that above proposed. But if we do not rest satisfied with merely standing on the defensive, having recourse to retaliation in the easiest mode, and only when strictly called for, but carry on a system of unprovoked or unnecessary aggression and aggrandizement, beyond these boundaries which nature herself seems to have marked out for us,—where, he asks, are we to end? Having kindled the flame of war among new nations, from whom it may be communicated to others beyond them, where shall we bid its ravages stop? The Burman empire, (a thousand miles in length, and between three and four hundred in breadth,) containing about sixteen millions of inhabitants spread over that immense tract, borders on the immense empire of China, which claims it as a tributary state; and with the Cochin Chinese, among whom there is said to be "a considerable French interest founded by the Missionaries;" and with Siam, nations all peculiarly jealous of our power. What are we to gain by involving ourselves in this new sea of political troubles and intrigue, and rousing up afresh the passions of national hatred and revenge, which are the endless source of war and bloodshed? Supposing all the difficulties of conquest overcome, and that we had (at a great expense necessarily of men and money) obtained military occupation of the Burmese country, the author next considers the advantage that might possibly be derived from our success. There are but three modes of proceeding which, he supposes, could be adopted to any useful purpose: either to dictate terms of peace, to dismember the empire and revive the former principalities of which it is composed, or to retain the country as a conquest.

The great difficulty of the first mode of arrangement proposed, is, how to obtain such conditions as would afford compensation for the expenses

of the war. There is no convenient slice of territory that could be annexed to our own, and its revenues turned into the Company's treasury; the two states being separated from each other as much by difference of language, manners, and opinions, as by barren wastes and impassable jungles; so that the expense of maintaining an adequate force to defend such a distant acquisition would exceed its value. The case was otherwise on an accession of territory within the limits of Hindoostan; where the people beyond the former frontier were of the same description as our own subjects, and, therefore, easily amalgamated with them under new masters. If we were now to seize upon part of Arracan or Pegue, we must defend them with the best of our European and Native troops, at an expense, most probably, exceeding the revenue, besides exposing ourselves to all the increased chances of being involved in new wars, undertaken for their recovery from our hands. Assam, lying more detached from the Burmese territory, may indeed be held with greater facility, either directly by the Company, or by Native Princes under its protection; but this extension of authority or influence, which was but a few years back, when preferred and within reach, rejected as unworthy of acceptance, would surely be a poor compensation for all our present sacrifices. Leaving this, therefore, out of the question, we cannot but concur in the following pertinent remarks of the author as to the small prospect of any advantage (pecuniary or otherwise) from this invasion :

The Burmese (says he) are precisely in that state of society in which they have little to lose but their lives or their liberty. The exportations are almost solely the rude produce of the country, and of that description which it requires no labour to raise. Their taxes are almost entirely paid in kind, and necessarily exchanged for the labour required in the service of Government. Supposing, therefore, our success the most complete; supposing that we had obtained possession of the country and of the person of the King; I do not see what benefit we could derive to compensate for the war, from the most absolute power of naming our conditions. Such a conclusion would, no doubt, save the credit of our arms; but it will not, it may be supposed, be urged as a satisfactory account of the policy of a war, *that we engaged in it for no other purpose than that we might, in the end, get creditably out of it.*

The other mode of arrangement, the dismemberment of the Burman territory into its original states or principalities, he considers as also presenting many sources of inconvenience. The petty princes raised up, being weaker in themselves, would be much less able to preserve an efficient control over their subjects, so as to guard our frontier from such annoyances as are the grounds of the present dispute; whereas a great state, having, in proportion, the greater power of restraining such offenders, can always be made to exert it by exacting compensation for the damage incurred; and, in case of refusal, by retaliating upon its coasts. Again, these minor kingdoms would be liable to disputes among themselves, or aggression from a more remote power which they are too much enfeebled to resist. In either case, we should be drawn into the quarrel, as arbitrators or protectors, through which we should be involved in "a system of eternal discord like that from which we are just escaping in India." The parts into which the Burman empire may be divided, will be "unable to maintain their independence against either the Chinese or Cochin Chinese; and we shall thus be involved in a labyrinth of foreign connexion and foreign dissensions to which no termination can be foreseen." We shall not enter into the arguments ad-

duced to show that such a change would be injurious to commerce, since no proof is wanting, that hardly any thing could be worse than the Company's system of preventing Europeans from settling in India to improve its resources, and at the same time draining off the wealth of the country in surplus revenue. While Great Britain suffers this enormous evil to exist, it is vain to talk of how the interests of commerce may be affected by the present war. It is equally futile to speak of improving the nations of Asia, while we only impoverish, demoralize, and degrade those who have fallen into our hands. Barbarous as the Burmese are, they evidently rank far above our Native subjects, who, according to the reports of those who rule over them, are becoming every day more and more debased. How much a better system of government would do, administered by the very same men who see and lament the evils of the present, without the power of correcting them, we need not stop to inquire. But we may observe, that, until the servants of the East India Company shall be converted into agents of the Crown, to execute laws made on more enlightened principles for the benefit of the people, the greatest favour any Asiatic state, however savage, can receive from us, is, to be left to itself to work out its own civilization.

There only remains the third mode of arrangement, that of retaining the country altogether as a conquest. This, besides being unjustifiable and impolitic, is considered to be impracticable. It is impolitic, since, to get rid of the inconvenience of defending a small and difficult line of frontier, liable only, at the worst, to trifling eruptions, and close to all the resources of our power,—we should have “a frontier incomparably more difficult to defend than all the frontiers of India together”! We should be brought into contact with Siam, Cochin China, (as well as China itself,) Tibet, and Assam; from the least of which, the author conceives, we should be more open to inroads on our new possessions than we are at present from Burmah. But a more immediate difficulty presents itself in the impossibility of keeping on foot a sufficient force to retain, far less defend, that country. Its inhabitants cannot be organized into an army like our Indian subjects, among whom “the spirit of caste is substituted for the spirit of patriotism.” The former excludes, or rather destroys, the latter, by splitting the whole population into thin slips, united with each other by no community of feeling; so that, like the bundle of rods, when separated, there is little or no strength in the body of the people to resist a conqueror. This perversion of nature does not, however, exist among the Burmese; who, little more than seventy years past, when, to all appearance, completely subdued, rose upon their rulers, expelled them, and have since made themselves comparatively a great nation. During the intervening period, their national spirit has been raised to the highest pitch by perpetual war and conquest. Is it probable, then, that they will tamely submit to a conqueror, or attach themselves to us like our Native sepoys, who are accustomed to sell their services to whoever would employ them, and to “adhere, with scrupulous fidelity, to those whose salt they had eaten”?⁵ Or where are the funds to come

⁵ The fact here attested by Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, and generally admitted, ought to silence those who maintain that the natives of India do not know what gratitude is! We should like to be informed what people have been more faithful to their conquerors?

from that would be required to support a force which could keep in subjection a country of that extent? The author conceives that fifty thousand men would be inadequate; and we may, therefore, safely dismiss such a project as altogether impracticable; for while with its present fertile provinces the Company's revenue barely answers the current charges, dividends, and interest of a debt, (this still accumulating,) how is it to encounter the expense of this comparatively poor and burdensome dependency? On these grounds, it is concluded, that, even in the event of success, whatever course be pursued, there is little chance of our deriving any benefit from this war; but since (as may justly be inferred from the precautions already taken by the Chinese on their frontier) apprehensions as to our views must have been thereby excited among the surrounding states, and throughout Asia, whether we advance or recede, "it must unavoidably be productive of evil."

In considering this invasion as a military operation, Lieut.-Colonel Stewart describes the obstacles opposed to it from the nature and composition of our Indian army. The reluctance of the sepoys has been lately but too fatally manifested; nor is it surprising they should feel averse to engage in a warfare which compels them to leave behind them the comforts to which they have been always accustomed in their own country. In former cases of foreign expeditions, their services were not required of them as a duty; but they were induced to volunteer by their regard to their European officers, who set them the example; and another stimulus to the enterprize arose from the great promotion that took place (by a double quick process) both in the corps formed of these volunteers, and of the old ones to fill vacancies. These services too were soon over, not requiring a series of protracted operations, to wear out the men in a strange country with hardships and privations, to which they had never been inured in their own, where alone they might procure the aid and service for which the restrictions of caste have rendered them dependent on others. A regular Indian camp is described as a "shifting city," supplying all the wants of native life better than the cantonments of a regiment. But how are the grain-merchants, and the immense train of camp-followers, averaging treble the amount of the army, which requires them to supply its wants, to find their way many hundred miles through a country said to be excessively deficient in beasts of burden, intersected with almost impenetrable jungles, marshes scarcely passable, and numerous rivers and nullahs overflowed by the periodical rains. Added to this, the accounts from the seat of war show that the enemy take care either to carry off or destroy any resources we might derive from their very partial and scanty cultivation. A country, of such a military character as this (observes Col. Stewart) is the best defence an uncivilized enemy can possess:—

There is nothing in it tangible for a regular army; no footing in it by which it can make good the ground it acquires: there is none of the machinery by which it operates; no *points d'appui*; no depôts for the formation of magazines, or the reception of the wounded and sick, or on which a beaten and exhausted division may fall back. There are no roads; uncertain supplies; and unless the enemy commits the error of coming to a general action, or risks one to save its towns, no serious impression can be made upon it.

The enemy, which most effectually baffled the power of Rome, was not the civilized kingdoms of Asia, nor yet the lingering spirit of freedom and military

genius of Greece; but the savages who defended the swamps and forests of Germany.

According to the last accounts from India, the Sylhet force was in the very heart of such a country; yet it is from an attempt in this quarter the author augurs least unfavourably. His prediction, that Assam would probably stand neutral, is so far justified by the event. With our resources, the possibility of pushing an army some hundred miles into the enemy's country, is not disputed, arduous and expensive as the undertaking must be to keep up the supplies. But were the capital reached, he considers it still very doubtful whether such a measure would be decisive of the result of the war:

If the enemy remain united, avoid coming to a general action, and resign the capital to its fate; in a country of such extent, and such physical difficulties to a regular force, the whole power of India could not reduce a population of sixteen or seventeen millions, or of half the number, to subjection. That it is reasonable to reckon on the commission of many errors, by such an enemy as the Burmese, I readily admit. A rude people are more swayed by circumstances than by maxims of policy; but the circumstances of their situation are those which would lead them, in this case, to do what wisdom would dictate. They have little wealth that they cannot carry away; their houses are of wood or mats, and easily rebuilt; and the example of India has made a deep impression on the nations [governments] of the East. If they risk a general action, and are defeated, as they certainly would be, *it might subdue their minds, or it might not*. The expense, therefore, of the military operation of getting possession of Amerapoora must be great—its influence on the fate of the war very uncertain.

The author then adduces a comparison of the Nepal war, which, however, has almost no resemblance to the present; and again urges the policy of abstaining, not only from this, but from every similar war of aggression, which would carry us beyond the confines of India. For "we have now (says he) reached a point in which the views of those who have all along protested against the process of aggrandisement, and those who have urged the necessity of acquiring power, at length concur." The present departure from this sound principle, he ascribes to the perpetual fluctuation to which our councils in the East are subject. Certain it is, that if Lord Hastings had remained at the helm of affairs, this ruinous contest would never have been heard of. But the Company is now paying dearly for its unworthy treatment of that nobleman, which perhaps induced him to resign his post years sooner than he would otherwise have done; and it is now reaping the fruits of the wisdom of Mr. Adam and his colleagues, whose subversion of every thing wise and good done by Lord Hastings, it has encouraged and applauded. Notwithstanding all the vast benefits he conferred on the Company, they hate him, because his principles were too great and liberal for the monopolists of Leadenhall-street; and all the mischief done by his successors is forgiven, because their little notions and vindictive persecution of British subjects are just on a level with the prejudices of their masters.

Having discussed the policy of the war, which he finds, in every point of view, fraught with evil, the author passes to other great objects of Indian policy—the revenue and judicial systems; availing himself, he observes, of "*what little temporary curiosity the passing occurrences may have attracted to this portion of the empire, to awaken some attention to those deep and permanent interests to England and to India, and to*

mankind, which it involves." It is, indeed, no less true than it is disgraceful to England, that she shuts her eyes on the condition of sixty millions of her subjects, and makes laws to gag them lest their condition should become known; and leaves them to be governed, in a dark corner, by men who have no interest in their happiness. It is impossible that such a state of things can last long, however strenuously the interested few may strive to perpetuate this monstrous and unnatural system. The author aptly compares our Indian empire to the state of the human body, when the rupture of the neck destroys the nervous communication with the rest of the frame. There exists no channel for conveying to it the feelings of the people; no press by which they can declare them; no permission of petitioning of which they can avail themselves. We forcibly stop their mouths, lest they should make known their grievances; we leave them to pine away in silent misery; and then, as Colonel Stewart observes, "we are too apt to satisfy ourselves that all is well, if we hear that nothing is amiss; but what (says he) was the amount of all the evil alleged against Mr. Hastings, (had it been true,*) and which roused the indignation of the whole country, compared with the infinite suffering and misery which the deaf and inexorable operation of our system has produced"! This proceeds chiefly, as he shows, from the excessive taxation, which is literally grinding down the people to the very earth; and next, from the total inefficiency of the means provided for administering justice and punishing crime, which are so defective, that the people are, he thinks, in a worse condition than if no laws existed at all. "If (says he) we look for absolute and bodily injury produced by our misgovernment, I do not believe that all the cruelties practised in the lifetime of the worst tyrant that ever sat upon a throne, ever amounted to the quantity of human suffering inflicted by the Decoits (gangs of robbers) in one year in Bengal."

The only remedy for these horrible evils is, to allow the people to take some share in self-government, from which they are so entirely excluded by the regulations of the Company. If no improvement, however, can be wrung from its humanity, something at least may be extorted from its fears. What ground can it have for placing confidence in such a state of anarchy and oppression, sufficient to goad the most submissive people into madness? What tie or attachment unites them to their present rulers, but that of absolute force? And this violent compression by a foreign agent must produce a new sort of union among the people, never before known, and becoming every day more dangerous; as, by reducing all to one level of degradation, we make them more distinctly feel, through their various tribes, that they have but one common cause. As to the necessity of guarding against this tremendous reaction, which may sooner or later be expected—by Colonization and other measures of improvement, which would ameliorate the condition of India,—we can only afford room for one short extract more from this excellent pamphlet:—

The only bugbear in the way of the measures which must be adopted to prevent such evils, seems to be some absurd and vague idea—that by improving the people, or admitting them to any share in the administration of their own

* Are we still so incredulous of what is alleged against a countryman? Like the Calcutta juror, who would never condemn one for killing a "black fellow."

affairs, we should be laying the foundation of their future separation from this country; but can it be supposed that a connexion between countries lying at the opposite extremities of the globe can, in the nature of things, be perpetual? and is it to be assumed that we are at present free from such a danger? Supposing that any circumstance should ever induce the sepoys to concert together to massacre their officers in one night throughout the country, our Indian empire would have vanished from our hands as if it had never been! What is the condition of things necessary to such a catastrophe? Some predisposing cause producing universal disgust with the service,—a means of secret communication—and some daring spirit, with a mind capacious enough to conceive the design, and address sufficient to manage the intrigue; and though nothing of this sort has as yet occurred, the concurrence of all these means is no way impossible, and, with the accumulated chances of years, *every way probable*. To objects of this kind the views of the whole population, for their emancipation, are now confined; sources of discontent to a mercenary army with so many prejudices to shock, will doubtless occur; and the travelling joguefs and mendicant priests who traverse India from one end to the other, supply a means of unsuspected intercourse covered with the most impenetrable veil of secrecy.

In taking leave of this admirable essay on Indian policy, we cannot but regret our inability to lay the whole of it before our readers; for there is no part of it but is highly deserving of the attention of those who feel any interest in the affairs of India. Those whose duty it more particularly is to watch over the concerns of that country, will doubtless consult the original, which we believe none of them, from the wisest to the most prejudiced, can read without improvement. The views taken of the present situation and prospects of our Indian empire, are luminous and masterly, and are supported by reasoning the most profound and philosophical. The author displays no party bias or animosity, and entirely abstains from any reflection whatever either on the individuals or classes of men who are the authors of those evils it falls to his lot to describe. The style is rich, perspicuous, argumentative, and often rising into eloquence; and the tone of sentiment throughout is well calculated to awaken some portion of that generous regard which Britons ought to feel for the true interests and glory of their own country, which would consist in the improvement of the subject-millions of Asia, whose present and future destinies are now in our hands.

REFLECTIONS ON VIEWING THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON.

St. Helena, Jan. 31st, 1824.

ALL hail! thou solitary glen,
Where in his lone and lowly bed,
Far from the dust of vulgar men,
Now sleeps in peace the Mighty Dead.

Well fitted art thou, rock-built Isle,—
Thy naked crags and barren gloom,
The spent volcano's funeral pile,—
Well fitted for the warrior's tomb.

Reflections on viewing the Tomb of Napoleon.

He, raised like thee by nature's fire,
 Bursting the settled bounds of things;
 As o'er the Deep thy cliffs aspire,
 He towering o'er the crowns of kings.

When France, impatient of the yoke,
 Humbled the House of proud Bourbon,
 And despots swift to arms convoked
 To prop their brother-tyrant's throne;

When right and might dispute the field;
 And patriot swords with sceptres jar,
 His dauntless arm alone could wield
 The Gallic thunderbolt of war.

Soul of that warlike race, which now
 Of Freedom's cause stood forth the van,
 He taught earth's proudest lords to bow
 Before the majesty of man.

Nor did his eagles cease to soar,
 And lead the way to glory's plains,
 Till Frenchmen, who had spurn'd before,
 Would court again their ancient chains.

Their sun is set, and run his race;
 But deep-imprinted on mankind,
 (Which centuries shall not efface,)
 The traces of his mighty mind.

And Nature, with a mother's care,
 Has raised this fragment from the deep,
 Stupendous monument! that there
 The chiefest of her sons may sleep.

As oftentimes the weary bark
 A-journeying from far Ind or Chien,
 The sailor's gladden'd eye doth mark
 Helena's rising heights serene;

So in the wide expanse of time,
 His deeds shall stand from age to age,
 Rearing aloft their head sublime,
 A landmark on th' historic page.

Nor shall his tomb be e'er forgot!
 Were this rock worn below the wave,
 The starry host would point the spot
 Where Britons made Napoleon's grave.

Farewell, thou solitary glen!
 Where in his lone and lowly bed,
 Far, far from the lov'd banks of Seine,
 Now sleeps in peace the Mighty Dead.

ON GYMNASTIC EXERCISES.

WITHOUT considering attentively the history of ancient and modern nations, it is exceedingly difficult to conceive how many useful practices, cultivated by the former, have come to be neglected by the latter. However, when we reflect upon the expensive forms of government, the heavy church establishments, the rich and monopolizing aristocracies, that prevail at present in the world, we shall be able to understand how the European nations of modern times have suffered numerous excellent institutions to decay, and neglected to adopt others, which were formerly much admired by mankind. Among the people of antiquity, riches were far more equally distributed than they ever have been amongst us; and as cheerfulness and joy are the natural concomitants of comfort and independence, the republicans of Greece and Rome were much livelier and more satisfied with themselves, than we are. They set their minds to work, therefore, to discover every possible means of rendering life long and agreeable, and are generally thought to have understood, much better than any modern people, the art of being happy. The largest ingredient of human happiness is health, as it influences as well the tranquillity of the mind as the comfort of the body; and health seems in general to be the result, or at least the concomitant, of temperance and exercise. The rules of temperance and the modes of exercise appear to have employed, at a very early period of its history, the speculations of the sages and legislators of Greece, and to have given rise to the sciences of ethics and gymnastics.

As it was perceived that men are influenced much more by emulation and the love of glory, than by the mere desire of possessing health or strength, exercises were devised in which, opposed to each other in a species of contest, they might be actuated and inflamed by their passions for distinction and fame. Advantage was taken of any accidental event which brought men together, to turn their attention to exercise and amusement; and as it was natural that warriors should assemble at the funeral of such of their companions or leaders as happened to fall, the tombs of heroes first witnessed the celebration of gymnastic games. The custom of celebrating funeral obsequies in this martial manner, appears to have prevailed long before the Trojan war; for we find Nestor thus speaking in the *Iliad*,¹ of those he had frequented in his youth:—

Oh! had I now that force I felt of yore,
Known through Buprasium and the Pylian shore!
Victorious then in every solemn game
Orlan'd to Amarynces' mighty name;
The brave Epeians gave my glory way,
Ætolians, Pylians, all resign'd the day.
I quell'd Clytemedea in fights of hand,
And backward hurl'd Aeneas on the sand;
Surpassed Iphycus in the swift career,
Phyleus and Polydorus with the spear.
The sons of Actor won the prize of horse,
But won by numbers, not by art or force,—&c.

¹ Book xxiii. v. 723, &c. Pope's Translation.

The origin, however, of gymnastic exercises is lost in the obscurity of antiquity. It was in Arcadia, according to Pliny, that athletic games were first instituted by Lycaon; those of Olympia owe their origin to Hercules; but it was only in the age of Lyourgus, 776 years before Christ, that the regular celebration of the Olympic games was commenced by Iphitus, the personal friend of the great Spartan legislator. These were imitated, more or less completely, in various provinces of Greece; and continued, for more than a thousand years, to be intimately connected with her pleasures and her glory. From Greece, gymnastic exercises passed, along with the other sciences and practices of civilization, to Rome, and continued with various modifications to be cultivated to the last decay of the empire. Among the barbarians of the middle ages, some imitations of the gymnastic science might be traced in the justs and tournaments of chivalry; which were, however, more exclusively military than any similar institutions of ancient Greece. In more modern times, these exercises have fallen into disuse, the spirit of governments and manners being inimical to their general cultivation. Some attempts, however, are now making to introduce them into this country, and it was that circumstance which at this moment induced us to notice them.

That the natural effect of civilization is to enervate and soften the characters of nations, is now an ordinary, common-place notion: the perfection of the arts and sciences, the progress of commerce,—nay, even the spread of knowledge, contributes, unhappily, to subdue the energies of a people; for the method of acquiring learning almost exclusively by reading, very naturally generates a love of retirement, a solitary, unconfiding, unsocial disposition, besides weakening the body, and rendering it averse to fatigue and labour. It appears desirable, therefore, that some method should be discovered of counteracting the influence of literary habits upon the body, especially as those habits may be said to have now become almost national, and as they are in many respects laudable and useful. For this purpose the exercises of the gymnasium seem admirably adapted, as they might be suited to all ages and ranks, to all places, and to all seasons; altogether unlike, in that respect, to our rustic exercises of hunting and horse-racing, which the laws allow few to taste, or which in themselves are too expensive ever to become the amusements of the people.

But dropping, for the present, all reference to the country, we shall confine our views to London and our larger cities, where sedentary habits most generally prevail, and are most pernicious. In this great capital, for example, there are thousands to whom walking is the limit of exercise; who neither swim, nor ride, nor run; who know nothing of *fives* or *cricket*. Now walking, as is very well known, is an exercise by far too moderate, and of too limited effect, to produce great strength or agility; if much persevered in, it increases the size of the legs at the expense of the upper extremities, as Xenophon remarks in speaking of the foot-racers; and is therefore unfavourable to the proper development of the corporal organs. To this cause, and to the immense size of the city, in a manner invading the country on all sides, is chiefly owing that deformity of person which increases visibly in London. The youth of the lower orders now spend their leisure hours in public-houses, the haunts of idleness and immorality; and this, chiefly because they have no places of useful or harmless amusement to resort to. There is not, perhaps, in Europe any

great city so ill-provided with promenades, public baths, &c. of easy access, as the capital of England. To bathe in the open air, an inhabitant of London must walk three or four miles, to an inconvenient and dangerous pool in Hyde-park, where, notwithstanding, hundreds of them may be seen, on a summer's morning, plunging into the muddy, motionless water. It is said that the statues of ancient Greece were used to frequent the *Palestra*, or *Gymnasium*, to study the naked beauty of the *Athlete*. A sculptor, who should visit, on a Sunday morning, the brink of the *Serpentine* for that purpose, would be singularly disappointed: out of two or three hundred human figures, which one may contemplate on that spot on such occasions, it would be difficult to select a dozen handsome forms. Indeed, to sit among the trees, and view them attentively, one might be tempted to believe he saw all the ill-formed men of the kingdom collected by proclamation, to exhibit themselves.

Much blame undoubtedly attaches to the indolence of the people themselves; but in not providing proper places of exercise for the youth, in not holding out agreeable inducements, the Government evinces, it must be confessed, an apathy highly censurable. It is not so remiss in other respects: churches are built, and an expensive clergy maintained, for the spiritual welfare, as we are informed, of the people at large; and for the sharpening and strengthening of the intellects of the poor, innumerable bibles and other books are distributed, and charity-schools endowed by the munificence of private generosity. It is not easy, however, to perceive how the son of a peasant or artizan is more interested in being taught to repeat the catechism, than in having a robust and hardy frame of body; as he is hardly so likely to benefit his country by his head as by his hands.

All these things considered, it appears exceedingly strange that in the whole of England there is not, that we are aware of, one single public building set apart for the exercise of the people. The inhabitants of London, who are cut off by their own numbers from all easy communication with the country, and who are so capable of purchasing pleasures, might find a never-failing source of amusement in a public gymnasium, which a very slight general subscription would erect. Besides adding considerably to the beauty of the city, such a building might be contrived to afford a beautiful promenade to all ranks of people in summer and winter. Its site should be near the river; and whether of a circular or quadrangular form, it should be large enough to contain a swimming-bath, a short course for running, a cricket-ground, a wrestling-ring, a tennis-court, &c.; so that every useful species of exercise might be practised in the same building. To the inhabitants of the richest city in the world the expense of such a structure, raised for their own benefit and pleasure, and sure to afford so much of both, would be of small moment. And if the hint were ever adopted, we should hope to see some of the beautiful exercises of our own ancestors incorporated with the common gymnastics. The use of the long bow, though it might never be revived in war, would add very much to the agreeableness of a course of exercise; and pitching the quoit, and throwing the lance at a target, would give an air of classicality to the games. Teachers of the various exercises should be appointed, and the place ought to be open to the public at all hours of the day. We are far from desiring to see the athletic profession revived in England, as we are well aware of its injurious tendency; but gymnastics need never degenerate into a profession; they should be cultivated with the single view of

increasing the strength, health, beauty, and durability of the body; in which case they could not fail to be highly beneficial. The brutal practice of boxing, now become a *profession* in this country, formed a part of the exercises of an *athleta*; but there could be no reason in the world for admitting it into a modern gymnasium. Nor, if it were thought too violent, need wrestling be admitted.

In the gymnasium of Mr. Voelker, near the Regent's Park,* which we have visited, a very useful course of exercise is pursued, that appears well adapted to reach the end of such institutions. The pupil is gradually led from simple and easy exertions, to such as are more difficult and violent; and the *gymnasiarch* himself precedes him in every movement. The chief feats are performed on cross-bars, fixed at various heights from the ground; and it is not a little surprising to observe the number and variety of the motions that may be executed with the help of so few pieces of wood. A triangular ditch is also sunk in the ground, and a long string of pupils, following their leader with poles in their hands, leap over it in succession, beginning with the narrow end, and widening their leap by degrees. To the top of a kind of lofty scaffold a ladder and rope are fixed, the rope falling loosely down, and the ladder leaning a little obliquely. These the pupils learn to climb with their hands only, which sustain, during this exercise, the whole weight of the body. Many other varieties of exercise are practised, of which it would be difficult to convey an idea by description. Upon the whole, however, it may be remarked that Mr. Voelker's contrivances are very ingenious, and appear to be well fitted to increase the force and agility of the body. The defect of his system seems to be, that its object, health, is too plainly discernible in the whole design of the exercises, which the imagination perceives at once to have been adapted to that single end. Now the mind likes to be cheated into its habits,—to reach utility by appearing to aim at pleasure or praise; and therefore, on entering a place of exercise, we should be reminded as little as possible that we go there like invalids, to indurate a tender constitution. However, we dare say Mr. Voelker will very much diversify and improve, if properly patronised, his system of gymnastics, which even now is the best, we apprehend, any where attempted in Europe. It will give us pleasure to see him surrounded by numerous English youth, teaching them the best arts of health, and enriched by their grateful munificence.

When we commenced this article we had some intention to notice particularly the athletic games of antiquity; but upon reviewing the matter more carefully, it became apparent that, in a miscellaneous essay of this kind, such a subject could not be properly treated; and, consequently, we have contented ourselves with merely glancing at the history of gymnastics in Greece and Rome. The sports of nations may be looked upon as a good index to their character: the splendid religious games of the ancient Pagan nations; the gladiators of the Romans; the justs and tournaments of France; the bull-fights of Spain; the cudgel-playing, boxing, and wrestling of England; the violent equestrian feats of the Mamelukes and Tartars;—all these can be looked upon as no more than signs of the national spirit, developing itself in the most congenial way. A catalogue *raisonnée* of these sports would be entertaining and instructive; but the utility might not, perhaps, counterbalance the labour.

* No. 1, Union Place, New Road, opposite Mary-la-bonne Church.

LAW AND CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.¹

THIS work claims our attention as belonging to a species likely soon to become extinct, and is, therefore, worthy to be treasured up as a curiosity of the same class with an account of swimming for witchcraft, or any other similar piece of rare and rank absurdity which marks the quantity of ignorance yet left undisputed by the increasing lights of the present age. As the wisdom of Bacon and Locke have not yet been able to chase superstition from every corner of our island, we cannot be surprised that in spite of the reasoning of Smith and Ricardo, Say, Sismondi, and McCulloch, the errors against which they have so powerfully contended, should still find some obscure lurking place. In the East India House, it seems, that great store-room of monopoly, all antiquated prejudices in political economy find a last refuge; and there, impreguably sheltered from the light of reason and truth by those who profit by their existence, they are as retentive of life as the toad encased in the heart of the solid rock. Whether, or not, the author of the work before us has inhaled his opinions in this confined atmosphere, he does not venture to inform the world; merely intimating, that "as he cannot flatter himself his name will add to, it is but fair that he should not suffer it to detract from, the weight *due* to his opinions." This is certainly one of the latest excuses ever offered for an anonymous production: we know of no weight whatever that can be due to the opinions of a person who is unknown; since the value of the testimony must depend upon the character and situation of the witness. If he have a bad character, or be a party interested in the matter at issue, to conceal these circumstances, is to impose upon the public as valid evidence that which is not entitled to credit. But our author does not approve of the good English fashion of confronting the witnesses in open court, to be fairly sifted and cross-examined. He thinks it *unfair* to suffer his name to detract from the weight of his opinions. From this confession alone, we should have a right to infer that he is quite conscious such would be the case, even if it were not sufficiently clear from expressions scattered through the work, that he is a party interested in the cause; a tax-eater covertly advocating the increase of taxes; a concealed pensioner liberally recommending the augmentation of pensions. We gather from various passages that he was at Delhi in 1804, (p. 210,) in some capacity or other; and that in the course of his travels he picked up a smattering of Mohammedan law. He hints that an exposition of that code was undertaken in 1809, by *some one*, under strong assurances of the patronage of the Earl of Minto, who bestowed one of the most valuable situations in his gift upon the author, with the promise of eventually succeeding to a higher situation. The vacancy, however, did not occur till after the arrival of Lord Moira, who did not, it appears, form the same estimate of his merits and claims, so that he lost the appointment, and the *valuable* book remained

¹ Observations on the Law and Constitution of India; on the Nature of Landed Tenures; and on the System of Revenue and Finance, as established by the Mohammedan Law and Mogul Government; with an Inquiry into the Revenue and Judicial Administration and Regulation of Police at present existing in Bengal. London, 1825.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 6.

unpublished. Consequently, Lord Minto is a "lamented nobleman;" but Lord Hastings's opinion is not worth any thing! Such is the scope of the following paragraph:—

The patronage which the Bengal Government had invariably shown to ~~those~~ [the author?] who had endeavoured to expound the Mohammedan law, ~~ceased~~ with the government of the Earl of Minto; but no accession to the opinions of that lamented nobleman, and his illustrious predecessors, is either required, or, indeed, could add weight to their sentiments. They [who?] are, therefore, fortunately relieved from the necessity of wishing for further testimony, as to the necessity and importance of the study of Mohammedan law to those servants of the Company, whose duty it is to administer the law of India.

If the present be a sample of the work, delayed, "if not suppressed for ever," the public will not quarrel much with Lord Hastings for leaving the labours of this "Great Unknown" to their obscure fate. It remains to be seen, whether the Court of Directors will pay more attention to the arguments afforded by this volume for patronizing its author, or promoting the study of Mohammedan law. "It would be worthy (he says) of the enlightened Government of eighty or one hundred millions of their fellow-creatures, to instruct their servants in the law which they are called upon to administer to them. It would be quite incredible, if we ourselves were not an instance of it, that a civilized nation should profess to administer a law to eighty millions of people, without having one institution for teaching that law to those whom they ordain to superintend the administration of it." As the sum of 600,000*l.* sterling is paid to support the Indian judicial establishment, the author thinks that the Company need not grudge two or three thousand a-year to a professor of Mohammedan law; intimating, that when the object was rendered thus worthy of pursuit, the qualifications necessary would soon be found! No doubt they would immediately be found in the learned author of the 'Observations on the Law and Constitution of India'! The would-be-professor pronounces the present Indian Judges to be really as Mr. Stewart described them, when he said (being one of them himself) that "his learned brethren were ignorant, of the law;" and he therefore proposes some reforms which, so far as they go, are not without sense. The regulations of the Government do not admit of Europeans officiating as counsel or advocates, even before the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, the Supreme Native Court; but—

If (says he) the counsel were learned in the law, they would, as in Europe, take care that the law was at least unfolded to the Judge, so that even ignorance on his part would be less felt; and at all events there would be greater security against corruption. *There does not seem to be any good reason for such exclusion*; and there is now a considerable body of well-educated young men, the offspring of European gentlemen, who might, perhaps, with advantage be admitted to the privilege of practising at the bar of the Sudder and provincial courts.

This would, indeed, be a partial remedy; but the effectual one would be, to have the legal proceedings conducted in English, that language which is familiar to the Judges, and which would soon become as well known to the Natives of the country as Persian or Arabic now is; to introduce a regular code of laws, suited to the circumstances of the country, instead of the present mass of unintelligible and contradictory precepts, rules, and regulations—Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan, partly of British origin.

partly from Menu and the Koran; and having purged this Augean stable, to subject the court of British Judges to the only effectual check against ignorance and corruption—that of an independent and enlightened British and Indo-British bar; with the scrutiny of the public eye applied to their proceedings through the medium of an unfettered press. But such an effectual reform, which would do away with the evils of the present system, wherein judicial proceedings are free from any efficient check, is no part of the plan of this author, whose object is merely to hold up the study of Mohammedan law as the one thing useful. We shall now, therefore, proceed to the consideration of the general character and nature of the work.

Notwithstanding the charge of ignorance which it makes against the Indian Judges, we do not think so meanly of the Civil Service of India, as to suppose that this work could proceed from any member of that body. It appears rather to be the production of some Oriental Saddletree, who, having too much time on his hands, has laid hold of some work on Mohammedan jurisprudence to amuse his leisure hours in the sultry East. Mounted on this hobby-horse, like another Don Quixote, he valorously takes the field, resolved to vanquish every opponent, and secure of surmounting every difficulty in Indian politics, if not (what is more important still) of ultimately raising himself to the dignity of a professor's chair.

The great end and aim of his present labours would seem to be the increase of the Company's revenue, of the salaries of the Company's servants, and, as necessary for accomplishing these purposes, of the amount of taxes raised in India; reforms which, he conceives, must be extremely beneficial and agreeable to all parties, (tax-payers as well as tax-receivers,) as explained in the following paragraphs:—

If it be desirable to increase the surplus revenue of India, that it may be done is sufficiently evident. A limited revenue, and boundless expense of indispensable military and civil establishments, have hitherto compelled Government to place those establishments on the lowest possible scale, both as to number and allowances. The policy of this is by no means apparent. More attention to the improvement of the revenue would produce ten thousand times the amount of the saving, to be derived from retrenching from the already too scanty income of faithful and zealous servants of Government. The system of retrenchment, which necessity gave birth to, has been kept up much too long. The capacity of the greatest dunce that ever came into office in India is fully equal to this, the lowest of all financial operations; and it is not unfrequently that we see such men so employ themselves. Their motive is not the good of the service—the welfare of their country: it is altogether selfish; to recommend themselves, as they hope to do, to the local governments, or the authorities in Europe. Nor can we wonder at, though we may regret, their success, seeing how difficult it is for the head of a government to get rid of a specific proposal that has economy for its object, however little disposition there may be to entertain it.*

Upon what principle of good government, as applicable to a foreign province, such as India is of England, ought the public servants of the state, the individuals upon whose energy of mind, talents, virtue, and honour, the country is preserved to England, to be kept, in a foreign land, on a bare subsistence?[†]

* Do the dunces succeed in their abominable designs of ingratiating themselves with such virtuous governors as the Directors?

† The lowest writer in employ has 1 or 500*l*. a-year

The situation of the Company's servants in the military branch of the service, at this time, is, I fear, much worse than is believed, even by those in power at home. I say so, because my opinion of their liberality is such, that I feel convinced they would improve the condition of their army, were it fully made known to them, and they were convinced of the incalculable advantages which would result from that improvement. Numbers of their officers, men of family, all of education, and many of them men of talent, after fifteen, even twenty years' service, are now dragging on an idle, and, consequently, a comfortless life.⁴ Might not many of those able, intelligent, and worthy men, be usefully employed, in time of peace, in carrying into effect the measures of Government for increasing the revenue,⁵ till it should become sufficient to admit of a greater remuneration to themselves and their associates? Thus might all be enabled to maintain the appearance of respectability, even of affluence, so befitting an English gentleman, and, in the eyes of the natives of India, so becoming an officer of the English Government: whilst those who preferred the enjoyments of their native country, would have the prospect of returning to it within a reasonable period, if not with riches, yet with a comfortable independence.⁶

It is impossible to deny that England would be a gainer by this state of things, both immediately and ultimately: immediately, because the additional receipts of the servants of Government would augment the capital available in India,⁷ the proceeds of which would be finally realized in England, and increase the general wealth of the country; and ultimately, because by thus raising the servants, who are in fact the organs of Government, in the estimation of the people, by enabling every individual branch of the executive to be more extensively useful, or benevolent, or charitable, to those who are under his influence, the national character would be elevated, the good-will of the people secured, and, by consequence, the stability of the Government consolidated.

Hence we learn, that the best way to secure the good-will of the people of India, is to subject them to heavier taxes!—to enable every branch of the service to be extensively useful and *benevolent* in labouring to increase as much as possible the public burdens! And that because this has not been attended to sufficiently hitherto, the respect and affection of the natives of India do not flow as they would otherwise do towards the servants of the Company! These are kept on a "bare subsistence;" that is, the lowest on the civil list enjoys an income of from four to five hundred pounds a-year, those of higher rank as many thousands; while the best situations open to Natives of the country, however highly qualified by their talents and learning, are worth only about one-tenth part of the smallest allowances of the youngest European writer. Still the European is not sufficiently elevated, nor the natives of India sufficiently degraded for our Mohammedan lawyer!

His great object then is to tax them still more severely; and the mode in which he proposes to overcome some of the difficulties, in the way of increasing the revenue, has at least the merit of singularity. Lord Cornwallis having, by the humane principle of the permanent settlement, limited the demands of Government upon the land for ever, the author condemns this act as defrauding the Company of all future increase of

⁴ Without being Government Agents and Majors on 2 or 3000*l.* a-year.

⁵ Exquisite proposal! send forth your officers to tax—not for the public good, but for their own!

⁶ This, not being "tribute extracted from India;" a thing, of which the author denies the existence!

⁷ This is indeed an unique way of increasing the capital of a country—by paying more to its servants!

revenue, and, therefore, sets about contriving how it may annul its engagements with the people. With this honest purpose in view, he attempts to show that the 'Laws and Constitution of India,'²⁴ mentioned in the Act of Parliament, authorizing the permanent settlement, must have meant the Mohammedan laws and constitution; then to prove that the permanent settlement is repugnant to this constitution; hence that it is illegal, and may be cancelled; or at least its end defeated by a resumption of all the lands that were untaxed or uncultivated at the time of its being carried into execution.

If the author had laid down any fixed principles of reasoning, by which he was, or professed to be, guided in his researches into Indian affairs, it might have been worth while to follow him, and examine one by one the facts and arguments he adduces. But there is nothing of this kind attempted. We are presented merely with a string of quotations, sometimes from law books, sometimes from history, showing nothing more than this, that during the Musulman dynasties, various Mohammedan laws and customs were introduced into India. This no rational being ever thought of denying; but the author would have us infer with him, because the Mogul Princes believed (not all of them) in the Koran, and followed some of its precepts, as well as introduced new rules of their own in matters of government, that therefore the Hindoo law was *entirely exploded*. The assumption is as gratuitous and extravagant as it is false in fact. For a proof of this we need not go farther than his own book (page 14). It is a quotation from a work on Mohammedan law, compiled under the patronage of Aurungzebe, expressly for the government of his Indian subjects; and part of a chapter which treats of inheritance among Non-Moslems or Hindoos:—

They shall take (it says) among themselves by blood and by compact, as Moslems take among themselves. The progeny of a marriage, which is *LEGAL* by their sacred books, though *ILLEGAL* by our law, shall not be debarred from inheriting.

If, then, the sacred books of the Hindoos rendered a marriage legal, and regulated one of the most important of worldly affairs—the succession of property—was the Hindoo law entirely abolished?

That in matters of revenue, police, and criminal jurisprudence, the Mohammedans made innovations is fully admitted; but as to their general conduct, what does Mr. Francis say? "The moderation (he observes) of the tribute imposed by all Mohammedan conquerors, and the simplicity of their mode of collecting it, accounts for the surprising facility with which they retained possession of their conquests. Their form of government was despotic, but in fact it was not oppressive to the mass of the conquered people: in general, they introduced *no change* but in the army and in the name of the sovereign." It is in vain for the author to attempt to prove from ancient Mohammedan lawyers what was the

²⁴ 24 Geo. III., cap. 24, sect. 39, "The Court of Directors were required to give orders for settling and establishing, upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India, the permanent rules by which the tributes, rents, and services of the Rajahs, zemindars, polygars, talukdars, and other Native landholders, should be in future rendered and paid to the Company." If the numerous regulations enacted and remodelled almost every year by the Bengal Government were examined, they would be found to have deviated considerably from the "permanent rule." Here presented.

'Constitution' of India at the time it came into our hands; for the constitution is merely the frame of government and laws as established and acted upon, whether the rules and practices in use were conformable to the opinions of the Koran and its commentators or not. It is a matter of fact, to be proved by history, or the testimony of contemporaries, not by the dicta of ancient doctors, who can merely tell us the principles that prevailed among them, not surely the practice of their successors. The author even brings forward the laws of Egypt, because governed by Mohammedans, to prove what was the constitution of India! He might as well seek for the republican constitution of the United States of America in the books of the Old and New Testament.

He himself admits that the Mohammedan Government of India introduced "regulations *suitable to the times* and the mixed population of the empire,—a power which the Mohammedan law *expressly recognizes and vests in the sovereign.*" And again (p. 97), that where nine-tenths of the people were not Moslems, it was scarcely to be hoped that a very strict adherence to the Mohammedan law was practicable. Still he wastes hundreds of pages to prove the very reverse, which is confessedly impossible. It will be sufficient to select a few instances of his utter failure. He lays it down (p. 66) as a principle of Mohammedan law, that "the sovereign cannot make any grant of land without stipulating for the legal land-tax; seeing that, by law, the sovereign is a mere trustee for the community, whose property the land before partition is; and a trustee [a Mohammedan despot!] cannot give away the property of his constituents without an equivalent!" To establish this position is the object of a great portion of his book; it being with him a very important one, as forming an essential part of the machinery with which he hopes to overthrow the "permanent settlement." For *if* the sovereign, as the mere trustee of the people, had no power to make free grants of land, and *if* this was part of the constitution of India sanctioned by the British Parliament.—then, *sequitur*, all the *lakharaj* (or tax-free) tenures now existing in Bengal, are null and void. But pursuing the thread of this argument only two pages, we find (p. 68) that the sovereign may make a donation of the *khuraj*, or revenue of an estate, to the owner himself, provided he be a person entitled to receive public maintenance. A certain number of qualifications are specified as being necessary to render persons entitled to receive such a reward or grant; however, this limitation is of little avail where the sovereign, an absolute despot, is to be the sole judge of his own actions. Nevertheless the author still struggles hard to avoid the conclusion, that the revenue might be remitted, by maintaining that such grants are *not* hereditary, and that there exists no means by which the ground may be released from land-tax permanently. But when we come to the *altumgha* grant of lands, we find that they were to descend "*from father to son in lineal succession*, in order to secure the grant to the *posterity* of the original proprietor (grantee)." These were the express words of the *sannud*, or grant, by which the revenue was *for ever* alienated from the Crown, unless it should happen to revert to it by failure of heirs; and the author tells us that it was "to reward the faithful services of an individual by a *permanent* and certain provision for himself and his offspring." What then becomes of his assertion, so often made, that the land cannot, by any possibility, be *permanently* relieved from the Government assessment?

A. and his heirs, who obtain a grant of the khuraj, or land-tax, of an estate, may be, at the same time, the zumeendars, or, as before acknowledged, the proprietors of the same lands. If previously zumeendars, they would stand in much the same situation as the holders of lakhuraj estates now do in Bengal; if previously proprietors, (i. e. in his view of it, ryots,) the only burden on the lands would now be that of the zumeendars' customary per centage for collection, (as to be afterwards explained). Or suppose that A. and his heirs had no interest whatever in the estate when they obtained the perpetual grant of the khuraj; but that B. and his heirs were then zumeendars, C. and his heirs the proprietors, or ryots; still A. might buy out the rights of B. and C., and thus become sole proprietor and participator in the profits of the estate. But whether these rights upon the estate were thus consolidated, or remained in three distinct classes of persons, it is evident that the effect is the same as regards the Government, whose claims on the land are relinquished in perpetuity.

From the above it may easily be inferred, that when a grant of the khuraj, or taxes, of a certain district, was made to A., as Government might then naturally leave him to take care of the collection of these taxes himself, the office of B., the zumeendar, or Government collector, would probably become superfluous. But the Mohammedan Princes were not used thus to turn adrift their old servants without any provision for their support, and that of their families; consequently, the zumeendar would be thought equitably entitled to receive his customary per centage from the royal assignee, or person who had obtained the grant of the revenues. This appears to be the true explanation of the allowance called "malikana;" so named, it is said, from being due from the grantees to the "maliks," or owners of the land. How the zumeendars came to be called *maliks*, or "owners," the author does not attempt to explain, although he every where else justly denies their being proprietors. A mere name, however, proves nothing as to the extent of their rights.

It being fully established, then, and admitted, that the sovereign might, and did, occasionally resign and surrender his revenue rights permanently, it might have been expected that the author would yield the point. But no: like Goldsmith's schoolmaster, "even though conquered, he can argue still." He adduces the famous instance of the grant to the Company, of the Dewannee, as it is called, or collection and receipt of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, from the Emperor Shah Auluum, to be held by the Company "in perpetuity," as a free gift and *tumgha*; but it was not, he adds, granted "rent free," and the words "from generation to generation, and for ever and ever," form a clause of it. It is true that twenty-six lacs of rupees were the consideration stipulated in this case; and what does this prove? It never surely was disputed, that lands might be granted by *altumgha* for a pecuniary return; but they may also be, and commonly are, granted without any such condition. The consideration here, so far from being thought an essential part of the transaction, was not so much as mentioned in the imperial *sanad*, which purported to be a "free gift." If the author does not acknowledge such a gift to have been legal, the Company may yet, according to him, be liable to an action for ejection before the Imperial Court of Delhi.

The most singular of all his arguments, to show that royal grants were

not hereditary, is yet to be noticed. But the paragraph must be quoted word for word, or the reader will hardly believe so much folly could be printed in a book written by one deeply versed in Hebrew and Arabic lore, and proposing a course of lectures on Mohammedan law for the benefit of the East India Company's ignorant Judges:

It is evident (says he) that these tenures are not in their nature necessarily hereditary; and by law (he says) they are clearly not: nor does it follow (how can it from these two negatives?) that any one of them conveys a rent-free grant.

For example, (he proceeds,) the *altumgha* tenure:—"Timour ordered all the beggars to be collected, and maintenance to be assigned to them, and that they should be distinguished by a mark (O EESHAN-RA TUMGHA KUNIND), that they might not be permitted to beg any more; and if after *tumgha* (O BERTUMGHA), they should be found begging, they should be banished." We cannot suppose, (he adds,) by such *altumgha* grants, that his Majesty designed to constitute a body of hereditary beggars.

The sapience here displayed by this Mohammedan jurist is past expression. His interpretation of the law of Timour is no less admirable, than if Sir William Blackstone had confounded the Keeper of the Great Seal with a felon branded for his crimes, both of whom equally receive the stamp, or TUMGHA! Only a little way back, he had filled half a page with quotations from Turkish, Arabic, and other dictionaries, to show that *tumgha* meant a "distinguishing mark," a "seal," &c. as well as the royal grant. Yet he now confounds a grant of territory, under the Great Seal of the Empire, with a beggar's badge. To think that this man, groping through the mists of his ignorance, should set himself up for a teacher and reprove of the Civil Service of India!⁹

We shall now give another specimen of his reasoning on the subject of taxes, which is, on the whole, equally satisfactory:

The Mohammedan law, (says he,) as I have observed, allows the *khuraj* (land-tax) to be levied as high as one-half. Some lawyers say, as much shall be left to the husbandman as will maintain his family, servants, and cattle, till next crop, and all the remainder shall go to the Crown; but one-fifth of the produce is deemed the equitable and commendable portion, being double the *qushr*, or double tithe. The *Ayecn Akburee* says: "Former rulers of Hindoostan took one-sixth; but then they imposed a variety of other imposts, equal to the whole quit-rent of Hindoostan, which Akbar abolished; among these, the capitation-tax." And, according to Pliny, the husbandman paid one-fourth of the increase!

So Pliny is one of our learned professor's Mohammedan law authorities! We find the rate of the land-tax, by his own account, varying from one-sixth to one-half of the produce; yet he talks, in the next page, of bringing the amount of assessment, in certain districts, to agree with "the rate specified," (as if there were only one,) by Mohammedan law. That law did not prevent, as we have seen, the land-tax from being, in some cases, entirely remitted; nor did it prevent the abolition of all other taxes whatsoever, even the capitation-tax, which may be considered the most sacred of all, being the price paid by the unbeliever for the redemption of his infidel head from the sword of Islam.

⁹ We suspect our Professor's law-Latin is on a par with his Persian. Where did he find the "well-known maxim *ignorantia JURIS*" [*excusat neminem*], or the phrase "*in foro judice*"? We do not recollect to have met with them in the whole course of the *Corpus Juris*.

Akbar, the great and good, (an enemy to those twin brothers in every age, —superstition and cruelty,) abolished the numerous imposts that had afflicted his subjects, and limited the tax on the land to one-third of the produce, with remissions in bad years.

We find the great Akbar stating, in excuse for exacting so high a rate as one-third, while his predecessors took only one-sixth, that he had abolished other taxes equivalent to the difference. One-third, therefore, was considered double the usual proportion; and we do not see any good authority for believing that Indian taxation ever amounted, generally, to one half of the produce, until it fell into the hands of the Company. We know that, under the ancient Hindoo governments, the rate was from one-twelfth to one-sixth; that it was afterwards carried so far as one-third, and to one-half only in the most favoured and fertile soils. But Mill bears testimony, that the taxation of the Mohammedan Princes was much milder. This author also admits, that a fifth (or double tithe) was regarded as the approved and equitable rate, sanctioned both by law and religion; and one-third seems to have been considered a severe exaction, requiring apology in the days of Akbar. It remained for the East India Company to extort nearly double that amount, —fifty-five, and even sixty-seven per cent.; refusing any remission in bad years, even when the crop is less than the seed; besides compelling the wretched cultivators to buy their salt of the Government at 1000 per cent above the natural cost of production. Such is the honourable contrast presented by Mohammedan cruelty and Christian *humanity*, enlightened by the divine precept of doing unto others as we would have others do unto us.

That more than one-third of the produce never could have been the established rate for any length of time, is certain; because it is proved that the country could not bear it. That the Company manages to extort so much more, is only to be explained by the notorious fact, that it is done by reducing the country to ruin, and scraping into its pockets, not the present produce, but the accumulated wealth of ages. But the waste and impoverishment of the farm is of little moment to the out-going tenant whose lease expires in 1833.

We now proceed to the next branch of the argument. Supposing, with the author, that the Mohammedan Princes, faithful "trustees of the people," had no authority (although in the exercise of despotic power) to remit or alienate from the Crown any portion of the public revenues; will it follow that, after a complete revolution has taken place in the government of the country, that the British Parliament is equally tied down by the universal spell of Mohammedan law? He answers, Yes! For (p. 12) while any part of that law exists in India, the country is *Daur-ool-Islam*; that is, "annexed to the Mohammedan dominions."

Profession of the Mohammedan faith on the part of the inhabitants is not a condition; therefore, by the Mohammedan law, India undoubtedly was the *Daur-ool-Islam*; nay, is held by law to be so now, for it is not a necessary condition that the sovereign be a Moslem.

Thus we learn that, although neither the sovereigns nor the people of India be Moslems, it is still *Daur-ool-Islam*, a part of the Mohammedan dominions! The consequences of this discovery are momentous:

By the law of India, all the uncultivated land (which is, rather was, in 1784,) according to Mr. Colebrooke, "one-half, and about one-half of which is capable of cultivation, the other half irreclaimable, or in rivers and lakes," of

the whole of the three provinces, [Bengal, Behar, and Orissa], still remain the property of the Government; for without an express equivalent and specification of revenue, there existed no power legally capable of giving them away, by any lawful deed of conveyance, or any legal mode whatever.)

Was the Emperor's grant of the Dewanee to the Company a legal deed, then, when it contained no specification or mention of revenue? Did it continue legal when the Company (as usual, when able to break its promise with safety) refused, about ten years after, to continue the payment of the sum stipulated? Or was it legal for it afterwards to reduce the twenty-six lacs it became bound to pay annually, to (90,000rs.) about one-thirtieth part of that sum? Could the same power which legalized these breaches of faith towards the Mohammedan Emperor, even within the *Daur-ool-Islam*, not give legal sanction to *lakhuraj* tenures in Bengal, supposing them to have never existed before? No, says the author; who, like most other advocates of the Company's system, thinks British power in India may always be legally and properly enough exercised for the benefit of the rulers, but never for the benefit of the people. Does he find any authority in the *Aycen Akburre*, or in the writings of that most learned jurist, Aboo Huneefah, for salt and opium monopolies for the behoof of a Christian government; or a surplus revenue, to be drawn from India, for the purpose of division among the gentlemen of Leadenhall-street? He needs no proof of the legality of these things. But as for a Permanent Settlement, which limits the amount of taxes demandable from the people, this he pronounces to be quite illegal, although it has existed for nearly thirty years, with the express sanction of the highest legislative authorities in the British empire. Such contemptible trifling does not deserve to be confuted. He might as well fancy that because Britain was once a Roman province, nothing can be legal in this island which does not agree with the principles laid down in the Institutes of Justinian.

Not to waste more time on his wretched legal argument for overthrowing the Permanent Settlement, let us proceed to examine his reasons for wishing to commit this breach of faith towards the natives of India.—His fundamental objections to the settlement are, first, that the tax on the land is incapable of being increased *ad libitum*; secondly, that it is now fixed, he thinks, at too low a rate, owing chiefly to three causes: the imperfect knowledge possessed of the country at the time it was concluded; to about one-third of the arable land being then out of cultivation; and, lastly, to perhaps as much more of it being allowed to be held under *lakhuraj* (or tax-free) tenures, which he holds to be illegal. There existed a very good reason for the Company not caring to alarm its new subjects by inquiring very strictly into the tenures by which they held their lands,—a question to which a certain Scottish king once received a startling answer from his bold barons. The Company was well aware that its own title could as ill stand the test of legal scrutiny as those of any of its subjects; therefore, every thing was to be avoided that might awaken and keep alive such dangerous scruples, and any arrangement was desirable that might for ever bury them in oblivion. Nothing could tend so effectually to ensure public tranquillity as a guarantee given to the people, that their property should never be infringed upon, by the land being subjected to additional burdens, on any pretence whatever. Another object of the permanent settlement was, to encourage

the improvement of the country by inducing them to cultivate the immense tracts of land then lying waste; and both these great objects have been, in a great measure, accomplished. Colonel Stewart's admirable pamphlet says, on this subject:—

The measure which introduced this change in the tenure of the land, has been in its general effect an infinite blessing to the country, by the creation of a permanent interest in improvement, and the security which it affords to possession. Before its establishment, the most fertile provinces on the banks of the Ganges were subject, *under our Government*, to almost periodical famines, which swept away millions of men, and villages by thousands, reducing, in the language of Lord Cornwallis, "a third of the Company's territories to the condition of a wilderness inhabited only by wild beasts." Since its operation began, these villages have been rebuilt, these wildernesses have been covered with plentiful harvests; and since that period, I do not believe it could be proved that, in all the provinces of Bengal, a single human being has perished of hunger.

But we still hear of famines at Bombay and Madras, where they are so little regarded that it is jocularly given in the public prints as an item of local news—"THE PEOPLE ARE STARVING"—under that execrable ryotwar system with which the author would supplant the permanent settlement in Bengal, that the people there also might again perish by tens of millions.¹⁰

We fully admit that Lord Cornwallis, in conferring on India this benevolent self-denying ordinance, committed a great error in attending so exclusively to the rights of the zumeendars, and overlooking those of the ryots; but it was an error of judgment merely, arising from the imperfect knowledge then possessed, not from a disregard of the interests of the people. Owing to the erroneous notions which then prevailed, unfortunately, respecting their rights, they were left without effectual protection; but by a regulation, which forms no necessary part of the permanent settlement, and which could never have been approved of by Lord Cornwallis, the people are now placed in a much worse situation; that is, in case of an estate being sold for defalcation of revenue, which occurs almost every day, all the leases held of the zumeendar are declared by Government to be annulled! In this manner, a zumeendar may at any time cancel all the leases of his ryots, by allowing his estate to go to auction, and repurchasing it himself, under the name of a friend.

But the author's most important objection to this revenue settlement is, that the taxes are too low. The lands, uncultivated at the time it was formed, not having been assessed, he considers the Company literally defrauded of their produce. The fact is, that but for the permanent settlement, they never would have been cultivated at all; and never, therefore, could have yielded any revenue. Nor with cultivation is every quality of soil capable of yielding revenue at all: it may only be fertile enough to bear the cost of culture, and yield a bare remuneration for the husbandman's labour. The effect of imposing a tax, therefore, on such land, would be to throw it again out of culture, and reduce the peasantry it supported to

¹⁰ One of these calamities, which occurred only a few years before, (1770,) is despatched by the historian of British India in the following brief sentence:—"The first year of his (Mr. Carter's) administration was distinguished by one of those dreadful famines which so often afflict the provinces of India; a calamity by which more than a third of the inhabitants of Bengal were computed to have been destroyed!"—*MILN*, vol. III., p. 431.

starvation. From this periodical scourge, Lord Cornwallis has the merit of saving the natives of Bengal. But says our author:—

"Let us see what their country owe the Government: of that duty of the *positive obligation* of tying up her hands for ever from availing herself, *certainly* at least of the most, indeed almost the only, mode of increasing the revenue of several of the finest provinces of the finest portion of the world."

"And why are we to take his word that an enormous income-tax, fixed on land, liable to be increased *ad libitum*, as the Government chooses, is the best for India, though it would not be endured in England?— "Because in Europe the *taste for luxuries that prevails* enables Governments to raise a large revenue by taxes on articles of luxury. The necessities of life form another source of revenue. In India, the luxuries of life are *not known, except to a few*; consequently, *that source of revenue does not exist there.*" And why are luxuries almost unknown in India?—Because taxation and oppression reduce the people to such a state of abject poverty and wretchedness, that, as he elsewhere expresses himself, to them "the necessities of life are luxuries"!¹² But here he says, "even the necessities of life (procurable by them) are of so little value, that they are scarcely tangible." Yet we contrive to make them pay us a tax of a million and a half sterling annually on salt alone; which grievous imposition, being still farther aggravated by subordinate monopolies growing out of ours, is probably doubled or tripled, as he admits, before the salt reaches the lips of the consumer. But to proceed with his argument, drawn from the misery of our subjects:—

"What can the most expert financier hope to levy from a people who live in a state of nakedness; whose habitations cost, perhaps, a rupee; and where, in many parts of the country, labourers, *heads of families*, receive no more than five shillings a month?"

Such is the picture of misery presented to the humane and generous English nation, to prove that its Indian subjects ought to be more severely taxed! We have shown in what manner the population and prosperity of the country were promoted by the permanent settlement; and these very results are assigned by the author as reasons for its abolition:—

The population and prosperity of the country (says he) have, under our Government, unquestionably increased, and their tendency is to be progressive. [True; but this tendency may be, as it formerly was, and in most parts of India is now, completely counteracted by excessive taxation.] Think, then, (he exclaims,) of the *temerity* of the *tax*, or of the *set of men*, or of the *power*, whatever it may be, who did venture, under such circumstances, to set perpetual bounds to the resources of the Indian Government, by limiting for ever the land-revenue of the country.

Lord Cornwallis deserved well of his country, if he had done nothing more than consult her honour and true interests, by tying up, in some degree, the hands of such harpies as this, who would prey upon the

¹² "The authors of the permanent settlement (p. 129) appear to have forgotten altogether the distinction between the people of England, to whom luxuries are become necessities, and the subjects of their Asiatic territories, to whom even the necessities of life are luxuries." This could not be said with truth, unless the natives of India had generally less than the necessities of life; that is, just enough to keep soul and body together.

very vitals of our Indian subjects; If they be increasing so fast in prosperity as here asserted, they will soon begin to enjoy the comforts, and even the luxuries of life, so as to afford the Government abundant sources of revenue. If they are not improving, there is more need for remitting taxes than increasing them.

We shall shortly return to this volume, and show that its statements in matters of finance are still more unsound than its doctrines on points of law.

STANZAS,

Adapted to the beautiful Air of "Montalembert," attempting to embody the sentiments and feelings suggested by its soothing strain, as heard during a calm at Sea.

When the Ocean's storms are done,
And all around is peaceful calm,
As Evening's blush, at setting sun,
Sheds o'er the scene a holier balm,
The soul instinctive turns to Heaven,
Filled with pure devotion's glow,
And humbly hopes its sins forgiven,
Above this world of doubt and woe.

When the milder Twilight dies,
And every billow sinks to rest,
As stars begin to light the skies,
And Day sinks deeper in the west,
Then the heart will homeward turn
To distant, dear, and long-loved Friends,
And light with fires that holy urn
Whose incense pure to Heaven ascends.

When at Midnight's hallowed noon,
The rich carolean vault above
Yields to the bright meridian Moon
Her tranquil reign o'er Night and Love,
Bosoms then with fervour glowing,
Pour their silent plaint along,
Till through every pulse are flowing
Passion,—Music,—Sigh,—and Song.

These my pensive breast inspiring
As o'er trackless deeps we steer,
When on deck, at eve retiring,
Montalembert's strains I hear;
Thus can Music's magic power
Lift the soul to realms above,
And mingle, in one silent hour,
Devotion,—Friendship,—Home—and Love

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. III.

Voyage from Gibraltar to Sicily.—Recollections of Moorish, Roman, and Carthaginian History.

On the 2d of July we left Gibraltar, in company with the fleet, and standing over to the southward, passed within sight of the fortifications of Ceuta, situated on a peninsula of Africa, which, with Gibraltar, Spartel, and Trafalgar, form the Straits. It is so strongly defended by nature, as well as art, that although the Moors have often besieged it, it has withstood all their efforts. The first mention of it in history as a scene of much interest, was during the devout age of the crusades, when Louis IX. or St. Louis of France, with the wild hope of baptizing the King of Tunis, (according to Gibbon,) directed his expedition against the Moorish territory, instead of the Holy Land, but fell a victim, with most of his troops, to the climate.

After the reign of this illustrious crusader, the spirit of Mohammedanism continued to gain ground, and extend its influence from the Euphrates to the northern coast of Africa; and over all the western shores of the Mediterranean, the display of the crescent seemed to chide the warriors of Christendom for neglecting the cause of chivalry, and the defence of their holy faith.

The situation of Portugal was particularly favourable for a descent on the African coast; and the extirpation of Mohammedanism continued, during the reign of John I. and his successors, to form the chief object of their heroic exploits. The Portuguese princes had long been ambitious to receive the sword of chivalry from their renowned father, when a general crusade to the Moorish coast called them from the enjoyment of peace to those military honours they so ardently desired. It is related, that the Queen Phillippa, their mother, contemplating the dangers of an expedition against the infidels, and beholding the lives of her husband and children at once exposed to the relentless scimitars of the Moors, unable to shake the firm resolutions of her ambitious offspring, or to support the dreadful uncertainty of so eventful a voyage, fell a victim to the painful conflicts of her mind. The death of so amiable and beloved a woman awakened the regret of every one, and cast a portentous gloom on the prospect of the African crusades.

From the Bay of Lagos, near Cape St. Vincent, the embarkation of the Portuguese was beheld with various emotions, and recalled to mind the trophies and African exploits of the Roman Belisarius. The spectacle must certainly have been solemn and interesting; and although the navigator of the present day reflects on the embarkation with pleasure, as it opened the first dawn of a knowledge of the coasts of Africa, yet the Portuguese, who beheld their sovereign, and the hopes of his illustrious house, exposed at once to the perils of the ocean, and to the fatal malignity of the burning sands and feverish atmosphere of that continent, must have felt deeply. They are, therefore, described as viewing the fading vessels in the distant horizon with mixed sensations; and the

shores of Lagos displayed a melancholy group when the sails of the monarch were lost in the surrounding haze.

The lofty towers and walls of Ceuta, (the ancient Septem, so called from the seven mountains in Mauritania Zingitana,) which had been in part constructed and fortified by Justinian, formed at that time the strongest Moorish garrison in Africa; and the subjects both of Spain and Portugal had long resorted thither, in security, to bid defiance to their country. On their landing safely the whole of their armament, consisting of 50,000 men, they found every thing that the vigilance or precaution of the Moorish Governor could devise, had long been prepared; but neither their courage nor their strength was equal to the successful opposition of so formidable an enemy, and Bensala, the Moor, accordingly retired under cover of the night, leaving the crusaders to secure the conquest at daybreak.

On the return of the Portuguese Monarch to Algarve, he reviewed his troops, in order to reward those who had distinguished themselves. The scene must have become particularly interesting when the military spirit of the father was gratified in proclaiming the rewards due to the valour of his sons. Don Pedro was created Duke of Coimbra, and Don Henry, Duke of Viseo; the latter of whom returned to Ceuta as Governor, where his favourite projects of maritime discovery were matured, and his information on subjects connected therewith, enlarged by occasional converse with such Moors as could be gained over to his interest: so that the development of the southern coast of Africa may be traced from the day when the flag of Portugal was planted by its princes on the northern promontory of Ceuta. A view of the savage inhabitants of its northern coast, in the present day, will not perhaps justify the opinion of Henry's receiving information from the Moors of Ceuta; but if we reflect on the distance of four centuries, during which their movements have been retrograde, and the decline of knowledge has been equal to its progress in other countries, we may conceive it possible for the Duke to have discovered some rays of science, which even the desolation of the maritime colonies of Hippo Regius, of Ceuta, and of Carthage, did not extinguish.

"The long and narrow tract of the African coast," says Gibbon, "was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and munificence, and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean." And Dr. Adam Smith, in his 'Wealth of Nations,' is of opinion, that the express object which the Portuguese prince had particularly in view, was to find out by sea a way to the countries from which the Moors brought ivory and gold-dust across the desert.

The characters of these two princes have been justly venerated by posterity; for in whatever light they are beheld, they present great claims to admiration. Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, was remarkable for a quick and solid understanding. His eloquence, the voyages which he had made, and his travels both in Asia and Africa, induced the historian Casters, and others, to style him the Ulysses of the age. When called to the exercise of the supreme power as Regent, he gave the whole of his charts and geographical manuscripts to his brother, Henry, Duke of Viseo, who, to kindred genius and talents, united the most determined resolution and patient perseverance. Their characters called forth the

powers of Camoens, in his delightful episode of the *Historic Flags or Ensigns*, which Mickle thus translates :—

————— Illustrious, lo ! two brother heroes shine,
 Their birth, their deeds, adorn the royal line ;
 To every King of princely Europe known,
 In every court the gallant Pedro shone ;
 The glorious Henry ! kindling at his name,
 Behold my sailors' eyes all sparkle flame !
 Henry ! the chief who first by heaven inspired,
 To deeds unknown before, the sailor fired ;
 Who, conscious of his prowess, left the shore,
 And dared new oceans never plough'd before !
 The various wealths of every distant land
 He bade his fleets explore—his fleets command !
 The Ocean's great discoverer he shines,
 Nor less his honours in the martial lines ;
 The painted flag the cloud-wrapt siege displays,
 There Ceuta's rocking wall its trust betrays ;
 Black yawns the breach ; the point of many a spear
 Gleams through the smoke ; loud shouts astound the ear !
 Whose steps first trod the dreadful pass ? whose sword
 Hew'd its dark way—first with the foe begor'd ?
 'Twas thine, O, glorious Henry ! first to dare
 The dreadful pass, and thine to close the war.
 Taught by thy might, and humbled in her gore,
 The boastful pride of Ainc tower'd no more !

LUSIAD.

Since that period, its history presents nothing interesting beyond the change of possession from the Portuguese to the Spaniards, who at present hold it, and keep it well garrisoned, for the purpose of making it on the African side what Gibraltar is on the European, one of the keys of entrance to the Mediterranean Sea.

On the morning of the 3d, we were on the Spanish coast, and passed within sight of the Granada mountains, the summits of which, rising to an immense height, were partially enveloped in clouds, and their broken ridges covered with flakes of snow, which, sparkling in the sun, presented a singularly beautiful appearance.

On the evening of the 5th, we passed Cape de Gatt, but at too great a distance to observe any of the peculiarities of its coast. The wind being light, our progress was extremely slow.

On the 7th, we made the African shores, and passed along under the high land of Algiers, sufficiently near to distinguish the Castle, and some white buildings on the sides of the hills, at some distance from each other ; but the town being at the bottom of a deep bay, was hid from our view. The land appeared scorched, barren, and uncultivated. This town is under the Mohammedan government, in the person of a Dey, who, though he receives his authority from the Grand Signor, and acts under the immediate influence of his janissaries, is absolute in some respects ; and though elected by the Turkish soldiers, is by them frequently deposed and put to death.

The number of inhabitants in the city of Algiers alone, is estimated at 100,000 Mohammedans, 15,000 Jews, and 4000 Christian slaves. The revenues of the state arise from the tributes paid by the Moors and Arabs,

who occupy the surrounding country; and who, though a distinct people, living in tents, and professedly governed by laws of their own, are subject to the capricious will of the Turks. Added to this, are the prizes they take, and the piracies they commit at sea; often equal to the taxes they lay upon the natives.

The wind still continuing easterly, we crossed the Mediterranean several times, alternately making the islands of Majorca and Minorca, and the opposite shores of Africa.

On the 15th, we made the Island of Sardinia, in sight of which we remained several days, detained by calms and contrary winds, being sometimes within a cable's length of the shore. It possesses the general features of the other islands within this sea, high rugged mountains, with immense masses of rock projecting on all sides, and the intervals filled up by a light-coloured grass or heath. The sea coast generally exhibits great sterility, except when the termination of some valley, or a sloping plain, stretches its green edge along the shore.

Sardinia, though a kingdom of itself, does not present many interesting particulars in its history. It was originally peopled by the Phœnicians and Greeks, and called by them Ichnusa, Sandialotes, and Sardo. The inhabitants were formerly accounted rude and barbarous; and while the island was in possession of the Romans they banished their state prisoners there. The Saracens possessed it for near four centuries; their expulsion could not be effected by the Pisanese, on whom Pope Innocent III. had *innocently* assumed the prerogative of bestowing it, in 1132, according to the liberal fashion of those humble prelates of transferring property by holy authority! In 1344 it came under the crown of Spain, in whose possession it remained until 1708, when it was taken by the English for Charles III., afterwards Emperor by the title of Charles VI., and confirmed to him by the treaty of Utrecht. In 1717 it was recovered by the Spaniards, and in the following year the Emperor exchanged it for Sicily with the Duke of Savoy, who was put in actual possession of it in 1720, and took the title of King of Sardinia. In 1729, the King, Victor Amadeus, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, Prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of 100,000 pistoles per annum, retired to the Castle of Chamberry, and espoused the Countess Dowager of St. Sebastian, who, declining the title of Queen, assumed that of Marchioness of Somerive. As a proof, however, how firmly the love of power, like that of wealth, clings round the human heart, increasing with increasing age, this abdicated old monarch having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues in order to re-ascend the throne, his son, the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized, and conducted to Rivoli under a strong escort. His wife, the Marchioness, was conducted to Seva, and the old King's confessor, his physician, and about fifty persons of distinction, were imprisoned, before the intended project could be effectually checked. What a field of admiration for the moralist! The very ties of blood and nature burst asunder, and father and son in arms, contending for the bauble of a crown! It is impossible, when such memoirs of history appear before us, not to concur with the sentiments of our sensible and entertaining countrywoman, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who, in one of her letters to Mr. Pope, written from Belgrade, describing her passage over

the fields of Carlowitz, which had been the recent scene of a bloody battle between Prince Eugene and the Turks, observes:—"Nothing seems to be a plainer proof of the *irrationality* of mankind, (whatever fine claims we pretend to reason,) than the rage with which they contest for a small spot of ground, when such vast parts of fruitful earth lie quite uncultivated and uninhabited. It is true, custom has made it unavoidable; but can there be a greater demonstration of want of reason, than a custom being firmly established, so plainly contrary to the interests of man in general?" And in another of her letters to her daughter, the Countess of Butte, when ingeniously comparing the age of the world, and the progress of mankind to the stages that mark the periods of human existence, she says—"I imagine we are now arrived at the age of fifteen; I cannot think we are older, when I recollect the many palpable follies which are still almost universally persisted in; I place that of *war* as senseless as the boxing of school-boys, and whenever we come to man's estate (perhaps a thousand years hence) I do not doubt it will appear as ridiculous as the pranks of unlucky lads." I believe her prophetic opinion; although the face of affairs, since the period of her writing, presents no picture of amelioration in that respect, yet the despotism of war cannot be eternal.

The soil of Sardinia is said to be fertile, producing corn, wine, and a variety of fruits; and the small islands that skirt its coasts furnishing good cattle, turtles, and game; but as the people are not industrious, little advantages are reaped from its fertility. It contains also some excellent mines, which are neglected: the revenues are barely adequate to the support of the government offices, leaving a very small sum for the support of the monarch, who holds his court at Cagliari, the capital.

The feudal system still subsists in a limited degree, and titles go with the estates, so that the purchaser of the latter inherits the former. The country people are generally armed; but notwithstanding their having been so long under the Spanish and Italian government, assassinations are by no means frequent; and yet, by the laws of the country, if a man slays another, without premeditated malice, within four hours after quarrelling with him, he is not punishable by death. On the other hand, the church here affords no protection to the guilty. The Sardinians are described as being still much attached to the Spaniards, whom they closely imitate in manners, dress, &c.

On the 20th we were favoured with a light air from the northward, and, losing sight of Sardinia, bore away for Sicily, being on the noon of that day abreast the celebrated Bay of Carthage.

The farther we advance up this delightful sea, the more our interest is sure to be excited, and our feelings called into action: not only by seeing promontories, capes, and bays, which history has rendered sacred, but being even in the vicinity of places renowned either for arts or arms. It was, therefore, impossible to pass Carthage unmoved, the daring rival and formidable, though ultimately vanquished, enemy of Rome; more particularly as they have been unjustly traduced by the historians of that imperial city; and while their defects have been portrayed in the strongest light, a cloud has designedly enveloped the records of their heroism and virtue.

Of the various colonies which the Phœnicians formed, Carthage was among the most distinguished; and, from the most authentic records, was founded 137 years before Rome, when the sister of Pygmalion, of Tyre, landed in Africa. The national term, Carthaginian, was sometimes changed by the Greeks into that of Libyan, and at others blended with the more ancient appellation of Phœnician, which the Romans contracted into Pœni, Pœnic, and Punic, a term often used in allusion to them.

To an Englishman and a sailor, who, animated by the conscious pride of his country's naval superiority, feels a glow of enthusiasm for every thing that is maritime, the retrospect of their history is additionally interesting from the consideration of their having been the first maritime power in the world.

The colony of Carthage must have been planted at an early period of the Phœnician empire, since Herodotus places a celebrated naval engagement between the Carthaginians and the Phœcians, in the reign of Cyrus, 500 years before the Christian era; and also gives us an additional proof of the antiquity of their naval power, by informing us that the whole marine of Persia, in the reign of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, was considered as insufficient to oppose the Carthaginian fleet.

Mr. Falconer, in his excellent dissertation on the *Periplus of Hanno*, offers many interesting remarks relative to the Carthaginian history, which he divides into three periods. According to Cato the elder, Carthage existed as a political state during the space of 737 years, 600 of which she continued sovereign of the sea! Mr. Falconer's first period extends from the foundation of this republic to the year 480, B. C., containing 430 years. The second period, commencing from this point, terminates in the year 264, when the rivalry of Rome and Carthage manifested itself by a breach which occasioned the first of the celebrated Punic wars. The third period comprehends those wars, and extends from the year 264 to 146 B. C., when Carthage was destroyed by its powerful rival and enemy.

The history of this republic is admirably given by the authors of the 'Universal History;' but this work of Falconer's, called the '*Voyage of Hanno*,' and published in 1797, accompanied with the Greek text, is particularly valuable for the dissertation which precedes it.

The history of the Punic wars is too well known to need recapitulation here. When jealousy exists in politics, as well as love, then

————— Trifles light as air,
Are, to the jealous, confirmations strong
As proofs of holy writ.

And in the instance of the breach between those powers, the truth of this aphorism was powerfully shown.

The city of Rome, at the commencement of these wars, is described by Spencer to have been far different from that beautiful Rome whose very ruins are at this day sought after with so much pleasure. It was a town which carried an air of terror in its appearance, and which made people shudder whenever they first entered within its gates. Its citizens even were old rough soldiers, who looked on the polite arts as

things fit only for an effeminate people, as too apt to soften and unnerve men, and to take from them that martial temper and ferocity which they encouraged so universally in the infancy of their state. Such was the condition of this imperial city, when its citizens had made so great a progress in arms as to have conquered the greater part of Italy, and to be able to engage in a war with the Carthaginians, the strongest power then by land, and absolute masters by sea. The Romans, in the first Punic war, added Sicily to their dominions. In the second, they greatly increased their strength, both by sea and land, and, says the historian, acquired a taste for the arts and elegancies of life, with which, till then, they had been totally unacquainted. Their generals, however, now began to value those fragments of excellence and skill that formed the spoils of their Carthaginian and Grecian conquests, and which they sent to adorn their own city. But, like all other innovations, it created parties. One party exclaimed, "These fineries are a pretty diversion for an idle effeminate people. The Romans desire no other ornaments of life than a simplicity of manners at home, and fortitude against our enemies abroad. It is by these arts we have raised our name so high, and spread our dominions so far; and shall we suffer them now to be exchanged for a fine taste, and what they call elegance of living? No! Great Jupiter! who presidest over the capitol, let foreigners keep their arts to themselves; and let the Romans learn only how to conquer and to govern mankind." The other party cried—"We shall now no longer be reckoned among the Barbarians. That rust which we have been so long contracting will now soon be worn off. The generals have conquered our enemies, but Marcellus has conquered our ignorance. We begin to see with new eyes, and have a new world of beauties opening before us. Let the Romans be polite as well as victorious; and let us learn to excel the nations in taste, as well as to conquer them with our arms." Whichever party was in the right, the admirers of Marcellus were successful; for from this point of time we may date the introduction of the arts into Rome. The Romans by this means began to be fond of them, and the love of the arts is certainly a passion which grows rapidly in the minds of those who have once cherished it.

It is true most of the works of this kind were brought from Greece, yet not wholly so. The elder Scipio Africanus, towards the end of the second Punic war, brought in numerous trophies of his conquests both from Spain and Africa; and the younger Scipio Africanus, (the most celebrated for his polite taste among the Romans of his day,) on the destruction of Carthage, transferred many of the chief ornaments of that city to Rome, which, from the improved state of the arts there, must have been a valuable accession, though that great man, who appears to have been as just in his actions as he was elegant in his taste, did not bring all the finest of his spoils to Rome, but left a great part of them in Sicily, from whence many of them had been formerly taken by the Carthaginians.

In order to give us some idea of the consequence to which this country had attained, the Roman writers affirm that Carthage, in the zenith of her power, had 300 cities under her jurisdiction, and possessed a line of coast extending 2000 miles in length, from the Syrtis Major, opposite the Adriatic, to the Pillars of Hercules; besides part of Spain, the

islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and others in the Mediterranean. The climate was then esteemed so healthy that, according to Sallust, few people died of any other infirmity than old age.

The situation of Carthage was peculiarly favourable to commerce, and the profession of a merchant was esteemed highly honourable among them. The principal source of their wealth was derived from the valuable mines of Andalusia and Corduba, which they probably shared with the Phœnicians. According to Aristotle, when the Phœnicians first visited the rich coast of Iberia, they found gold and silver in prodigious abundance; so that the Spaniards of that age, in this respect, resembled the unfortunate Mexicans, whom the avarice of their descendants so cruelly persecuted. The Phœnicians beheld, with the astonishment of Cortez, the riches of Iberia; the tonnage of their ships was not equal to the satisfaction of the monopoly in which they had indulged; and they at length proceeded not only to make their anchors and other implements of silver, but actually to use it as ballast. The Carthaginians, according to Strabo, found the very mangers in Iberia constructed of silver, and their horses shod with it. Pliny mentions several of the rich silver mines that were worked in Spain; and Strabo says, that from a mine, called Bebel, Hannibal daily received 300lbs. of silver.

A lucrative branch of trade was also carried on with the Persians and Ethiopians for gems and precious stones; and the ingenuity of her artificers soon became so superior to those of other countries, that the different Punic wares, on which taste or fashion stamped an imaginary value, were always distinguished by the neatness of their workmanship. Punic beds, Punic windows, and Punic tables, were even celebrated by the implacable enemies of this Republic; and the fashion for the citron wood of Africa, which was imported from Carthage, prevailed to such a degree at Rome, that, according to Pliny, as cited by Gibbon, a round board or table of this wood, four or five feet in diameter, sold for ten or twelve thousand pounds sterling!

One of the writers in the *Universal History* thinks it probable, that the Carthaginians were the first who made cables of the shrub spartum; and that, besides their proficiency in ship-building, the supposed modern invention of caulking, and sheathing with metal as well as plank, was known to them; since the celebrated John Locke, in his *History of Navigation*, quotes from Leo Baptista Alberti, an account of Trajan's ship weighed out of the lake of Riccia, where she had lain sunk and neglected for several centuries, and which was found to be built of pine and cypress, with double planks, and caulked with linen rags daubed over with Greek pitch, and an outer covering of sheet-lead fastened on with copper nails. And certain it is, that for whatever proficiency the Romans had attained, either in the construction or equipment of vessels, they were indebted to the Carthaginians. At the commencement of the first Punic war, they were totally without vessels of any description, and were compelled to borrow some fifty-oared vessels, and a few tiremes, from the Tarentines, Neapolitans, &c., on board which they embarked under the command of Appius Claudius, one of their consuls. On this motley squadron, if the fact has not been misrepresented by the Roman historians, the Carthaginians bore down with too much eagerness, when one of their vessels unfortunately grounded on a shoal, from which it was extricated by the Romans, and employed by them as a model for their

shipwrights. All kinds of naval stores were procured from Carthage in great perfection; and the first quadrireme, or four-rowed galley (was, according to Aristotle, launched from the dock-yard of this republic). The ingenuity which planned it must have awakened the emulation of other artists to suggest improvements in the same line. In the equipment of their ships, the Carthaginians encouraged the talents both of the painter and the sculptor. With the productions of the first, their ships were ornamented; and the exploits of their ancestors affording a constant subject of emulation to the crew, the sacred *pataci*, or images, that were placed on the prow, called forth their firmness by pointing to their examples.

The maritime power of Carthage had attained its summit when Tyre was taken by Alexander the Great; and from that period the strength of this republic gradually declined. It is said to have been the intention of that conqueror, had he lived, according to some memoranda found on his tablets, entirely to destroy the commerce of a nation so intimately connected with the Tyrians; and the magnitude of the design was consistent with the character of the son of Philip. These designs of Alexander, who, from his ambitious spirit, would not have deemed the subjugation of Carthage complete, until the whole of the adjacent shores, both of Africa and Spain, had acknowledged him as their sovereign,—were, in part, suspected by the Carthaginians, who accordingly employed the address of Hamilcar to avert the impending storm; but the report of their ambassador served only to confirm their apprehensions. On his arrival in Egypt, Hamilcar beheld with astonishment the rising metropolis of ancient commerce. The alarm was quickly conveyed to Carthage; and the trembling messenger who bore this unwelcome intelligence was sacrificed.

The celebrated voyage of Nearchus, undertaken at the command of Alexander, and the information received from caravans respecting the interior of Africa, are conjectured to have been the motives which induced the Carthaginians to fit out a squadron of discovery, under the command of Hanno, in order to explore a more expeditious and less perilous course to India round the southern extremity of their continent. This, which is mentioned by Pliny as the original object of their voyage, would have effectually ruined the rising marts of Alexandria, so much dreaded by the Carthaginians; and the voyage of Hanno, when thus considered, was worthy of the wisdom and policy of a great commercial state.

This voyage, as well as that of Nearchus, has been supposed void of authority. I have read them both, and cannot perceive any evidence on the face of them which would at all tend to invalidate their foundation. That of Nearchus is certainly wonderful for the age in which it was accomplished, but not at all improbable; and, indeed, the strict consistency of events, both in their rise and succession, must remove all doubt of its authenticity from unbiassed and impartial minds. The learned illustration of Dr. Vincent obviates all difficulties, and one cannot help subscribing to his opinion, that it is not the length or the course, that ought to raise the name of Columbus higher than that of Nearchus; the consequences derived from the discoveries of both are equally important, and the commerce with the East Indies is at least on a level with that of

America; but if the communication fixed at Alexandria is the origin of the Portuguese discoveries, and the circumnavigation of Africa, then Nearchus is, in fact, the primary author of discovery in general, and the master both of De Gama and Columbus.

That the voyage of Hanno should be canvassed on account of its obscurity is not so much to be wondered at; for it is well known that the Romans lost no opportunity to render every thing dubious that tended to reflect honour on the republic of Carthage. It is not, therefore, surprising that their poets and historians have neglected to celebrate the fame of Hanno as a navigator. Pliny, at the distance of many centuries, strives to discredit the Journal, because no vestige could then be traced of the cities or towns which Hanno founded on the coast of Africa. The sentiments of the great Montesquieu, in his *'Esprit des Loix,'* are, however, a complete answer to whatever the envy or the prejudices of the Romans may have suggested. "It would, indeed, have been a wonder," says he, "if any such vestiges *had* remained. Was it a Corinth, or an Athens, that Hanno built on those coasts? He left Carthaginian families in those places most commodious for trade, and secured them, as well as his hurry would permit, against savages and wild beasts. The calamities of the Carthaginians put an end to the navigation of Africa; their families must necessarily then either perish or become savages. Besides, were the ruins of these cities still in being, who would venture into the woods and marshes to make the discovery? We find, however, in Scylax and Polybius, that the Carthaginians had considerable settlements on these coasts. These are the vestiges of the cities of Hanno; there are no other, for the same reason that there are no other of Carthage itself. Hanno's voyage," continues he, "was written by the very man who performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation." And why? Because "great men write their actions with simplicity, receiving more honour from facts than words."

It is impossible to read Polybius's account of their naval actions without being deeply interested, more particularly the one that was fought off Sicily, between P. Claudius Pulcher and the Carthaginian Admiral Adherbal, who issuing an order by signal, like the hero of Trafalgar, "Observe and follow the course of your commander," by the silent rapidity of his manœuvres, conducted with courage and nautical skill, rendered the disorder and destruction of the Roman fleet complete. Previous to this celebrated victory, the following anecdote is recorded by the same historian:—

"The inhabitants of Carthage had for a long time anxiously expected news from their countrymen in Sicily, without being able to elude the vigilance of the besiegers, when a person of rank in the metropolis, sur-named Hannibal the Rhodian, undertook to elude the blockade of the Roman Admiral. This daring offer was accepted with joy: a quick-sailing vessel that belonged to him was equipped without delay, and Hannibal, with no small degree of exultation, left the port of Carthage amidst the prayers and acclamations of innumerable spectators. At sunset he cast anchor near one of the small islands opposite to the harbour of Lilybæum (now Marsala). In the morning, a favourable breeze carried him through the whole of the Roman fleet, and the enemy, in mute astonishment, suffered him to pass. Hannibal, glorying in his success, entered

the harbour, and in the morning he prepared to return. The Consul, during the night, had stationed ten of his swiftest ships, with suspended oars, as near the harbour's mouth as the shallows would permit, and in considerable agitation waited the event. At length the Rhodian appeared. The indignant Romans eagerly pursued, but in vain. Hannibal glided without molestation over the calm surface of the Mediterranean, and even brought to, in order to insult the enemy, yet not a single ship would again advance. This perilous duty was repeatedly performed with equal success, and his example followed by others; when at length, either from rashness or the exasperated spirit of the Romans, the brave Rhodian was taken, after a severe engagement, by a galley considerably superior both in strength and numbers."

Such anecdotes as these, of which many are to be found promiscuously scattered through the pages of the Roman writers, leave no room to doubt that had the writings of Philistius Syracusanus, Ephorus, or the last books of Diodorus Siculus, and other Punic historians, been complete and extant, we might have received sufficient light from them on many material points relative to the first ages of Carthage; but these have been unfortunately mutilated, and many of the books referred to by them are not now to be found. The names of Hannibal and Hamilear will, however, never be forgotten while courage and military talent are esteemed, or that of Hanno, while naval prowess and nautical science are valued.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ANNUAL ACCOUNTS.

WHEN our last Number went to press, we were not aware that, besides the accounts therein noticed, another set had also been laid before Parliament by the Company; nor do we know, now that the latter are in our possession, why they were divided into two separate parcels, instead of being made up in one, as the accounts of the same "firm" ought naturally to be. The former relate to the receipts and disbursements, stock and debt, in England; the latter to the state of the revenue, and expenditure, &c., in India. And the former extend two years later than the latter; the Indian accounts being brought down only to the 1st of May 1823, with an estimate of the succeeding year; the home transactions to the 1st of May last, with an estimate for the current year, 1825-6. For a connected view of the revenue and expenditure of British India, during the last four years, we refer our readers to the annexed Table (A), in p. 471, which is an abstract of the whole, formed chiefly from these documents laid before Parliament, and in part from other authentic statements. On the general result, the following observations may be made:

The very flourishing state of the revenues, and their rapidly progressive improvement during the last three years of Lord Hastings's administration, form a remarkable contrast with the estimated result of that which follows; there being in 1822-3, after deducting all charges that can be called territorial, a clear surplus revenue of above a million and a half; in Mr.

Adam and Lord Amherst's year, (1823-4,) a deficit of more than half a million; making, in all, a deterioration of above two millions sterling!

This change cannot be attributed to the existing war, which was only commencing at the end of, and had not sensibly affected, this revenue period; indeed, the estimate of military charges for 1823-4, is less than that of the preceding year of peace. Nor can so large a deficit be accounted for by the sum of 1,201,201*l.* charged against Madras for the redemption of the peshcush, or tribute, of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The difference arises, in fact, chiefly from an estimated falling-off in the productiveness of the revenues of Bengal and Madras, and, secondarily, from a supposed increase of the charges, compared with those of the preceding years. This will be apparent from the following Table:—

BENGAL.				
	1822-3.	1823-4.	Difference.	Falling off.
Revenue . . .	£14,128,970	13,215,300	913,670—	
Charge . . .	8,909,165	9,490,772	581,607—	
				£1,495,277
MADRAS.				
Revenue . . .	5,585,210	5,487,735	97,475—	
Charge . . .	5,072,992	6,148,158	1,074,166—	
				1,172,941
				£2,608,218
BOMBAY.				
Revenue . . .	3,352,875	2,913,390	439,485—	
Charge . . .	4,234,456	3,015,101	1,223,355 +	
				783,870
Nett defalcation in the three Presidencies . .				£1,881,348

Hence it appears that Bombay alone promises an increase in 1823-4, and that to the extent of 783,870*l.*, as compared with 1823. One principal reason is, that in this and the preceding years, advances to a great amount were made from this Presidency on account of opium; in 1822-3 no less than 1,194,525*l.*, while the returns were considerably short of the outlay; whereas in 1823-4, the advance is only about one-tenth of that sum, and the returns four-fold. This alone makes a difference of 398,530*l.* in favour of the last year; and besides, the charges are for the most part estimated lower, and the receipts generally higher, than those of former years; the reason of which is not apparent. In the estimate of the former year, the financial result of Bombay was estimated at 92,258*l.* beyond what it actually proved to be; and the sanguine calculations for the present also prove, at least, that a high idea is formed of the rapid prosperity of this Presidency, from which the others are both so much contradistinguished by an estimate of deterioration.

As the large advance for opium just mentioned, upwards of a million sterling, will be productive of returns which must go to augment the revenue of future years, it is evidently not a regular item of charge against 1822-3. The fairest mode of adjusting this account seems to be, therefore, to set off, against the amount of opium realised, the ordinary charges of cost or production, which is found to be about 10 per cent. At this rate, the charges for opium in the Bombay account would be 116,878*l.*,

instead of 1,194,525*l.*, making a difference of 1,078,647*l.* This, added to the present surplus of 2,935,841*l.* for 1822-3, exhibited on the Company's accounts, makes a sum total of 4,014,488*l.*; somewhat beyond the estimate formed by the Marquis of Hastings, when, from the flourishing condition in which he left the finances of India, he calculated that for the future "an annual surplus of four millions sterling might be confidently reckoned on." These allowances being made, his expectations are fully realised; and the last year of his administration exceeds that of his successors immediately following, by the vast sum of nearly three millions sterling (2,949,162*l.*); nor will the most prosperous revenue periods of any of his predecessors, from the commencement of the British-Indian history, bear a comparison with this splendid financial result.

If the gratitude of the East India Company be in the inverse ratio of the benefits conferred upon them, this may account for the venomous attacks made upon the character and conduct of this illustrious nobleman; the cruel and unrelenting persecution of his friends; and the rancorous malignity which, in the absence of all shadow of proof for the charges against him, attempted to torture his private affections into crimes. But if he had suppressed a few newspapers, or banished and ruined some half-dozen British settlers as a propitiatory sacrifice offered up on the shrine of monopoly, he might then, on the contrary, like his successors, have expected to find in every Chairman and Deputy, and in every household Leadenhall orator, a zealous defender; for these are the services they know how to appreciate; and it is no detraction from the merit of their performers, although they may have plunged the state into unnecessary and ruinous wars, uselessly throwing away the lives of thousands of British subjects, and millions of treasure, to be added to the debt of the empire, but not at all affecting the Company's dividends. In their eyes, then, what merit can he have who has indeed done well for his country, and left the revenues six millions higher than he found them; but who has neither destroyed innocent nations, nor betrayed and dethroned helpless princes, nor seized upon rich jaghires, nor plundered widowed Begums, that he might share in their spoils. He, therefore, is unworthy to experience the Company's munificence, or that his name should be handed down to posterity in its annals, associated in its honours and rewards, with those of Clive and Warren Hastings. Such is the miserable political morality of our times; but if that public virtue which was venerated in the best days of Greece and Rome, do not become extinct among Britons, his fame will be the brighter that it never was sullied with these ignominious honours; the absence of which is a proud distinction to him who would not stoop to the arts by which it was easy to obtain them.

To return to the accounts: in those laid before Parliament, the last charge on the Indian revenue, that of "Territorial and Political Charges paid in England," as exhibited in the table (A), are not stated; but we have taken them from the most authentic sources at hand, and these being deducted, show the true nett surplus available for paying off debt; to which, however, the last year, being really a deficit of more than half a million, will, on the contrary, make an addition to that extent. Notwithstanding, it is not to be inferred from such a circumstance, that the territorial revenue is inadequate to the just charges of its government and

defence; as the interest of the debt, amounting nearly to two millions previously deducted, is an incumbrance unfairly laid on the Indian revenues, since it can be shown to belong to the Company's commerce, and not to its territory.

Besides, St. Helena being certainly of as much importance to the Company's trade as to its territory, one half of the expense might, with justice, have been charged against the former, although Government have decided otherwise. In respect to Bencoolen, however, it was directed by the Board of Control, that "the military establishment, after deducting the revenues, should be charged to the political department, and the civil establishment to the commercial." The latter, in 1821 and 1822, amounts to two-thirds, and in 1823, to four-fifths of the whole charge; and, if deducted, (which is not the case in these accounts,) would considerably lessen the *debit* against the political branch of the finances, and, to the same extent, increase the charges against the commercial. (See account C. p. 473.)

Some explanation (as Mr. Tucker has hinted) is wanting for such discrepancies as the following:—"In the account printed under date 8th July 1823, (says he,) the Indian surplus of 1821-2, deducting St. Helena, is stated at 1,995,033*l*.; whereas, in the account published under date 30th May 1824, the surplus of the same year is stated at 1,927,263*l*." To this we have now to add, that, in the last printed statement before us, the surplus of the same year is made to be 1,946,719*l*. The precise application of fifty or sixty thousand pounds sterling, or the reason of its transfer from one fund to another, is surely worthy of being mentioned.

These accounts present another financial test of the unexampled success of Lord Hastings's administration; viz. from a comparison of the amount of the revenue when it commenced and when it terminated. Taking the first of these years, 1813-14, the conclusion, and much the most prosperous financial year of Lord Minto's rule, and contrasting it with 1822-3, we have the following result:

	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure	Nett Surplus.
Lord Minto's last (or Lord Hastings's first) financial year (1813-4)	£17,267,901	16,801,016	466,885
Lord Hastings's last financial year (1822-3)	23,117,822	21,498,809	1,619,013
Improvement in the Revenue	£5,849,921	Increase of Surplus . £1,152,128 Or adding extra Opium Advances in 1822-3.	1,078,647
Total Increase of Surplus			£2,230,775

An increase of revenue to the extent of nearly six millions (the amount anticipated in Lord Hastings's Summary of his Administration, which is well borne out by the event). The intermediate years, including the whole period of his Indian rule, are as follows:

Years.	Revenue.	Years.	Revenue.
1813-14	£17,267,901	1818-19	£19,459,317
1814-15	17,297,279	1819-20	19,237,090
1815-16	17,232,818	1820-21	21,352,242
1816-17	18,077,517	1821-22	21,801,207
1817-18	18,375,820	1822-23	23,117,822

It only remains to state the Company's debts and stock in hand, or assets at home and abroad, on the 1st of May 1823. For the full details of the *Indian* branch of this subject, reference may be made to table (B), in page 472. The following shorter table combines, in one view, both the Indian and English branches, each under their separate head, with the grand total of the whole;—leaving this mighty Company in possession of the enormous sum of 194,000*l.* Admitting even their useless warehouses and other incumbrances to be of the full value at which they themselves rate them, this far-famed Company are not worth two plums, or less than twenty lacs of rupees! a sum often brought away from India by single individuals, as the amount of their private fortunes, acquired without difficulty or dishonour in that country.

	Debts.	Assets.	Surplus Territorial Debts.
Territorial Branch in India	£38,839,659	23,726,745	15,112,911—
Ditto in England	9,894,146	818,838	9,075,608—
Total, Territorial	£48,734,105	24,545,583	24,188,522—
Commercial Branch in India	110,024	2,848,239	
Ditto in England	2,147,538	23,792,411	Surplus Com- mercial Assets
Total, Commercial	2,257,562	26,640,650	24,383,118+
Grand Total	£50,991,667	51,186,233	194,596

Hence it appears, (if the assets set up be good, of which we cannot form any judgment without more particular information than is furnished—see table B,) that at the close of the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Hastings, the East India Company's debts were more than covered, and there existed a clear surplus revenue, which might be applied towards their extinction, of above one million and six hundred thousand pounds sterling, without counting upon the opium advances, as before explained; which would, in fact, increase the surplus more than another million, and render it adequate to clear off the territorial incumbrances (beyond the assets) in the short space of eight or nine years.

Such are the flourishing financial prospects which Lord Hastings left to India at the beginning of 1823, with an overflowing treasury, and vast means of progressive and uninterrupted improvement. But as he had not the naming of his successors, he can not be responsible for their conduct; he could not become bound that they should keep his Majesty's peace, and neither rush into unnecessary wars with their neighbours, nor goad their own subjects into rebellion; therefore it is no fault of his if these bright prospects are already darkened by an empty exchequer and a deficient revenue.

(A).—GENERAL ABSTRACT VIEW

Of the Annual Revenue Accounts of British India; showing the actual Revenues and Charges of India, for the three years preceeding 1823-4, according to the latest advices; with an estimate of the same for that year. Also, the net revenue, or surplus charge each year, at the several Presidencies and Settlements; with the total result, after deducting the political or territorial charges paid in England; and, lastly, the amount paid as interest of the debts fixed on the territory, with the clear surplus remaining to be remitted to England as *tribute* to the Honourable East India Company.

Years ending 30th April...	1820—21.	1821—22.	1822—23.	Per Estimate. 1823—24.
REVENUES.				
Bengal	£13,487,218	13,340,502	14,128,970	13,215,300
Madras	5,403,506	5,557,129	5,585,210	5,487,735
Bombay	2,401,312	2,855,710	3,352,875	2,913,390
Bencoolen	8,183	8,177	6,691	7,549
Penang	52,022	41,660	41,076	31,750
Total Revenue .	£21,352,241	21,803,208	23,117,822	21,663,724
CHARGES.				
Bengal	£8,750,757	8,540,182	8,909,165	9,490,772
Madras	5,572,489	5,105,592	5,072,992	6,118,458
Bombay	3,197,366	3,609,894	4,238,456	3,015,101
Bencoolen	101,131	74,009	102,934	83,730
Penang	81,412	85,939	86,957	90,188
Total Charges .	£17,703,155	17,715,616	18,412,504	18,826,219
NETT SURPLUS REVENUE, OR SURPLUS CHARGE. (a)				
Bengal	£4,736,461 +	4,800,320 +	5,219,805 +	3,724,528 +
Madras	168,983—	151,537 +	512,218 +	660,721—
Bombay	796,054—	754,154—	888,581—	101,711—
Bencoolen	92,948—	(b) 65,832—	(b) 96,243—	(b) 76,181—
Penang	(b) 29,390—	(b) 44,279—	(b) 44,861—	(b) 50,438—
Nett Surplus Revenue in India	£3,619,086	4,087,592	4,705,318	2,835,475
Total Interest on Debts in India	1,902,585	1,932,835	1,649,383	1,735,033
Nett Indian Surplus	£1,746,501	2,154,757	3,055,934	1,100,442
Expense of St. Helena (c)	274,565	(c) 206,038	120,093	112,268
Surplus	£1,471,936	1,946,719	2,935,841	988,174
Territorial and Political Charges paid in England	(d) 1,329,168	(e) 1,235,786	(e) 1,316,529	(e) 1,500,000
Nett Surplus	£142,768 +	710,933 +	1,619,012 +	511,826—

(a) The Algebraic signs + and — are employed here to distinguish a surplus from a deficit; the former being subjoined to the sum when it represents an excess of revenue, the latter when it is an excess of charge, or negative quantity.

(b) Exclusive of the expense of detachments, the same being charged in the Bengal accounts. The full charges, including these, are—

	1820-1	1821-2	1822-3	1823-4
Bencoolen....	£ 92,948	92,679	106,483	86,181
Penang	54,483	67,516	68,916	70,438

(c) These sums include the charges incurred on account of his Majesty's Government, which were settled by the Act of 3d Geo. IV., c. 93.

(d) Moreau's East I. Co.'s Records, p. 16. (e) Tucker's Review, p. 18, 19.

(B)—ACCOUNT OF THE BALANCE OF QUICK STOCK,

Exhibiting the state of the Company's affairs in respect to their Debts and Assets, as they stood at the several Presidencies and Settlements at the termination of the year 1822-3.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Penang.	Bancooleni.	Total.
TERRITORIAL.	£	£	£	£	£	£
Cash	6,777,565	3,850,626	1,117,506	23,065	82,362	11,851,124
Bills receivable	514,433	..	..	..	..	514,433
Stores	569,265	1,477,302	984,805	81,635	..	3,113,007
Debts	3,258,318	1,882,547	1,110,907	15,988	82,274	6,349,634
Salt, Opium, Rum, Grain, and Cattle	1,513,633	379,970	4,944	..	..	1,898,547
Total Assets	12,633,214	7,590,445	3,217,762	120,668	164,636	23,726,745
Bond, Register, and other Debts, bearing Interest	26,513,870	2,600,584	234,029	31,049	2,986	29,382,518
Arrears and Debts not bearing Interest	6,295,820	687,114	451,277	16,826	6,104	7,457,141
Total Debts	32,809,690	3,287,698	685,306	47,875	9,090	36,839,659
COMMERCIAL.						
Cash	144,384	64,564	14,992	..	3,236	227,176
Debts	694,062	84,906	136,478	..	5,480	920,926
Export Goods	767,120	193,314	80,650	..	22,136	1,083,250
Import Goods	214,149	112,263	226,990	17,634	45,850	616,887
TOTAL ASSETS	1,839,715	455,077	459,110	17,634	76,730	2,848,239
Arrears and Debts not bearing Interest	106,881	..	3,125	..	13	110,024
GRAND TOTAL OF ASSETS	14,472,929	8,045,522	3,676,872	138,302	241,339	26,574,964
GRAND TOTAL OF DEBTS	32,916,571	3,287,698	688,431	47,875	9,108	36,949,683
Excess of Debts, Territorial	20,176,476	..	..	..	..	20,176,476
Excess of Assets, Territorial . . . . .	..	4,302,747	2,532,456	72,813	155,546	7,036,562
Nett Excess of Debts, Territorial . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	13,119,914
Excess of Assets, Commercial	1,732,834	455,077	455,985	17,634	76,685	2,738,215
Nett Excess of Debts in India, after deducting all Assets, Commercial & Territorial . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	10,374,699

(C)

ANNUAL CHARGES paid for the Management of the Company's Trade at the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and the Settlements of Fort Marlborough and Prince of Wales's Island; including the Factory Charges of Canton, for three years preceding 1823-4, with an estimate for that year.

	1820-1.	1821-2.	1822-3.	Estimate. 1823-4.
Bengal; Charges at the Presidency and Subordinates	£227,531	181,689	192,049	200,427
Madras, Ditto	79,512	41,222	30,404	33,812
Bombay, Ditto	37,744	23,144	25,393	51,647
Bencoolen*	2,891	2,595	2,788	2,978
Prince of Wales's Island	1,724	1,369	1,372	1,342
Canton—Factory Charges	58,950	59,770	58,080	65,120
TOTAL	£103,382	309,780	310,686	351,390
* If the Civil Charges of Bencoolen were debited to the Trade, as directed by the Board of Control, the increase would be	£68,382	63,183	84,305	65,253

(D)

AMOUNT RECEIVED at the Presidencies of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and at the Settlements of Fort Marlborough and Prince of Wales's Island, for sales of Import Goods for the three years preceding 1823-4, with estimate for that year. Also the Amount of all Cargoes purchased at these several places, and shipped for Europe by the Company during the same period.

	1820-1.	1821-2.	1822-3.	Estimate. 1823-4.
Bengal	£254,984	343,603	336,459	343,592
Madras	28,252	52,014	63,710	54,028
Bombay	208,073	255,554	183,763	174,275
Bencoolen	32,904	45,276	30,806	2,448
Prince of Wales's Island	2,024	980	1,356	1,000
TOTAL	£524,237	697,427	616,094	576,037
Amount of all Cargoes purchased in India, (exclusive of China,) and shipped for Europe by the Company, in each of these years	£1,534,916	1,264,853	1,460,803	

MORE BLESSINGS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT AT NAGPORE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Cheltenham, August 6, 1825.

YOUR Correspondent from Central India, in his just complaints of patronage and jobbing at Nagpore, falls into one mistake. It is not Captain *Bagly*, but *Bayley*, who holds, in contradiction of all orders, so many good things. He is a first cousin of Mr. Secretary Bayley, at Calcutta: hence his good fortune. He is a very young Captain, and probably gets as much pay as a full Colonel. Your Correspondent speaks of Captain Gordon and Lieutenant Gordon: does he not know that they are both *brothers* of the *Burra Doctor Sahib*, who, probably, is worth a plum, or near it?

Nagpore is a very fruitful country: the *father-in-law* of the latter (having, for some reason, many years ago, quitted the King's service) has likewise the honour of serving the Rajah. He has about 1500 rupees a-month. His *son*, again, is Adjutant to his father. Lots of "paper men," you'll say, in the monthly returns, particularly as the corps is stationed at a distance, and these are the only two Officers. Here are five of one family quartered on the Rajah: two of the party not in the service, and the other three holding several appointments, with enormous salaries. Lieutenant Gordon holds three; and, by way of getting his regimental allowances, he is attached to the *Military Escort*. As to the elder brother, the Captain, his allowances, altogether, may be about 2300 rupees per month. Pretty well for a Captain, who has done nothing particular, and who is nothing above the common order of men!

Your Correspondent alludes to Captain Sandys, and the good things in his grasp. Does he not know that he *married* Mrs. S——, the mother of the Resident's *wife*? Lieutenant Slack, another lucky fellow, and who has greater pay than any Lieutenant-Colonel, married the *sister* of the latter lady: hence his good fortune. Is not your Correspondent aware of the rich appointments held by the Resident's *brother* and *cousin*,—the former a young Captain of the *Artillery*, made a Brigadier of *Infantry*, with, besides one of those disgraceful monthly Bazar allowances; an impost *suppressed* in the Company's service, and nothing more than a tax on the supplies, the sepoys, and the people? He has about 3500 rupees per month; the cousin about, or near, 2000. Look at the hosts of persons that Colonel A—— and his Lady, in the shape of relatives or dear friends, quartered like a flight of locusts on this plundered country,—the Rajah of which is a minor!

Let cavillers quit Hyderabad, and go to Nagpore; or let the Government send up a commission, and see what will be seen on due and honest inquiry. This is the Residency, and these are the people, whom Captain Seeley so improperly and partially praises. If the Court of Directors wish for the truth, let them apply to me through your *Journal*, and they shall soon hear, with candour and honour, from

Your obedient servant,
Q.

MEMOIRS OF MOSES MENDELSON.¹

THESE Memoirs are well worth reading, for Mendelsohn was an extraordinary man; and the volume before us details, in a very beautiful manner, the means by which he became such. It is very honourable to the character and talents of its author, for the amiable man and the enlightened scholar are discernible in every page. It is very seldom that we have to complain of the brevity of books, but, if any thing, the Memoirs of Mendelsohn are too brief; for the author might undoubtedly have procured, or, perhaps, may possess, more ample details of the private life of his subject. We would not be understood to mean, that, in such cases, we would have a man's common, everyday actions commemorated; but as every extraordinary individual is *most extraordinary* in the manner in which he nourishes and evolves in secret his intellectual powers, it seems desirable that biography should be minute, which, whatever may be thought, it may very well be without growing prolix. However, Mr. Samuels, the biographer of Mendelsohn, has performed his task with great judgment and industry, having produced a book that deserves to be read and remembered. It might appear hypercritical to go minutely into a consideration of the style; however, we may remark, without prejudice to the author, that the language is not sufficiently simple; but his visible enthusiasm for his subject may be properly pleaded as his excuse.

Moses Mendelsohn, it appears, was born at Dessau, in Germany, in September 1729. His father was a poor Jew, who gained his livelihood by transcribing the Pentateuch, and by keeping a day-school for Hebrew children. As education, at that time, was not much attended to among his people, it may be supposed that his avocation enabled him neither to instruct his son himself to any extent, nor to procure him the necessary assistance from others. But Mendelsohn was a proof of the old saying, that genius will educate itself. Desire of knowledge was, from his very earliest years, the ruling passion of his soul. While yet a mere child, he was convinced that he ought to acquire a perfect knowledge of the language of his forefathers; and, accordingly, his first endeavour was to understand the Hebrew grammatically. Although he was afterwards convinced that he had no genius for poetry, it appears that his earliest efforts were devoted to the Muses, for he wrote Hebrew verses before he had reached his tenth year. His memory was exceedingly tenacious: it is said he knew by heart the *Law and the Prophets*; that is, the greater portion of the Jewish Scriptures.

In speaking of Mendelsohn's fondness for the '*More Nebochim*' (*Guide of the Perplexed*) of Maimonides, his amiable and interesting biographer either loses sight of the nature of that work, or forgets the age of his subject; for if the '*More Nebochim*' be a profound book, and contain "transcendent beauties," Mr. Samuels, upon second thoughts, will confess that it must have been beyond the comprehension even of Mendelsohn, at ten or eleven years of age. We imagine, indeed, that

¹ Memoirs of Moses Mendelsohn, the Jewish Philosopher; including the celebrated Correspondence on the Christian Religion, with J. C. Lavater, Minister of Zurich. By M. Samuels. London, 1825. Longman & Co.

² *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 6.

in respect to dates, the author is sometimes inaccurate; he is certainly confused or careless, for it is sometimes impossible, from his account, to know with certainty at what period of his life Mendelsohn did this or that. This, though no mighty matter, is an imperfection; for many things are only worth notice inasmuch as they were performed at a certain age. We have never known boys of ten years to understand Locke's Essay; we conclude that Mendelsohn did not, at that age, understand Maimonides.

His instructor was a Rabbi Frankel, who, before Mendelsohn was fourteen, removed to Berlin. The young philosopher obtained his father's permission to follow his teacher to that city, but appears, on quitting the paternal roof, to have been furnished with very little money; for, on arriving at Berlin, he scarcely possessed sufficient to purchase a single meal. There is something extremely curious in the manner in which he subsisted himself at Berlin; it shows the Jewish character in rather an amiable light, for the Rabbi Frankel, who was not, we may be sure, very rich, on the lad's requesting his assistance for old acquaintance sake, not only interested himself in his behalf, and procured him an asylum in the house of a benevolent friend of his, but also continued to instruct him in the Talmud *gratis*. The friend who received Mendelsohn into his house, allowed him an attic-room to sleep in, and *two days' board* weekly; but the author has omitted to mention in this place, how the lad subsisted himself during the other five. Farther on in the volume we learn, it is true, that he gained his livelihood by copying writings for the Rabbi Frankel; but, till he comes to that part where the matter is mentioned merely incidentally, the reader feels an unpleasant suspension of the interest of the narrative, for the mind revolts at every appearance of improbability and mystery; and it is improbable that Mendelsohn should have lived a week on two days' provisions, and mysterious how, if he did not, he found the means of living at all. However, this is explained at length, as we have observed above.

Mild and modest under all circumstances, Mendelsohn appeared to underrate his own abilities; but his biographer must excuse us if we are a little sceptical as to whether he were sincere in his self-depreciation. Mr. Samuels is certainly much mistaken, if he thinks that such a man could have been in earnest when he spoke of his own genius with so much humility. We grant, that by nature he may have been modest and unobtrusive; but modesty itself is sometimes an effect of pride and magnanimity, when a man is so fully conscious of great abilities that he is careless of impressing a similar conviction upon others.

Humility, a virtue which all affect, and very few possess, very naturally took possession of our Jewish sage; for he was not blind to the degraded condition of his nation, and must have felt his own relative insignificance, as a member of society, even among them. The following passage, therefore, may be by no means exaggerated, as it is descriptive of a caste of character which one might look for in such circumstances:

Through his excessive modesty he was deaf to every friendly suggestion to apply to his wealthy brethren for assistance, to enable him to cultivate his studies.—On these occasions, he would reply, with his characteristic self-depreciation, "Who am I, and what are my pretensions, that I should become burdensome to others, because, forsooth, I have set my mind on learning? No; I would rather live upon dry brown bread."—This, in point of fact, he often did.

as he has many times afterwards related in the circle of his friends; and that when he purchased a loaf, he would notch it, according to the standard of his finances, into so many meals, never eating according to his appetite, but to his finances. Amidst, however, all those cares and privations, his ardour for knowledge did not in the least abate; his idolatry of wisdom scorned the usual appropriation of time and accommodation to the seasons; night and day, melting heat, and freezing cold, were alike to him.

According to Plato's beautiful fiction, love is the offspring of the intercourse of poverty with abundance. In the same manner it might be said, that superlative and exquisite minds are generally matured by the pressure of external circumstances on native genius. The scholar, that is, he who exists for science and learning only, is an exotic in the garden of nature, who gives, in so many instances, palpable proofs that man was not intended for speculative, but for practical pursuits. It would therefore seem as if these exotics can never be cultivated unless they be forced. The attractions of social life, to which we are invited by ease and affluence, are almost too enticing for the ardent youth, who has once tasted them, to be supposed willing to sacrifice them to the austere routine of study, or the dreary seclusion of meditation. But this propensity to the pleasures of society and the enjoyments of life—inseparable indeed from our nature, but decidedly hostile to the culture of genius and the manifestation of energy—poverty deprives of all its nourishment. Poverty drives man back into himself; there it compresses all his feelings, all his thoughts, imparting to the former more intenseness, to the latter, more profundity. It animates, it *kindles up* imagination, and gives a peculiar tact and nicety to the observative faculty; all which, united, constitute that characteristic of genius—originality. Poverty possesses another advantage: the monotony to which its victims are constrained, disciplines their minds to more than ordinary steadiness, leading, especially in the studious, to a peculiar obstinacy and perseverance with respect to certain points and objects; whence only works of ingenuity derive solidity, and those of genius, correctness and classicality.

Mendelssohn was not one of those who think that every ingredient of greatness lies within themselves; he was of Bacon's opinion, that the understanding, like the hand, stands in need of instruments in all its nicer operations, and can perform but little naked. For this reason he very early conceived a desire to become acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages, the great depositories of ancient thought and invention, and, perhaps, the shortest avenue to a sublime philosophy. But being too poor to pay for instruction, or even to purchase the elementary books necessary to the study, he was long uncertain how to proceed. Genius and perseverance, however, always find opportunities, sooner or later: M. Kish, a surgeon from Prague, then practising at Berlin, discovered his eagerness for learning, and rendered him some assistance. He taught himself Latin by translating Locke's Essay into that language.

He afterwards, with some little assistance, made himself master of the English and French languages; and gradually becoming known by his talents and industry, he at length obtained a situation that enabled him to pursue his studies with more ease and effect. Mr. Bernard, an opulent Jew, gave him the superintendence of his children's education; and, shortly afterwards, removed him into the counting-house, made him his first clerk, then his cashier, then manager of his extensive silk-manufactory, and afterwards admitted him into partnership.

In the home of Mr. Bernard, Mendelssohn acquired the knowledge of Greek, and perfected himself in the mathematics; by day attending diligently to his employer's concerns, and devoting his nights to literature and study.

His first attempt as an author was a small periodical publication, called the 'Moral Preacher,' which he wrote conjointly with a friend, it chiefly contained discussions on natural history, the beauties of the creation, &c., founded on aphorisms from the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. It was dropped after the second Number, through fear of giving offence to the bigots.

The manner in which he commenced regular author is singular enough, and illustrative of the character of the man :

Nicolai was at this time publishing several literary reviews, and amongst them 'The Library of the Liberal Arts : ' to which Mendelssohn contributed many essays and critiques, the elegant language and pure diction of which, so pleased both the former and Lessing, that they endeavoured to prevail on him to write and publish an entire work on some scientific or philosophical subject ; but his excessive modesty would not yet allow him to think of figuring as an original author, and he declined the proposition.

Lessing once brought to Mendelssohn a work, written by a celebrated character, to hear his opinion on it. Having given it a reading, he told his friend, that he deemed himself a match for the author, and would refute him. Nothing could be more welcome to Lessing, and he strongly encouraged the idea. Accordingly Mendelssohn sat down and wrote his 'Philosophical Dialogues,' on the most abstruse subjects, in which he strictly redeemed his pledge, of confuting the author, though, for quietness sake, he forbore mentioning his name, and carried the manuscript to Lessing for examination. "When I am at leisure," said Lessing, "I will peruse it." After a convenient interval, he repeated his visit, when Lessing kept up a miscellaneous conversation, without once mentioning the manuscript in question ; and the other being too bashful to put him in mind of it, he was obliged to depart, no better informed than when he came, which was also the case at several subsequent meetings. At last, however, he mustered sufficient resolution to inquire after it, and still Lessing withheld his opinion. Want of leisure was pleaded as before, but now he would certainly read it ; Mr. Mendelssohn might, in the mean time, take yonder small volume home with him, and let him know his thoughts on it. On opening it, Mendelssohn was not a little surprised to behold his own Dialogues in print. "Put it into your pocket," said Lessing good-naturedly, "and this Mammon along with it. It is what I got for the copy-right ; it will be of service to you."

In 1762, when he was thirty-three years of age, Mendelssohn married a young lady of Hamburgh, by whom he had several children. The eldest, a girl, died when it was only eleven months old ; and in the following extract of a letter to Abbt, we have a fine picture of the father's feelings on the occasion :

Within the last few days I have been obliged to forego the pleasure of writing to you, and to suspend our discussion on the destiny of man. I am still plunged in the deepest affliction caused by the death of my first-born child, a girl eleven months old. I have, nevertheless, reason to give thanks to God for the happy and serene existence she enjoyed during her evanescent abode here, when she gave us hopes of future exultation. Do not, however, imagine, my friend, that this delicate floweret was made to flit through this world for no wise purpose, like an ethereal vision, which is now before us, and then is seen no more. No ; she had already accomplished various designs here. Many were the tokens of her Creator's infinite wisdom which she manifested to the intelligent observer. From a babe, scarcely vegetating, her eye was observant ; she soon gave abundant proofs of memory and recognition ; smiles of complacency hovered on her lips, and lo ! the intellectual being ! As we observe theilly, which gently grows, then expands, and exhibits its simple beauties, so plainly did we see in

this infant those emotions of soul which distinguish man from the brute creation: such as compassion, impatience, surprise, and reflection, displaying themselves gradually in her looks and gestures; she increased, from day to day, in intelligence, and became rich in contrivances to convey her thoughts to others.

Like most other great works, Mendelssohn's 'Phædon,' a kind of paraphrase of Plato's work of the same name, arose from the literary circumstances of the times; for metaphysics, at that period, were the fashionable topic all over Europe, though they have since ceased to interest any part of it, except Germany, where they still, we believe, maintain their ground.

Wrought upon by his important discussion with Abbt, (on the destination of man,) Mendelssohn next betook himself to translate Plato's Phædon from the Greek into German, and to add to it all the proofs of the immortality of the soul, and the destination of man in a future state, that could be collected or suggested. He published the work under the title of 'Phædon, or, On the Immortality of the Soul.' It consists of three parts, in the form of conversations between Socrates and his friends. There is a happy—not a profane—parody, if we may so call it, in Mr. David Friedlander's preface to 'Hancophesh,' i. e. 'On the Soul,' a posthumous Hebrew work of Mendelssohn's, edited by that gentleman. It runs thus:—"Moses (Mendelssohn) spake, and Socrates was to him even as a mouth, into which he put all his questions and answers, not as that ancient sage delivered them at the time, but as they sprang up in the modern philosopher's mind, and were sanctioned by his judgment." Few works were ever crowned with such great and deserved success. Written in most classical, though apparently popular style—a talent which Mendelssohn possessed in an eminent degree—it was read by the fashionable, as well as by the learned world, with pleasure and advantage. In less than two years it went through three large German editions, was translated into the English, French, Dutch, Italian, Danish, and Hebrew languages, and established the author's fame on a large portion of the civilized globe.

Mr. Samuels' short remark upon Spinoza is worth copying:

Benedict Spinoza, a man of a gigantic intellect, and incorruptible principles, wrote in Latin, and far above the meridian of the Jews of his days. They detested his doctrine, and—glorious times!—excommunicated him as an atheist. Little, however, did he deserve this rigour at their hands; for he subsequently declined the most tempting offers to embrace Christianity, and rather maintained himself, pertinaciously, through the remainder of his life, by grinding spectacle glasses.

As soon as Mendelssohn had gained a portion of celebrity, the public began to speculate upon his character and the nature of his opinions. He professed to be steadfast in his Jewish faith, but was by very few thought sincere; and every religious sect desired the honour of his conversion. Lavater had just finished his German translation of Bonnet's work on the Evidences of Christianity, (a work now forgotten,) and thought it so unanswerable, that he dedicated it to Mendelssohn by way of challenge. As he was well aware of the danger to which the Jewish philosopher would expose himself if he combated Bonnet's arguments in a bold and rational manner, and must have known that he would appear to betray his religion if he defended it timidly, Lavater's conduct, upon this occasion, was illiberal and bigoted. The strong hand of power was on his side; danger on the side of Mendelssohn: he was, therefore, careless of his fellow-creature's welfare, provided he could obtain a triumph for his creed. But he had to cope with the sagacity of a superior man. Men-

Mendelssohn preserved the mildness of his character, but warded off, in a most masterly manner, the insidious blow of the minister of Zurich. We shall extract a portion of his biographer's remarks on the subject, and of Mendelssohn's letter to Lavater :

He rallied his retreating spirits, brought the whole reserve of his faculties into action, and was, to use a chivalrous phrase, determined to conquer or die. Meanwhile, the public, and the learned world in particular, were on the alert, and anticipated various results. His friends, though perfectly easy as to his reputation and consistency, could not divest themselves of their fear, lest the more than probable issue should subject him ultimately to the unceremonious behaviour of baffled wags and pert collegians, who talked of nothing but Mendelssohn's being about to shave off his beard, and turn Christian. Lavater's party, more dignified, but not less sanguine, already hailed the hour when the Hebrew sage could be admitted, *with propriety*, to their *soirées*. The Muses were invoked for odes and sonnets, the Graces for tasteful patterns for purses, *souvenirs*, and snuff-boxes, and the saints for blessings, for and on the undoubted victor,

—" 'Twas silence all,
And pleasing expectation,"

when the following letter of Mendelssohn's appeared before the public :

"Honoured philanthropist,—You were pleased to dedicate to me your translation from the French of 'Bonnet's Inquiry into the Evidences of the Christian Religion;' and most publicly and solemnly to conjure me, *to refute that work, in case I should find the main arguments in support of the facts of Christianity untenable; but, should I find them conclusive, to do what policy, love of truth, and probity bid me, what Socrates would have done, had he read the work, and found it unanswerable.*—Which, I suppose, means to renounce the religion of my fathers, and embrace that which Mr. Bonnet vindicates. Now, were I even mean-spirited enough, to balance love of truth and probity against policy, I assure you I should, in this instance, throw them all three into the same scale.

"My scruples of engaging in religious controversy, never proceeded from timidity or bashfulness. Let me assure you, that it was not only *from the other duty*, that I began searching into my religion. No; I became very timely sensible of the duty of putting my actions and opinions to a test. That I have, from my early youth, devoted my hours of repose and relaxation to philosophy and the arts and sciences, was done for the sole purpose of qualifying myself for this important investigation. What other motives could I have had? In the situation I was then in, not *the least temporal benefit was to be expected from the sciences*. I knew very well, that *I had no chance of getting forward in the world through them*. And as to the gratification they might afford me—alas! much esteemed philanthropist! the station allotted to my brethren in the faith, in civil society, is so incompatible with the expansion of the mind, *that we certainly do not increase our happiness by learning to view the rights of humanity under their true aspect.*—On this point, too, I must decline saying any more. He that is acquainted with our condition, and has a humane heart, will here feel more than I dare to express.

"If, after so many years of investigation, the decision of my mind had not been completely in favour of my religion, it would infallibly have become known through my public conduct. I do not conceive what should rivet me to a religion, to appearance so excessively severe, and so commonly exploded, if I were not convinced in my heart of its truth. Let the result of my investigation have been what it may, so soon as I discovered the religion of my fathers *not* to be the *true* one, I must, of course, have discarded it. Indeed were I convinced in my heart of *another* religion being true, there could not, in my opinion, be a more flagitious depravity than to refuse homage to truth, in defiance of internal evidence. What should entice me to such depravity? Have I not already declared, that in this instance, *policy, love of truth, and probity*, would lead me to steer the *same* course?

"Yet, for what I cared, Judaism might have been hurled down in every polemical compendium, and triumphantly sneered at in every academic exercise, and I would not have entered into a dispute about it. Rabbinical scholars, and rabbinical smatterers, might have grubbed in obsolete scribblings, which no sensible Jew reads or knows of, and amused the public with the most fantastic ideas of Judaism, without so much as a contradiction on my part. It is by virtue that I wish to shame the opprobrious opinion commonly entertained of a Jew, and not by controversial writings. My religious tenets, philosophy, station in civil society, all furnish me with the most cogent reason for abstaining from theological disputes, and for treating in my publications of those truths only which are equally important to *all persuasions*.

"Pursuant to the principles of my religion, I am not to seek to convert any one who is not born according to our laws. This proneness to conversion, the origin of which some would fasten on the Jewish religion, is, nevertheless, diametrically opposed to it.

"Our rabbins are so remote from Proselytomania, that they enjoin us to dissuade, by forcible remonstrances, every one who comes forward to be converted. We are to lead him to reflect that, by such a step, he is subjecting himself needlessly to a most onerous burthen; that, in his present condition, he has only to observe the precepts of a Noachide, to be saved; but the moment he embraces the religion of the Israelites, he subscribes gratuitously to all the rigid rites of that faith, to which he must then strictly conform, or await the punishment which the legislator has denounced on their infraction. Finally, we are to hold up to him a faithful picture of the misery, tribulation, and obloquy, in which the nation is now living, in order to guard him from a rash act, which he might ultimately repent.

"Suppose there were amongst my contemporaries a Confucius or a Solon, I could, consistently with my religious principles, love and admire the great man, but I should never hit on the extravagant idea of converting a Confucius or a Solon. What should I convert him for? As he does not belong to the congregation of Jacob, my religious laws were not legislated for him; and on *doctrines* we should soon come to an understanding. Do I think there is a chance of his being saved?—I certainly believe, that he who leads mankind on to virtue in this world, cannot be damned in the next. And I need not now stand in awe of any reverend college, that would call me to account for this opinion, as the Sorbonne did honest Marmontel.

"I am so fortunate as to count amongst my friends many a worthy man who is not of my faith. We love each other sincerely, notwithstanding we presume, or take for granted, that, in matters of belief, we differ widely in opinion. I enjoy the delight of their society, which both improves and solaces me. Never yet has my heart whispered, "Alas! for this excellent man's soul!"—He who believes that no salvation is to be found out of the pale of his own church, must often feel such sighs rise in his bosom.

"These are the reasons which my religion and my philosophy suggest to me, for scrupulously avoiding polemical controversy. Add to them, my local relations to my fellow-citizens, and you cannot but justify me. I am one of an oppressed people, who have to supplicate shelter and protection of the ascendant nations; and these boons they do not obtain every where, indeed no where, without more or less of restriction. Rights granted to every other human being, my brethren in the faith willingly forego, contented with being tolerated and protected; and they account it no trifling favour, on the part of the nation, who takes them in on bearable terms, since, in some places, even a *temporary domicile is denied them*. Do the laws of Zurich allow your circumcised friend to pay you a visit there? No.—What gratitude then do not my brethren owe to the nation, which includes them in its general philanthropy, suffering them, without molestation, to worship the Supreme Being after the rites of their ancestors? The government under which I live, leaves nothing to wish for in this respect; and the Hebrews should therefore be scrupulous in abstaining from re-

lections on the predominant religion; or, which in the same thing, in teaching their protectors, where men of virtue are most tender."

To this Lavater replied, acknowledging, in some measure, the intemperance of his zeal, but still seeming to urge Mendelssohn to enter into the controversy. A short passage from a paper by Mendelssohn, on the same subject, entitled 'Supplementary Remarks,' contains a beautiful picture of a truly philosophical life:

"I am highly obliged to Mr. Lavater for the justice he does to my scruples, and for declining to reduce me to the necessity of carrying on a controversy so repugnant to my disposition. During the few evening hours of relaxation which business spares me, I would fain rest in ignorance of all the variance, all the schisms, which have ever sown the seed of enmity between man and man; and I even endeavour to erase from my memory what personal experience I may necessarily have had of such subjects in the course of the day. In those felicitous hours, I delight in giving myself up to the unrestrained and undivided emotions of my heart, the feelings of which I am yet to learn how to assimilate with the state of a disputant. Nature never intended me for a wrestler, either in a physical or moral sense."

In the same piece, there occurs the following very excellent remark:

"We may almost say, that no new metaphysical truths have been discovered for ages past. The most important objects of human knowledge which deserve inquiry have been so multifariously handled, and surveyed under such a variety of aspects, that one must almost broach an *absurdity* in order to produce a *novelty*. Nay, an ancient philosopher had occasion to complain, that, even in his days, absurdity itself had been forestalled by still more ancient philosophers."

The biographer of Mendelssohn has a very fine passage on the miserable situation of his countrymen, in those portions of Europe in which they were most numerous. It is certainly no very honourable testimony to the humanity or policy of Christian nations; but we copy it, that our readers may perceive the way in which our prejudices against the Jews are sure to operate on that unfortunate people:

In no part of Europe, (says he,) are Jews more numerous than in Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. Their notorious *prolificatness*, owing to religious, moral, and physiological causes, proved too great for a population debarred, as it then was, from most of the resources of industry that were open to all other members of civil society. The natural consequence of such a precarious existence, was emigration; and like *nomad* hordes, who leave the plains, which their flocks have laid bare, and go in search of fresh pasturage elsewhere, so numbers of Poles, Hungarians, &c. used to issue forth, from time to time, from their native land, to them no fostering country—from the parental roof, to them no cheerful home—from the circle of their starving wives and children, to them no solace—and spread over Germany and Holland, without any trade, profession, or settled purpose whatsoever. Some, it is true, took to commerce, and became through their peculiar shrewdness, versatility, and frugality, respectable and opulent men, and ornaments to society. Not a few acquired, through genius and industry, skill in professions and the arts, and even renown for literature and science; but by far the greater part, either deterred by the pride of scholarship, discouraged by inexperience, or governed by indolence and bad example, loathed itinerant traffic, and chose the more convenient, and rather more reputable, calling of religious teachers; a drudgery which the less indigent and better employed German and Dutch Jews were glad to have taken off their own hands.

In the course of his life, which was not a very short one, Mendelssohn

composed many works, learned and laborious; but they appear to be of a nature by no means calculated to ensure an *extensive* immortality, even if a narrow circle shall be found to preserve and admire them. He died in 1786, at the age of fifty-seven, and was much lamented by the learned all over Europe. His character was remarkably modest and amiable, and the whole course of his life marked by such prudence and wisdom, that, in spite of his honesty and retired manner, he acquired wealth and distinction. His biographer gives a very whimsical anecdote in illustration of his extreme timidity, with which we shall close our extracts from this most interesting and instructive volume:

The great Frederic once sent for him to come to Potsdam. It happened to be Saturday, on which day Jews are not allowed to ride on horseback or in coaches. Mendelsohn therefore entered the royal residence on foot. The officer on duty, a sprig of nobility, who, of course, had never read either 'Phadon,' or the 'Philosophical Letters,' being informed that he was a Jew called Mendelsohn, asked, amidst a volley of swearing and guard-room wit, what could have procured him the honour of being called to the king? The terrified philosopher replied, with the true causticity of Diogenes, "I am a sleight-of-hand player." "Oh!" says the lieutenant, "that's another affair," and suffered the juggler Mendelsohn to pass, when he would have examined—who knows how long!—the philosopher Mendelsohn, and perhaps have arrested him in the guard-room; since it is well known that more jugglers than philosophers pass through palace gates.

CASTLES IN THE AIR.

Who has not sat him down in youth
To paint at will his future track?
And who, in age, but owns the truth,
He painted ill, when he looks back?

As sitting on the dewy hill
Some shepherd boy the dawn surveys,
While the dim fields are sleeping still
Beneath the lazy silver haze;

And guesses from the ruddy gold
That streaks the amber orient sky,
The sunny hours he shall behold
Ere night again comes darkling by;

Nor dreams that from the distant deep
The tempest then is rousing fast;
That the wild rains, in haste to steep
The golden plains, are on the blast!

Alas, poor boy! how thou and I
Resemble in our foolish dreams;
Thou, cheated by the morning sky,
And I by fancy's softer gleams:

I thought the world was sunny bright,
And smooth as is the summer wave—
And I've found, when near its winking light,
A taper glimmering o'er a grave!

BIOGRAPH.

ON THE POLITE LITERATURE OF THE HINDOOS.

ALMOST every branch of polite literature enumerated by ancient and modern writers, has been cultivated by the Hindoos. They possess many celebrated epic poems, written in a more refined taste and more polished style than those ancient works to which they are indebted for the subject of their compositions. They possess a rich dramatic literature, of which, hitherto, little has been made known to the European public. Their lyric poems, though not considerable in number, are extremely beautiful. They have an almost inexhaustible treasure of fables and romances, written both in prose and verse. And, lastly, they have several works which are not referable to any particular class of composition.

We shall begin with their Epic Poetry; and, first, offer a few general remarks on the merits of the authors in this department of literature. Every work of this class must be considered under two points of view: 1st, with respect to the invention of the fable, or rather, the arrangement of the plan; and, 2dly, as far as regards its execution. It is not to be wondered at that this class of Indian poets has taken, almost without exception, the ancient existing fables for the subject of their compositions,—a course which has been adopted by great poets of all ages. Such ancient tales are familiar to their readers, and possess a well-established popularity. The poet, therefore, has nothing to do but to devote his whole care and attention to the most suitable arrangement of the old tale, and the clothing it in the most beautiful diction and harmonious verse. He, on the contrary, who devises a new fable, has, if the expression may be allowed, to create a new public for his work, and thus his success is always more questionable. The greatest defect of the modern Indian epic poets is, that they are not equally attentive to the execution of the different parts of their works,—not giving the same proportion to the whole. They have bestowed a great care on the embellishment of the minor parts of their poems, and have introduced many long episodes of descriptive and amatory poetry, which, notwithstanding its beauty, occupies too great a proportion of the whole, and leaves but little interest for the main part of the poem. In short, their poems, in particular parts, are excellent; but, taking them as a whole, they are barren of incidents and devoid of interest.

The diction of these poems is highly polished, and the superiority of their metres over the simpler melodies of the ancient poetry is very striking. It can only be objected to them, that they delight too much in artificial compositions of words, and in images too fanciful, and but ill suited to the narration of simple circumstances. The most celebrated among these poets is Kālidāsa, who is also equally distinguished as a dramatist. Several works are ascribed to this individual; but some of them are of so different a character from the rest, that we are disposed to coincide in the opinion of those who think that there were two poets of this name. He was, according to a common tradition, one of the "nine gems," or celebrated literary characters, at the court of Vikrama. As this tradition, however, is founded merely on a current among the learned natives, and not to be found in any work of authority, and as

it is evident that more than one king, bearing the title of Vikrama (or strength) existed, and we are unable to assign any certain date to the age in which the poet lived. Amongst the works ascribed to him, the following are the most distinguished: his *Raghuvansa*, or descendants of Raghu, one of the ancient legendary kings of Ayódhyá. It is a short narration of the life and exploits of the heroes belonging to this family, of which Rama was one; and this poem, therefore, includes, as a part, the same events which form the subject of the *Rāmáyana*. Its diction is the part most to be admired in it; for the story itself contains, in the form of a chronicle, too great a diversity of subjects to allow the reader time to dwell on any part of it with pleasure. His *Kumára-Sambhava*, or Birth of Kártikeya, the God of War, is a mythological poem; founded on a tale which is recorded in the first book of the *Rāmáyana*. It is at present in an unfinished state: whether it was left so by the author, or whether part of it has been lost, is still matter of conjecture. His *Nalódaya* contains the same story as is to be found in one of the episodes of the *Mahábhárata*, edited by Mr. Bopp. In this poem we think that Kálidása appears to disadvantage, when it is compared with the simple narration of his ancient predecessor. The *Nalódaya* contains some fine poetry; but the diction is so artificial as to render it, in many parts, unintelligible even to Native Interpreters. As the Hindoos delight in grammatical difficulties, the circumstance which we have just mentioned recommends the poem to the present generation of Indian philologists, who appear to estimate a work in proportion as it affords them an opportunity of displaying their own scholastic sagacity. One of the minor pieces of Kálidása, though not strictly belonging to this class of poetry, may be mentioned here. It is entitled *Megha-Dûta*, or the Cloud-Messenger; and the idea on which it is founded partakes of that wild and imaginative turn so conspicuous in most Oriental productions. A Yaksha, one of the inferior Indian deities, is banished from the court of Indra, the Indian Zeus, god of the air, &c. The Yaksha then chooses for his abode a mountain called *Rámagiri*; and seeing, at the approach of the rainy season, the clouds ascending from the southern horizon, he addresses one of them, and gives it a message for his deserted mistress, and also sends to his sovereign prayers for relief. The cloud complies with his request, and the Yaksha is soon restored to his wife and the pleasures of a celestial life. This poem, though short, is one of the finest existing in the Sanscrit language, and is the best of all Kálidása's compositions. It has been translated into excellent English verse by Mr. Horace Wilson, Secretary to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta.

The next poet of this class is Sriharsta, who, perhaps, affords the most striking instance of the merits and faults which are peculiar to Indian epic poetry. He has chosen the same story as Kálidása in his *Nalódaya*, but has touched only on the beginning of the tale, which is the least interesting part of it. This, however, he has extended to twenty-two cantos, while the whole of the fable is told in the *Nalódaya* in five. Sriharsta's poem contains much beautiful poetry, and some parts of it are excellent; but taking it altogether, it has no interest, and contains scarcely any narration of incidents.

It would be tedious to give a long list of the names and titles of the other poets belonging to this class: we shall only mention that the two

most celebrated among the rest of them are *Māgha*, the author of the *Sisupāla Badha*, or the Death of the King *Sisupāla*, and *Bhāirari*, whose work is entitled *Kirātārjunīyā*, or the Combat of *Arjuna* with the *Kirāta*, a tribe of mountaineers, of whom there are many in India, and who, probably, are the remnant of the original inhabitants of that country. The two last-mentioned poems are amongst the most distinguished Sanscrit compositions, and their contents are more interesting than any of those before mentioned.

There occurs in the literature of every country a period in which the power of poetical composition loses its vigour, and becomes incapable of producing any thing of new and original beauty. In such times poetry is confined to the imitating the style of a former and better period; and if it ventures to deviate from the established path, it only produces specimens of a bad and perverted taste. This has also been the case in India; and we shall notice two instances of this kind. The first is the *Raghupandaviyā*, by *Kavirāja*, a name which implies King of Poets. The work, however, possesses few claims to entitle the author to a poetical sovereignty, even among his own countrymen. The poem is throughout capable of being interpreted in a double sense, as relating to two different families of reputed heroes; it, in fact, contains two narratives told in the same words. This work has, no doubt, cost the author a good deal of time and labour; and though we should apply to it the old saying, "*Oleam et operam perdidisti*," still it holds a high rank in the estimation of the present literati in India, for this only reason, as far as we can see, because it affords them ample scope for the display of critical sagacity in their commentaries on it. The next poem is the *Bhāttikāvya*, by *Bhartrihari*, which contains the same subjects as those selected in the *Rāmāyana*. The author has made it his principal study that in his composition should be found all inflections of the Sanscrit, and particularly all anomalous exceptions from the general rules of that language.

SONNET TO SYMPATHY.

Maid of the melting heart, and tearful eye !
 Friend of the friendless, soother of the wild !
 'Tis thine to hush lone Sorrow's plaintive cry
 With the sweet music of thine accents mild,
 Sweet Sympathy ! my fond heart hails thy power ;
 Oh ! cold and pitiless who own it not !
 They ne'er shall know in Fortune's adverse hour
 The sacred balm of Friendship unforgot.
 Oh ! I have heard the Lover's wild farewell,
 The Orphan's moan, the Widow's bitter sigh,
 Who raised the tomb o'er those beloved full well,
 In mad despair, and tearless misery ;
 Yet still thy voice benign could grief assuage,
 Like the soft oil that calms the billow's rage !

Cumtornell.

D. L. R.

MILTON'S NEWLY-DISCOVERED WORK ON THE CHRISTIAN
RELIGION.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,

Aug. 15, 1825.

I PROPOSED (p. 315,) to offer you some account of Milton's mature opinions on Scriptural Theology, as they are discoverable in the volume lately published. The first object of attention is the author's very interesting preface, which is thus addressed to the Christian world :—

JOANNES MILTONUS Anglus universis Christi ecclesiis, nec non omnibus fidem christianam ubicunque gentium profitentibus, pacem et venturam agnitionem salutemque in Deo Patre, ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo sempiternam. (John Milton, an Englishman, to all the churches of Christ, and to all who profess the Christian faith throughout the world, peace, and the recognition of the truth, and eternal salvation, in God the Father, and in our Lord Jesus Christ.)

Milton had well observed, when writing on a 'A Free Commonwealth,' in 1659, that "all Protestant Reformation" was "much intermixed with the avarice and ambition of some reformers." Here, however, he acknowledges that by the influence of that event in the preceding century, "religion began to be restored, from the corruptions of more than thirteen hundred years, to something of its original purity," (*ad puritatem suæ originis aliqua ex parte revocari capta est.*) He cannot, however, satisfy himself with the "many Treatises of Theology" which "have been published," though "conducted according to sounder principles;" and he proceeds to describe the study of religion as not merely the business of the priest, but the incumbent duty of the people.

If I were to say that I had devoted myself to the study of the Christian religion, because nothing else can so effectually rescue the lives and minds of men from those two detestable curses, slavery and superstition, (*duas teterrimas pestes, servitutem ac metum,*) I should seem to have acted rather from a regard to my highest earthly comforts, than from a religious motive. But since it is only to the individual faith of each that the Deity has opened the way of eternal salvation, and as he requires that he who would be saved should have a personal belief of his own, I resolved not to repose on the faith or judgment of others in matters relating to God.

Milton, destined for the church, could he have endured the bondage which he attributes to clerical subscription, had, in his youth, "entered upon an assiduous course of study, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of Divines." He "at length resorted, with increased confidence, to some of the more copious Theological Treatises, and to the examination of the arguments advanced by the conflicting parties, respecting certain disputed points of faith." The result of this examination he thus describes :—

To speak the truth with freedom, as well as candour, I was concerned to discover, in many instances, adverse reasonings either evaded by wretched shifts, or attempted to be refuted rather speciously than with solidity, by an affected display of formal sophisms, or by a constant recourse to the quibbles of the grammarians; while what was most pertinaciously espoused as the true doctrine,

seemed often defended with more vehemence than strength of argument, by misconstructions of scripture, or by the hasty deduction of erroneous inferences.

Dissatisfied with "such guides," he determined "to compile some original treatise, which should be always at hand, derived solely from the word of God itself." He persevered "in this plan for several years," thus providing "a precious aid for faith," (*subsidium fidei*,) and "a treasure which would be a provision for future life."

It is to be regretted that Milton has left no intimation as to the period of his life when he commenced this arduous work. It was probably after his total blindness, a conjecture which cannot fail to enhance our opinion of the author's perseverance in his pious purpose, under the disadvantages of such a condition,

In darkness, and with dangers compassed round.

He has, it will be recollected, entitled his work *posthumous*. That he designed it for publication, and, probably, immediately after his decease, cannot be doubted. His apology for innovating on established dogmas, and the benevolent object which he hoped to promote, by giving publicity to the result of his solicitous inquiries on the most important subject, he has expressed in an interesting passage, of which I beg leave to annex the original:—

If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with a candid reception from all parties; and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth not to cry out that the church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry which is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer; since we are ordered to *prove all things*, and since the daily progress of the light of truth is productive far less of disturbance to the church, than of illumination and edification. Nor do I see how the church can be more disturbed by the investigation of truth, than were the Gentiles by the first promulgation of the gospel; since so far from recommending, or imposing any thing on my own authority, it is my particular advice that every one should suspend his opinion on whatever points he may not feel himself fully satisfied, till the evidence of scripture prevail, and persuade his reason into assent and faith. Concealment is not my object; it is to the learned that I address myself; or if it be thought that the learned are not the best umpires and judges of such things, I should at least wish to submit my opinions to men of a mature and mainly understanding, possessing a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel, on whose judgments I should rely with far more confidence than on those of novices in these matters.¹

¹ Hæc si omnibus palam facio, si fraterno, quod Deum testor, atque amico erga omnes mortales animo, hæc, quibus melius aut pretiosius nihil habeo, quam possum latissime libentissimeque impertio, tametsi multa in lucem protulisse videbor quæ ab receptis quibusdam opinionibus discrepare statim reperiuntur, spero tamen omnes hiuc mihi potius benevolos, quam iniquum ullum aut inimicum futurum. Illud oro atque obtestor omnes quibus veritas odio non est, ne libertate hæc disquirendi ac disquirendi quæ scholis conceditur, nullis certe credentibus non concedenda, turbari ecclesiam clamitent, cum explorare omnia jubentur, et veritatis luce indies aucta, illustrètur atque edificetur longe magis Ecclesia quam turbetur. Equidem non video qui magis investiganda veritate turbati Ecclesia possint aut debeat, quam turbari gentes amittendo primævis erroribus. quandoquidem auctoritate mea nihil quædeo, nihil impono; inter vero hæc

It is not very easy to understand, from the commencement and the conclusion of this passage, how the author could have been satisfied to leave behind him this treatise, the pious labour of so many years, to be published only in an ancient tongue, and thus accessible to those, alone, of his countrymen who had gained some competent knowledge of the language. Milton, no doubt, expected to be read far beyond his own country. Besides the anticipations which the author of '*Paradise Lost*' could scarcely fail to indulge, the fame which his '*Defences of the People of England*' had acquired, and the respect of foreigners, even after the Restoration had thrown him into obscurity, would justify such an expectation. He here, indeed, appeals to the *learned*; but from these he evidently turns to others, who by a diligent application had become well acquainted with the Christian doctrine, (*adultis ac fortibus et doctrinam Evangelii penitus intelligentibus*),—and to them he makes a final appeal. Yet how could he expect to come before these *adult* though unlearned Christians, as he appears to describe them, unless we allow ourselves to suppose that he had also prepared an English version of his treatise, which has perished, or had relied on Cyriac Skinner to provide one,—a purpose of friendship which the evil times they were born to witness would easily frustrate; though, after a long interval, that work is now happily accomplished.

Milton, however, proceeds to explain and justify his method of largely adopting the phraseology of the Bible.—“I have chosen,” says he, “to fill my pages, even to redundancy, with quotations from scripture, that as a little space as possible might be left for my own words, even when they arise from the context of revelation itself.”

As of highest “consequence to the Christian religion,” he asserts “the liberty, not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine, but also of thinking, and even writing, respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion,” (*prout cuique fide persuasum est.*) Where such liberty is denied, he finds “neither religion nor gospel; force alone prevails, by which it is disgraceful for the Christian religion to be supported;”—a truth which our modern *Christian* persecutors of *Anti-Christians* would do well to understand. After showing how successfully “the invidious name of heretic or heresy” has been applied in defect of argument, the Preface is thus concluded:—

For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone; I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even read any of the works of heretics, so called, when the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox, and their incautious handling of scripture, first taught me to agree with their opponents whenever those opponents agreed with scripture.—All implicit faith, as it is called, I, in common with the whole Protestant Church, refuse to recognize.

For the rest, brethren, cultivate truth with brotherly love. Judge of my present undertaking according to the admonishing of the Spirit of God; and neither adopt my sentiments nor reject them, unless every doubt has been removed

tor omnes, atque imprimis auctor sum, ut quibus in sententiis non plene satisfactum esse putaverint, assensum eo usque sustineant quoad scripturarum evidentia vicerit, assensumque et fidem rationi persuaserit. Laburia non querere; doctrinam quibuscumque hæc, aut si doctissimi quique non semper optimi hærent rerum disceptatores ac iudices sunt, adultis ac fortibus et doctrinam Evangelii penitus intelligentibus; longe majore cum fiducia quam rudioribus propono.

from your belief by the clear testimony of revelation. Finally, live in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Farewell.²

This treatise is divided into two books. I subjoin the whole table of Contents, in the language of the author, and the correct version of the translator:—

LIBER PRIMUS. De cognitione Dei (Of the Knowledge of God). *Cap. 1. Quid sit doctrina Christiana, quotque ejus partes* (Of the Christian Doctrine, and the Number of its Divisions). 2. *De Deo* (Of God). 3. *De divino Decreto* (Of the Divine Decrees). 4. *De Prædestinatione* (Of Predestination). 5. *De Filio Dei* (Of the Son of God). 6. *De Spiritu Sancto* (Of the Holy Spirit). 7. *De Creatione* (Of the Creation). 8. *De Providentia Dei seu rerum Gubernatione Communi* (Of the Providence of God, or of his General Government of the Universe). 9. *De Gubernatione Speciali Angelorum* (Of the Special Government of Angels). 10. *De Gubernatione Speciali Hominis ante lapsum; ubi etiam de Sabbatho et Conjugio* (Of the Special Government of Man before the Fall; including the Institutions of the Sabbath, and of Marriage). 11. *De Lapsu primorum Parentum et de Peccato* (Of the Fall of our first Parents, and of Sin). 12. *De Pena Peccati* (Of the Punishment of Sin). 13. *De Morte quæ dicitur Corporalis* (Of the Death of the Body). 14. *De Hominis Restitutione et Christo Redemptore* (Of Man's Restoration, and of Christ as Redeemer). 15. *De Officio Mediatorio ejusque triplici munere* (Of the Functions of the Mediator, and of his threefold Office). 16. *De Redemptionis Administratione* (Of the Ministry of Redemption). 17. *De Renovatione; ubi et de Vocatione* (Of Man's Renovation, including his Calling). 18. *De Regeneratione* (Of Regeneration). 19. *De Repententia* (Of Repentance). 20. *De Fide Salvifica* (Of Saving Faith). 21. *De Institutione in Christum, ejusque Effectis* (Of being planted in Christ, and its Effects). 22. *De Justificatione* (Of Justification). 23. *De Adoptione* (Of Adoption). 24. *De Unione et Communione cum Christo ejusque Membris, ubi de Ecclesia Mystica sive Invisibili* (Of Union and Fellowship with Christ and his Members; wherein is considered the Mystical or Invisible Church). 25. *De Glorificatione Inchoata, ubi de Certitudine Salutis, et Perseverantia Sanctorum* (Of Imperfect Glorification; wherein are considered the Doctrines of Assurance and Final Perseverance). 26. *De Manifestatione Fœderis Gratiæ, ubi et de Lege Dei* (Of the Manifestation of the Covenant of Grace; including the Law of God). 27. *De Evangelio et Libertate Christiana* (Of the Gospel, and of Christian Liberty). 28. *De Designatione Fœderis Gratiæ externa* (Of the External Sealing of the Covenant of Grace). 29. *De Ecclesia Visibili* (Of the Visible Church). 30. *De Scriptura Sacra* (Of the Holy Scripture). 31. *De Ecclesiis Particularibus* (Of particular Churches). 32. *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica* (Of Church Discipline). 33. *De Glorificatione Perfecta; ubi de secundo Christi Adventu, et Resurrectione mortuorum, hujusque Mundi Conflagratione* (Of Perfect Glorification; including the Second Advent of Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Conflagration).

LIBER SECUNDUS. De Dei Cultu (Of the Service of God). *Cap. 1. De Bono Operibus* (Of Good Works). 2. *De Honorum Operum Causis Proximis* (Of the Proximate Causes of Good Works). 3. *De Virtutibus ad Dei Cultum pertinentibus* (Of the Virtues belonging to the Service of God). 4. *De Cultu Externo* (Of External Service). 5. *De Jurejurando et Sorte* (Of Oaths and the Lot). 6. *De Zelo* (Of Zeal). 7. *De Tempore Cultus divini; ubi de Sabbatho, Die Dominica, et Festis* (Of the Time for Divine Worship; wherein are considered the Sabbath, Lord's Day, and Festivals). 8. *De Officiis erga Homines præstandis, et quæ huc pertinent Virtutes Generales* (Of our Duties towards Man, and the general Virtues belonging thereto). 9. *De Prima Specie Virtutum Specialium quæ ad officium pertinent Hominis erga se* (Of the first Class of Special Virtues connected with the Duty of Man towards himself). 10. *De Secunda Specie Virtutum ad officia Hominis erga se pertinentium* (Of the second Class of Virtues connected with the Duty of Man towards himself). 11. *De Officiis Hominis erga Proximum, et quæ*

² De cætero, fratres, veritatem colite cum charitate; de his, prout Dei spiritus vobis præverit, ita judicate: his necum utimini vel ne utimini quidem, nisi fide non dubia scripturarumque claritate persuasi; in Christo denique Servatore ac Domino nostro vivite ac valete.

Virtutes eo pertinent (Of the Duties of Man towards his Neighbour, and the Virtues comprehended under those Duties). 12. *De Virtutibus sive Officiis Specialibus erga Proximum* (Of the Special Virtues, or Duties, which regard our Neighbour). 13. 14. *De Secunda Specie Officiorum Specialium erga Proximum* (Of the second Class of Special Duties towards our Neighbour). 15. *De Officiis erga Proximum Mutuis, et specialim Privatis* (Of the Reciprocal Duties of Man towards his Neighbour; and specially of Private Duties). 16. *De Altera Specie Officiorum Privatorum* (Of the remaining Class of Private Duties). 17. *De Officiis Publicis erga Proximum* (Of Public Duties towards our Neighbour).

As to the larger part of these numerous and interesting topics, only the titles of their chapters can the engagements of a periodical work be expected to admit. I propose, however, with your approbation, to take an early opportunity of showing, in a few instances, by what scriptural arguments Milton had been led to conclusions in theology very opposite to those which have assumed the high-sounding appellation, *orthodox*. Nor will it be uninteresting to discover how he has occasionally anticipated the criticisms proposed by learned theologians of this later age.

Christians of all persuasions, and, indeed, all liberal-minded persons, must be gratified to mark the mental progress of an inquirer so disinterested as Milton, a man eminent among those to whom his own language may be most correctly applied:—

————— All their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works,
Not hid; nor those things last which might preserve
Freedom and peace to men.

N L T.

TO F. B. ON HIS BIRTH-DAY.

WHAT fate, sweet Boy, reserves for thee
Nor thou nor I can wish to know;
Thou, as in early spring the bee,
That flies from flower to flower so free,
Wilt long be ignorant of woe.

Thy sunny brow's unclouded yet,
And summers three have o'er thee flown,
And in thy being health is set,
Like gems upon a coronet,
And sorrow thou hast never known.

There's much to hope when life is new;
This world hath many a joy to give;
Freedom, and love, and science true,
And laurel steeped in heavenly dew,
Are thine man's prerogative.

Then live! and what-so'er befall,
Be sternly calm, and bravely bear,
And aye awake to freedom's call,
Prepared with her to rise or fall—
Man's only post of honour here.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

No. III.

At this period, 1708, when one exclusive Company was established on legislative authority, the business of the Company was managed by the Proprietors assembled in General Court; and by the Committees, denominated afterwards Directors, assembled in their Special Courts. To have a vote in the Court of Proprietors, it was necessary to hold 500*l.* of the Company's stock; to be eligible to the Direction, 2000*l.* The Directors, who were chosen annually, were twenty-four in number, and one of these presided in the Courts as Chairman, another as Deputy-Chairman. In the course of the year, four Courts of Proprietors, or General Courts, were held: in March, in June, in September, and in December. At any other time, if they saw cause, the Directors might summon Courts; and, upon receiving a requisition, signed by any nine Proprietors qualified to vote, were bound to do so within ten days. The legislative, or, more properly, the supreme power, was vested in the Court of Proprietors, and secured to them by the privilege of choosing annually the persons forming what may be termed the executive. For the more convenient conducting of the affairs of the Company, the business was divided into a certain number of shares, and placed under the immediate superintendence of as many parties of the Directors, which were called the Committees of Correspondence, of Law-suits, of Treasury, of Warehouses, of Accounts, of Buying, of the House, of Shipping, of Private Trade, and *For preventing the growth of Private Trade.*

The export branch of the Indian trade, at that time, as well as ever since, consisted of bullion, lead, quicksilver, woollen cloths, and hardware: the imports chiefly of calicoes, and the other woven manufactures of India, raw silk, diamonds, tea, porcelain, pepper, drugs, and saltpetre. The official value of the *exports* to India for the year 1708, was 60,915*l.*; of the *imports*, 493,257*l.* The average exportation for the twenty following years, was 92,288*l.* per annum; the annual average importation was 758,042*l.* The balance was made up by the exportation of bullion. From the same period the Company relinquished the practice of building its own ships, and, for the most part, carried on its trade in hired, or, as they were called, *chartered* ships. With very few exceptions, a few fast-sailing vessels, called packets, employed more for conveying intelligence than freight, formed its only article of shipping. In India, as well as in England, the Company disposed of its commodities by auction; and as, during the last decay of the Mogul empire, the practice of transporting goods into the interior, formerly prevailing, was no longer safe, the business of distributing these commodities in the inland parts of the country was left to the Native and other independent traders.

With regard to the productions of India, which made up the freight to England, the Company experienced considerable difficulty. There being in the country no merchants or manufacturers capable of executing extensive orders, it was found necessary to employ persons to collect the goods from the various petty dealers, and to deposit such goods in warehouses erected in various parts of the country for the purpose, in order to avoid

the expense and delay which, on the arrival of ships from Europe, might otherwise have occurred. These warehouses, with the counting-houses, apartments for the agents, &c., were called the Company's factories, and, on account of the weakness of the prevailing Government, were built strong, fortified, and, wherever it was allowed, garrisoned by regular troops. Thus was carried on the work of aggrandizement; the encroachments of the English keeping pace with the decline of the Mogul power.

The affairs of India were at this time under the government of the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the last of which had only been created in 1707; the business of the Company in Bengal having previously been conducted by the Governor and Council of Madras. Each Presidency was entirely independent of the others, and absolute within its own limits, though all were responsible to the Company in England. The Government of a Presidency was composed of a President or Governor, and a Council, appointed by commission of the Company. The number of the Council, determined by the views of the Directors, varied from nine to twelve; and the members were of the superior class of civil servants, promoted in general by seniority. In this Governor and Council all power was seated, and every thing was determined by the will of the majority. The members of Council held other subordinate offices, and in reality distributed among themselves all the most considerable sources of emolument; and as the duties of Government were not found to be so productive as many other offices, they frequently neglected their higher, to attend to their more gainful, functions; as will always be the case where the love of gain predominates over the desire of reputation.

In 1712, the period of the Company's exclusive trade was extended from 1726, the time fixed by the last regulation, to 1733. Meanwhile, they were exceedingly annoyed by the enterprises of interlopers, to repress which they obtained a proclamation from Government in 1716. But this not producing the desired effect, an act of parliament, for the punishment of interlopers, was passed in 1718; by which the Company were empowered to seize any English merchants of this description they might find in India, and send them to England, subject to a penalty of 500*l.* for each offence.

About this period the formation of an India Company, under the authority of the Emperor, at Ostend, considerably alarmed the English East India Company. The capital of the new rival Company was understood to belong to British subjects, and their ships to be manned, and their trade conducted, by persons who had been bred up in the trade and navigation of the English Company. Parliament was therefore importuned to pass new acts, and to devise new penalties against all British subjects found in India; and in 1723 it was made a high misdemeanour for any such persons to be found within the Company's limits. The Ostend Company, however, which at first appeared to threaten a dangerous rivalry, and was eminently successful in its subscriptions, was shortly afterwards sacrificed to the political ambition of the Emperor, whose views appeared to be all included in the guarantee of his dominions to his only daughter.

By the Act of 7 Geo. I., c. 5, the Company were authorized to borrow money, on their common seal, to the amount of the sums lent by them to Government, if not exceeding in the whole the sum of five millions sterling; it being understood the money was solely for the purposes of trade.

and not received by them as bankers, or to discount any bills, or for any thing but the actual business of the Company.

When the Company began its operations in India, after its re-modification in 1708, Shah Aulum was Emperor of the Moguls, and his second son, Azeem Ooshaun, Viceroy of Bengal. From the latter the Company had, by bribery and purchase, obtained the Zemindarship of the three towns and districts of Suttanuddy, Calcutta, and Govindpore. During the struggles which followed the death of Aurungzebe, Shah Aulum died, Azeem Ooshaun lost his life, and Feroksere, his son, gained the throne. He appointed Jaffier Khan, a chief of Tatar extraction, to the government of Bengal, where the Company soon experienced the effects of his tyrannical administration.

In 1715 the Presidency of Calcutta despatched, with the Company's approbation, an embassy bearing costly presents to the Court of Delhi. Its object was, to gain greater protection and privileges; but as they thereby attempted, of course, to abridge the power and impeach the government of Jaffier Khan, it was soon felt that his interest was exerted successfully against them at Court. But the debauchery of the Emperor had given rise to a certain disease, which the unskilfulness of the Indian physicians was not able to remove: Hamilton, an English medical gentleman who attended the embassy, was fortunate enough to cure the Emperor, and disinterested enough to solicit privileges for the Company as his reward. Thus the licentiousness of royalty, and the generosity of a physician, prepared the way for our power in the East, and hastened the slavery and degradation of a hundred millions of men! The petition presented by this embassy to Feroksere, in 1716, praying for the most important privileges, was favourably received; and after considerable delay, the royal mandates were issued, confirming all the privileges prayed for. As these mandates, however, were under the seals, not of the Emperor, but of the Vizir, whose authority it was thought the distant Viceroys might dispute, new intrigues were commenced to obtain the imperial sanction. The ambassadors succeeded at last by bribing a eunuch of the seraglio, who, for various other reasons, induced the Vizir, upon whom alone the matter depended, to comply with their demand.

In Guzerat and the Deccan the royal mandates in favour of the Company were suffered to produce their full effect; but the Subahdar, or Nabob, of Bengal, prevented their being properly carried into execution in that province. However, he did not withhold from the Company the advantage they had obtained from the Court, of transporting their goods from place to place in the interior, under the President's passport, free from duty, stoppage, or inspection. But the Company's servants being allowed to carry on in the country a separate trade for their own benefit, as well by land as by sea, were accustomed to obtain from the President his passport to protect from examination the productions and manufactures of the country, by which the treasury of Jaffier Khan was defrauded. The Subahdar therefore commanded the passports of the President to be no longer respected, excepting in cases of goods purchased for exportation, or imported by sea. The inland trade thus becoming irksome and unprofitable, the Company's servants now turned their attention to the maritime branch, which their skill and enterprise soon raised into a source of considerable emolument.

In the year 1780, the project of a new Company of a very peculiar nature, was formed in England. The framers of this plan offered to advance

to Government a sum equal to that lent by the existing Company, upon more advantageous terms, while by their arguments they proved very clearly that their scheme promised great advantages to the nation. They proposed to constitute themselves a Company upon principles compatible with free trade, which was to be effected in the following manner:—The common fund of the Company was to be applied exclusively to the erecting and maintaining of forts and factories abroad, and to other expenses attending the “enlargement and preservation of the trade; for this they were to receive a duty of one per cent. on all exports to India, and of five per cent. on all imports from thence. The trade itself was to be carried on by private adventure; but, to ensure their duties, it was to be incumbent on every person trading to India to procure the license of the Company. After exciting considerable interest, both in the Parliament and the nation, the genius of monopoly prevailed, and India was left in the hands of its old *empire*, whose privileges were prolonged, with the usual conditions, to Lady-day, 1766.

In 1732, the Company first began to make up annual accounts; from which period to 1744, the amount of their imports did not increase, nor, of their exports, with the exception of military stores. In the first-mentioned year, their dividends were reduced from eight to seven per cent., but were again raised to eight per cent. in 1744; while, during the same period, the dividends of the Dutch East India Company had fluctuated between twenty-five and fifteen per cent.

While the British Government was embarrassed, in 1744, by an expensive war, the Company eagerly seized upon that opportunity to offer a kind of bribe for the prolongation of their monopoly to three years’ notice after Lady-day, 1780, though there then remained twenty-two years of their charter unexpired.

In 1746, Madras, which, during the space of a hundred years, had been the principal English settlement on the Coromandel coast, was bombarded and taken by the French, who at that period possessed in India two settlements: one on the continent, under the Government of Pondicherry; the other in the Isles of France and Bourbon. Under the jurisdiction of the Government of Pondicherry were three factories: one at Mahé, near Tellicherry, on the coast of Malabar; another at Mylapore, on the Coromandel coast; and a third at Chandernagore, in Bengal. The form of government, at both places, very much resembled that of the English Presidencies, consisting of a Governor and Council.

Labourdonnais, appointed, in 1745, Governor of the islands, was a man of great talent, if not a great man. He understood, and was anxious to promote, the interests of his countrymen in the East; and although the perverse policy of the French East India Company and Government opposed and frustrated his designs, it is yet certain that the greatest thing ever performed by the French in India originated in the designs of Labourdonnais. He defeated the English fleet in 1746, on the Coromandel coast, with a small fleet created by his own genius; and though having to contend with the opposition of Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry and with disease in his fleet, he succeeded, as we have seen, (having commanded at the taking of Madras,) in reducing the strongest place possessed by the English in India.

When Labourdonnais, wearied out with the opposition and thwarted by the intrigues of Dupleix, was compelled to return to Europe to defend

himself against false accusations, Dupleix refused to deliver up Madras for the ransom agreed upon in solemn treaty with Labourdonnaie. It appears that the Governor of Pondicherry had gained over the Madem Nabob to his interests by the promise of ceding to him Madras; but when he found the place in his own hands, and fancied he saw a possibility of retaining it, his engagement with the Moors was forgotten. In revenge for this duplicity, the Nabob's army attempted to drive the French from Madras, but was defeated by a handful of Europeans, who thus dissipated the opinion long entertained of the formidable character of the Native powers. The English Governor and chief inhabitants of Madras were carried prisoners to Pondicherry.

The settlement of Fort St. David, on the Coromandel coast, still remained in the possession of the English. The Indian town of Cuddalore, and two or three populous villages, were situated in its territory, which was larger than that of Madras. The fort was small, but strong; and Cuddalore was defended on three sides by fortifications, and on the fourth by a river. Immediately after the retention of Madras, Dupleix attempted the reduction of Fort St. David, which was very slightly garrisoned. He marched from Pondicherry with 1700 men, mostly Europeans, and in all probability would have succeeded in his enterprise, had not the English solicited and obtained the assistance of the Nabob, who appeared before the fort with an army of 10,000 men. Upon this the French retired, but again attempted, without success, to gain the place by surprise.

The hopes of Dupleix were not, however, extinguished: he made an incursion into the Nabob's territory; he planned, he negotiated, he bribed, and at length won over the Natives to his side. With the Nabob for his ally, it is probable that Dupleix would have quickly reduced Fort St. David, had not the English fleet arrived in the roads just as the French army had crossed the river, and was about to occupy its former advantageous position before the fort. This fleet, formerly under the command of Captain Peyton, was now commanded by Admiral Griffin, who had arrived with a considerable reinforcement from England, with directions to save Fort St. David, strengthen the garrison, and menace Pondicherry. This took place in March 1747; and in January 1748, Major Laurence, commissioned to command the whole of the Company's forces in India, arrived.

In 1747, the English Government possessed in India the most formidable armament that any European power had yet sent into the East; the fleet of Admiral Griffin being increased by another consisting of nine ships of the public navy, which were accompanied by eleven of the Company's vessels, carrying stores, and troops to the amount of 1400 men. The new fleet was commanded by Admiral Boscawen. Dupleix, who had been early informed of the approach of this armament, prepared to frustrate to the utmost of his power the design of its equipment. He laid in stores and provisions at Pondicherry and Madras, taking advantage of the precarious alliance of the Nabob, which he suspected would continue no longer than till the appearance of the English fleet. Immediately on their arrival, the English prepared for the siege of Pondicherry, and, as a preliminary, attacked and took the small fort of Ariancopang, which had been erected by the French about two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry. Many valuable days were lost in taking this fort, and in repair-

ing it afterwards for occupation. When this, however, had been effected, they proceeded to invest Pondicherry, where they conducted matters with so little judgment, that in thirty-one days they were compelled to raise the siege. This event, attributable entirely to the unskilfulness and ignorance of the English, Dupleix of course set down to his own superior conduct; and in answer to letters full of boasting and exultation, which he had sent to the Native Princes of India, he received congratulations and the most flattering applause.

In the other Presidencies nothing of importance had taken place; and in the latter end of 1749, the news of a suspension of arms between England and France, and, shortly after, of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, put a period to these contests in the East. Madras was delivered up to the English much improved, who also took possession, at the same time, of the obscure little Portuguese town of San Tomé, situated only four miles distant.

From this period the Company is to be regarded as a political power in India, where it began to be concerned in the intrigues and contests of the Native Princes. Dupleix appears to have been the first European who conceived the possibility of effecting a revolution, and establishing an empire in India; but it was the English themselves who first drew the sword, induced by the promise of a small settlement on the Coromandel coast.¹ The Rajah of Tanjore, who had been driven from his throne and country, repaired to Fort St. David: he entreated the assistance of the English to regain his dominions, where his countrymen, as he stated, were ready to co-operate for his restoration; as a reward for this service, he promised them the fort and country of Devi-Cotah. The expenses of the war he himself would defray. The English, having now more troops than were necessary for their own affairs, complied with his request; and in April 1749, 430 Europeans, and 1000 sepoys, with a few pieces of artillery, were despatched to Tanjore. Pretaupa Sing, the reigning Rajah, had been for years acknowledged lawful King of Tanjore by the English; they had corresponded with him under that title, and had begged his assistance against the French; yet now, bribed by the offer of a paltry fort on the part of Sahujee, the exiled Rajah, they marched against their ally, without provocation and without excuse. The fort of Devi-Cotah was attacked in a disorderly and unskilful manner, but no partizans appearing for Sahujee, the English retreated. Shortly afterwards, an expedition against Devi-Cotah was undertaken by sea, under the command of Major Laurence; and this, owing to the ingenuity of a common ship carpenter, was attended with success. Devi-Cotah was taken; but the same odious policy that had instigated the English to take up arms, again actuated them on this occasion to further baseness: they entered into negotiation with Pretaupa Sing, obtained from him the concession of the fort in question, and in return, will the reader believe it! basely and treacherously made that Prince a prisoner, for

¹ It was the French adventurers in India who first showed the way to establish European power, by proving the superiority of European troops and tactics, and the advantages of employing Native troops disciplined in the European manner. Both these discoveries were made by the French; but the English Company had the good fortune to reap the advantage of them, from being well supported in Europe by the British Government, while the French Company, and its greatest chiefs, were sacrificed by their wretched Bourbon tyrants.

whom they had commenced the war, and received from his rival the sum of 400*l.* per annum for his maintenance! Nevertheless, the captive Rajah escaped, and the English, in revenge, imprisoned his uncle, and kept him in confinement nine years, till, in 1758, he was released by the French when they took Fort St. David.

Two Chiefs, about this time, disputed for the Nabobship of the Carnatic, An'war-ud-deen, and Chunda Sahib. The former, alternately the friend and the foe of the French, was at length abandoned by Dupleix, who united his interests to the fortunes of Chunda Sahib. The latter, together with Mirzapha Jung, the competitor of Nazir Jung for the government of the Deccan, having united his forces with those of his ally, approached the confines of the Carnatic with an army of 40,000 men, while a small French force, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, accompanied them to the attack. A battle was fought with An'war-ud-deen, near the Fort of Amboor, in which that chieftain was defeated and slain, at the extraordinary age of 107; one of his sons was taken prisoner, the other, Mahomed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which he was governor. Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib neglected to pursue Mahomed Ali to Trichinopoly, and wasted the time in visiting Dupleix, at Pondicherry, (where they bestowed upon him the sovereignty of eighty-one villages,) and in parading their dignities of Subahdar and Nabob in the city of Arcot.

When they did put their forces in motion, nearly three months after the battle of Amboor, instead of proceeding immediately against Trichinopoly, they marched to Tanjore, in hopes of wringing from the Rajah of that province certain arrears of tribute due to the Nabob of the Carnatic. The Rajah amused them with promises until the month of December, when news arrived that Nazir Jung, Subahdar of the Deccan, was approaching with an army; upon which they fled back to Pondicherry. Dupleix, who was now considerably terrified at the power of Nazir Jung, attempted to unite himself to his party, and desert his former allies; but the English, who ever since 1744, had been intriguing with Nazir Jung, and with Nizam al Mulk, his predecessor, had now arrived in Nazir's camp, which prevented the effect of Dupleix's applications. Along with the English came also Mahomed Ali from Trichinopoly; and the European force that had now joined the Subahdar amounted to about 750 men.

At this critical juncture, thirteen French officers, in resentment for not having shared in the plunder of Tanjore, resigned their commissions; in consequence, their men became dispirited, and d'Auteuil, not deeming it prudent to proceed to action with men so disposed, retreated towards Pondicherry, whither he was followed by Chunda Sahib; while Mirzapha Jung threw himself upon the mercy of his uncle, and was put in fetters.

Dupleix again renewed his applications to Nazir Jung, and, at the same time, entered into correspondence with certain disaffected leaders of his Afghaan and Tartar mercenaries. The character of the Subahdar, at once indolent and haughty, offended and excited the hopes of these men. The camp of Nazir Jung was ill guarded by night; d'Auteuil, who continued to hover near it, observing this, sent in a detachment under cover of the darkness, which, with the loss of only two or three men, penetrated it a full mile, spreading terror and carnage on all sides. Upon this the Subahdar retired to Arcot, and the English, in resentment

for his want of faith, deserted him. Taking advantage of these circumstances, the French pushed their designs with the greatest vigour; surprised Musulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi; gained a victory over Mahomed Ali, and took by storm the Fort of Ginjee, situated on the summit of a mountain, and considered the strongest fortress in the Carnatic. Nazir Jung, alarmed at their bravery, now condescended to negotiate, but the demands of the French irritated his pride; he was resolved on battle, and marched his forces to Ginjee. The rains, however, had now begun, and the Subahdar, growing weary of the struggle, was inclined to listen to their demands. But Dupleix, with the most detestable policy, still carried on his negotiations with the treacherous mercenaries, and while he concluded a treaty with the Subahdar, his commander at Ginjee, uniting with the traitors, rushed upon his ally, who was shot through the heart by one of these treacherous ruffians.

By this event, Mirzapha Jung, nephew to the murdered prince, was raised to the Subahdarry; but the Patan traitors, who had murdered his uncle, began immediately to oppress him with their immoderate demands. He consulted Dupleix, and both endeavoured in vain to satisfy them; they were deaf to reason, and treasured up their sullen resentments to a future day. Mili appears to hint, that by suffering them to escape with their lives out of the walls of Pondicherry, Dupleix and Mirzapha committed a great error. The former, however, was appointed governor, under the Mogul, of a large tract of country on the Coromandel coast; Chunda Sahib was his deputy at Arcot; and Mahomed Ali offered, in consideration of obtaining some other command from the new Subahdar, to resign his pretensions to the Nabobship of the Carnatic.

In his march from Pondicherry to his dominions, in 1751, Mirzapha Jung discovered that the Patan nobles were in revolt, and had seized a pass in front of the army. A detachment of French troops, under M. Bussy, accompanied him; with these he attacked and defeated the rebels, but was killed with an arrow in the pursuit. By the influence of M. Bussy, Salabut Jung, a son of Nizam al Mulk, was raised to the Subahdarry; he evinced the same favourable disposition towards the French as his predecessor, and the army proceeded towards Golconda.

The French now began to conceive the most extravagant hopes, and appeared to aim at the throne itself of the Great Mogul. The conduct of the English was apathetic and impolitic; for, while affairs were in this situation, Major Laurence, upon whom almost every thing depended, returned to England. Mahomed Ali had offered, as has been related, to give up all pretensions to the Nabobship of the Carnatic, but he was now induced by the English to except Trichinopoly and its dependencies, which irritated and offended the French. Upon this he resolved to maintain his pretensions, and the English engaged to support him. They attacked the Governor of Madura, who had declared for Chunda Sahib, but were repulsed; and in the beginning of April 1751, Chunda Sahib himself began his march from Arcot. The English under Capt. Gingens, and their allies, met and fought the Nabob near the Fort of Golconda; they were beaten, and driven before the Nabob's army towards Trichinopoly; Chunda Sahib and the French followed them closely.

Trichinopoly, situated on the south side of the Cavery, was very strongly fortified. By the separation of the Cavery into two branches, about five miles above Trichinopoly, is formed the island of Seringham, celebrated

for its venerable pagoda, but still more for the obstinate and sanguinary struggle of which it was now to be the theatre.

The successes of the French and their allies at length roused the Presidency of Fort St. David; they determined on sending as large a reinforcement as possible to Mahomed Ali, but were not able with all their efforts to raise more than 600 men: besides, their counsels were divided and dilatory. However, the French did not push the siege of Trichinopoly; and while they relaxed their efforts, Captain Clive, with a small detachment of Europeans and sepoy, was sent to attack Arcot, which was understood to be very slightly garrisoned. He entered the place without resistance, made frequent sallies upon the garrison that had abandoned it but still lingered about, and did every thing in his power to prepare the place to sustain a siege. Meanwhile, Chunda Sahib despatched a detachment of 4000 men from the siege of Trichinopoly to recover Arcot; these were joined on the way by his son, with a small party of Europeans, and 3000 other troops, and immediately entered the city. Descending from the fortifications, Clive attacked the Nabob's army in the streets of Arcot; and, afterwards, when they attempted to storm the fort, repulsed them with only 80 Europeans and 120 sepoy fit for duty. The enemy abandoned the town on the following night, after having carried on the siege for fifty days. Clive, having now received a reinforcement from Madras, pursued and defeated them at Arni, retook Conjeveram, and returned to Fort St. David about the end of December. He had no sooner withdrawn than the enemy again appeared in the field, and attempted to surprise Arcot; but Clive again defeated and dispersed them, and immediately afterwards it was resolved to send him with the troops under his command to Trichinopoly.

In the meantime, Mahomed Ali had prevailed on the Kings of Mysore and Tanjore to come to his assistance, with an united force of 25,000 men; and Major Laurence, now returned from England, was also despatched to the same spot with 1500 men, Europeans and sepoy, and artillery and stores. The French not being able to intercept this convoy, it reached the camp in safety, and the resolution to attack the French in their camp was instantly formed. They did not judge it safe to withstand this attack, and passed over into the island of Seringham, burning the portion of their baggage and provisions that they were unable to remove. Their reinforcements and supplies were now intercepted by Clive, one of their generals taken prisoner, the camp of Chunda Sahib, their ally, cannonaded by the English, and their whole force at length compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Chunda Sahib put himself in the hands of the Tanjorine general, and was assassinated; Major Laurence, who appears to have had it in his power to save him, looking on his murder with the greatest indifference.

It appears that Mahomed Ali, in order to induce the King of Mysore to come to his aid, had promised him the possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies, but now that it was taken he evinced no disposition to give it up. The Mysorean army, among whom were many Mahrattas, refused to march out of Trichinopoly, though Mahomed Ali engaged to deliver up the fort in two months. This was, however, a mere piece of delusion; for it was intended that the English should retain the place, and the Mysorean suspected it. Major Laurence and his countrymen were exceedingly elated with their success, and began to imagine

that nothing but the reduction of Ginjee remained to be performed, before they might look upon themselves as complete masters of the province. Ginjee, therefore, was attacked, but without success; and, shortly afterwards, a battle between the French and English took place, in which the former were worsted. Two forts, called Covelong and Chingliput, were reduced by Clive, who afterwards returned to England for his health.

Meanwhile, the Mysorean Chief attempted to surprise the fort of Trichinopoly, and an army of 3000 Mahrattas was despatched to join the French; but these hearing, during their march, of the victory of the English, united themselves to their party, as coolly as if they had originally intended it. The Mysoreans and Mahrattas had nevertheless shown no open indications of hostility to the English, and were frequently engaged in conferences with Captain Dalton, the English Commander in Trichinopoly. Major Laurence, who thought he had reason to suspect their designs, gave his advice to seize them on one of those occasions, and prevent their treachery by being more base and treacherous than they. His advice was not followed. During the winter, therefore, of 1752, the Mahrattas declared for the French.

Dupleix had now obtained allies both numerous and powerful, but his treasury was nearly exhausted. From Europe he received but small assistance; he had risked his own fortune on the chance of victory; he had put in practice every art to procure money, but was at length almost at a stand. Mortiz Ali, Governor of Vellore, was accounted rich, and Dupleix now set his invention to work, in order to turn his treasures to the advantage of France. With the prospect of the nabobship, he allured him to Pondicherry, and gained from him a considerable sum; but, by the extravagance of his demands, at length terrified him back to his fort.

Early in 1753, the forces of the French and English in India took the field: our troops were less numerous, but were much superior in discipline to the French, who had, however, the advantage in cavalry. Before they could come to action, Major Laurence was compelled to proceed to Trichinopoly, where Captain Dalton was shut up with only three weeks' provisions by the Mysorean army. Before this city the French and English contended for more than a year; the former endeavouring to reduce it, and the latter to raise the siege. When it was found that the sword could not decide the quarrel so readily as was expected, both parties consented to negotiate: the original question in dispute was, whether Mahomed Ali should be Nabob of the Carnatic. Both parties pretended to have received from the Great Mogul, or from his deputies, patents conferring the dignity in dispute. Dupleix, indeed, had actually received such patents from Salabut Jung, and produced them; the English pretended to possess a patent constituting Mahomed Ali Nabob of the Carnatic, but could not produce it. The inference was clear: their pretensions were ill-founded and unjust. Nevertheless, neither party would concede the point, and the negotiation was dropped.

As France and England, however, were at peace at home, the Companies of both nations were anxious for an accommodation, and persons were appointed to bring the matter to a conclusion; yet nothing was decided on, but that commissioners from Europe should be sent out to India to investigate and settle the question on the spot. Dupleix was superseded by M. Godheu, who seems to have desired nothing so much as peace; for in the negotiations he carried on with Mr. Saundera, President of

Madras, he conceded every thing in dispute. On the 11th. of October 1754, a suspension of arms for three months was agreed to; and in the December following, "a provisional treaty, to be confirmed or altered in Europe, was signed at Pondicherry." Mahomed Ali was left Nabob of Arcot, and the French gave up the acquisition of the four Circars. Both parties were to abstain from hostilities, and their possessions to remain as they were, till the decision of the Companies in Europe should be known.

PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION PURSUED
IN OUR GREAT UNIVERSITIES.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Among the variety of valuable information which has appeared in the columns of the *Oriental Herald*, the attention of the public has been powerfully attracted by the papers on the education of the civil and military officers of the East India Company. That any disinterested man, after having perused those articles, can entertain the most remote doubt of the utter inefficacy of the present system, to secure to British India an adequate supply of competent public functionaries, appears, to my humble comprehension, absolutely impossible; but though I am satisfied that the general feeling of all connected with India is decidedly hostile to the existing plan of education, yet I fear that an erroneous opinion is gaining ground, as to the expediency of drafting the civil servants of the Company from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. I have sent you this communication, in the hope that I may prove instrumental in exposing to scorn the solemn farce which is acting in these nurseries of rising statesmen and suckling divines; and I feel some degree of confidence that the following statement will convince the proprietors of East India Stock, that Haileybury College is not the only public literary institution which is degraded by ignorance, polluted by immorality, and supported by deception. In order to convey to the non-academical reader a distinct notion of the "Cours de la Litterature" pursued at Cambridge, I shall detail the rules and regulations to which the under-graduates are subjected, from the period of matriculation till they are advanced to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

I commence with this startling paradox:—that in this "Republic of Letters" every thing is classified by the *standard of aristocracy*. The students, on entering the University, are divided into five sections: noblemen, hat fellow-commoners, fellow-commoners, pensioners, and sizars. In explaining the signification of these distinctive appellations, the uninitiated reader will be furnished with a solution of the enigmatical paradox with which this paragraph opens. The academical dress of the nobleman student is the same with that of a Master of Arts; he dines at the Fellows' table; is allowed wine at dinner; is permitted to walk across the grass-plots of the quadrangles; is exempt from the jurisdiction of the proctor, and pays double fees. *A nobleman never passes any examination to obtain his degree*, but, at the end of six terms, which may occupy about nine months at the farthest, he is admitted to

the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He is then considered, by the ignorant and deluded world, to have passed through a course of mental discipline, and his tenantry return him to Parliament as a man of extensive views, enlarged understanding, and liberal attainments. When Lord Chesterfield designated the House of Peers as a "Hospital of Incurables," he might have founded his opinion on the want of education which usually falls to the lot of those hereditary legislators, who trace their descent from the vagabond and illiterate freebooters of the Norman era. Satisfied as I am, from personal experience, of the gross injustice which our young nobility meet with from their lazy tutors, and the pernicious system of the Universities, I am disposed rather to pity than condemn, their thoughtless extravagance, their wayward caprices, and their dreadful prostitution of time and intellect. When they have arrived at that period of life which lawyers, in their thrice blessed phraseology, call "the age of discretion," they find themselves totally unqualified to sustain a conversation on politics, history, or literature, with the son of a plebeian, and when their patrician haughtiness is humbled by the stinging conviction of inferiority, who can wonder if they seek for the company of men whose congenial ignorance never recalls the sense of mental degradation? Who can feel surprise if the spoiled child of aristocracy seeks a refuge from ennui in the salon of Paris, the betting stand of Newmarket, or the Fives-court of St. Martin's?

The next section of students comprehends the hat fellow-commoners, who are the sons of noblemen, baronets, or eldest sons of baronets. They enjoy the same privileges nearly as the noblemen, but their gown is different. It closely resembles the dress of a mountebank at a fair, being sprinkled over with broad lines of gold and silver lace. They never attend lectures, and receive their degree without any of the vulgar drudgery of an examination.

The fellow-commoners are men of fortune, who also are decked out with a tawdry gilding on their backs, and wear their caps covered with black velvet. Their immunities, however, are not so great as those of the two upper ranks. They reside three years, and pass through a regular examination, but they dine with the noblemen, and drink wine, and walk across the grass-plots.

The pensioners form the largest section, and contain, with the sizars, all the talent of the University. Towards them some degree of discipline is exercised: they are compelled to attend lectures during the first year, and dine regularly in the hall, but even they are soon permitted to follow their own inclinations. The sizars are those who are supported by the funds of each college, and they are not suffered to dine until all the other classes have finished their meal, though they attend at the same lecture-room.

I now proceed more into the detail of the system of education, and I hope to satisfy every reflecting and unprejudiced man, that no securities are taken by the tutors to enforce regular habits of study.

Before I enter into this part of my subject, I must premise that though an undergraduate is said to reside three years in the University, he, in point of fact, does not actually remain there longer than fifteen months; for in each year there is, on the average, a vacation of seven months. With this explanation of the length of a Cambridge year, I proceed.

Academical degrees are conferred in Medicine, Civil Law, and Arts.

I begin with Medicine. A young man is sent to the University with the intention of becoming a physician. He resides ten terms, that is to say, fifteen months; he then may leave altogether for two years, at the end of which period, he is considered as of five years standing, and is eligible to be a candidate for the degree of M.D. The examination for this medical rank consists in keeping "An Act," than which a more contemptible piece of mockery never was played. The candidate writes a Latin thesis on some medical question; this he reads before a moderator, who asks him some few interrogatories, and after about one hour's "palaver," as the Indians say, the degree is awarded. This is the fruit of five year's nominal study! It may not be generally known, that none but graduates of the Universities can be elected members of the London College of Physicians; but such is the fact, and, as an enemy of all antiquated fooleries, I desire to ask any apologist of "venerable institutions and hallowed seats of erudition," whether the superintendents of the University are not guilty of aiding and abetting a fraud, by thus conferring a degree with a grossly inadequate qualification? In a public and political point of view, the toleration of this system is highly injurious; for the great mass of the public are governed by outward appearances, and they are more likely to repose confidence in those practitioners who are distinguished by an academical degree, than in those who are not, because they consider the honour to have been obtained by industry and talent, and therefore a pledge of intellectual merit and professional skill. I can see no other distinction between a Scotch diploma and a Cambridge medical degree, than the difference of pecuniary cost.

The Bachelor's degree, in Civil Law, is equally farcical. At the end of nine terms, the candidate keeps "An Act," and proceeds through the same sort of mummary as the aspirant to medical renown; but there is this distinction between the two: that the graduated civilian can do no harm to the world at large by his ostensible learning, and indeed the law school is usually considered as "a refuge for the destitute," to which native stupidity may retreat for shelter.

I now come to the degree of Arts, which is conferred on the vast majority of the students; and on this branch of my subject I must be rather more diffuse than with medicine and law. Without pledging myself to a perfect accuracy of numerical computation, I shall not err widely from the mark in assuming that, out of forty students who graduate in arts, thirty-nine are destined for the church. Now if there were a proper adaptation of the means to the end, it is obvious, that in the course of academical study, considerable attention would be paid to divinity. But how stands the fact? In the examination, all that is required by the candidate who has been nominally studying for three years and a half, is as follows: common arithmetic, the four first books of Euclid, the first part of algebra, extending no further than quadratic equations, and a few questions in the first volume of Paley's Moral Philosophy. *Classical literature and divinity are never introduced.* But it may be asked by a credulous dupe to the ostentatious parade of university education, are there not numerous lectures during the three years' residence? Certainly: *but no student is compelled to attend, unless at the Norrisian lecture; the consequence of which discretionary power is, that many of the professors never give any lectures at all.*

But of the Norrisian school, I must say a few words. Here divinity is taught, and when a candidate of the University of Cambridge applies to a bishop for ordination, he is obliged to produce a certificate from the Norrisian professor, acknowledging that during *one* out of the *ten* terms, he has attended a stated number of times. But let it be distinctly understood, that he is never subject to any examination whatever: the only evidence required by the professor consists in receiving a certain number of cards; it is quite evident, therefore, that the certificate is no voucher for knowledge, but merely a proof of bodily presence. If every man were put on his oath, I am afraid it would appear that the novels of the author of Waverley are more frequently the companions of the sitting, than Pearson on the Creed, or Tomline's Elements of Theology.

I hope I have succeeded in satisfying the impartial reader, that in the education of our physicians, civilians, and divines, *as far as Cambridge is concerned*, there is no adaptation of means to the end, and that there are no securities taken to enforce a reasonable portion of study.

No wonder that Oxford and Cambridge profound,
In learning and science so greatly abound,
When all carry thither a little each day,
And we meet with so few who bring any away.

The moral habits of the students are as carefully watched as their education. But though all the essential and practicable restraints on idleness and dissipation are loosened, yet there is an external show, a hypocritical affectation of piety, which makes the heart of a virtuous sceptic sicken with disgust. In each college chapel, service is performed night and morning. In winter, the good old popish practice of celebrating matins is observed; and the under graduates are compelled to kneel down by candle light to go through the idle mockery of prayers. Perhaps, Mr. Editor, some of your ingenious readers may suppose that the tutors and fellows encourage the reluctant piety of the students by personally sharing "in the morning sacrifice." Alas, poor human nature! The seniors, like the rest of the fallen descendants of our apple-eating progenitor, find it impossible to serve both God and Mammon; and Mammon seducing a reverend divine in the shape of a warm featherbed in the season of frost and snow, ought not to excite either our surprise or our displeasure. But the misfortune is, that these Christians "do not do unto others, as they would have others do unto them;" for if an under-graduate absents himself from his devotions, he is summoned by the dean, who punishes him for his horrible impiety.

The punishments for this offence are various, each college following its own caprice, but the enumeration of some of them will raise a smile among the gay, and provoke a frown from the grave. At Trinity College, the punishment for this breach of discipline is, in technical phrase, either "to be put out of sizings," or, in an aggravated case, "out of sizings and commons." These terms require explanation. All the pensioners dine together in a public hall, and plain roast and boiled meat constitute "commons"; game, poultry, pastry, and butter, comprehend "sizings," for which an extra charge is made. If an under-graduate (always excepting the privileged patricians) fail in the stated attendances at chapel, or omit to take the sacrament, he is certain of being deprived of his dinner *altogether*, if an old offender; but even if he be

a juvenile delinquent, he is mulcted of his inch of butter to his cheese. This is a specimen of academical discipline, which is of itself sufficient to prove, that the supervisors of the University are profoundly acquainted with the fundamental principles of jurisprudence.

It is obvious, in the example I have instanced, that they all know that there ought to be a strict adaptation of punishment to crime, and that prevention is the sole end of punishment. No doubt, Mr. Editor, you will hardly believe, that this excellent system of enforcing piety is unattended with success; but with sorrow I speak the truth in declaring that, notwithstanding the starving system, which is the result of the collective wisdom of the "potent, grave, and reverend seniors," there is not on the face of the earth a filthier sink of vice and dissipation than the University of Cambridge. How many a fond and affectionate parent makes an effort to save out of his income a fund for paying the expenses of a university education, in the pleasing hope of conferring a high advantage on the dear object of his heart! If there be one among the readers of this letter who contemplates sending his son to college, and flatters himself with being rewarded in the virtue and expanded talents of his child, let him take warning from the admonition of one who has seen and felt what he has thus hastily sketched; for though implicit and immediate faith may not be immediately reposed in this *exposé*, it may at least stimulate to inquiry.

That any improvement in knowledge or literature is acquired during a residence in the University commensurate with the expense necessarily incurred, and which could not have been obtained in one-tenth part of the time under proper discipline elsewhere, I flatly deny; and it is further to be considered, that the moral character is sure to be contaminated, and the constitution most probably injured. That the moral character will be contaminated is obvious, from what has been premised: the neglect of the tutors, consequent idleness, dissipation, unlimited credit with tradesmen, hunting, shooting, drinking, and gaming, are causes always acting, and are sufficient to vitiate the purest mind.

There is one subject more that ought to be more fully explained, for the evil has at length arrived at such a magnitude as to have occupied the consideration of the legislature during the last session of Parliament; I mean the University Police Bill for arresting women of loose and disorderly character. The gratification of the passions is the strongest desire in a young man from eighteen to five-and-twenty years of age; and it becomes a matter of very serious moment to inquire, how the numerous students in the University can avoid the risk of bodily suffering. Every man who has graduated at Cambridge knows full well, that one half of the students are, on the average, on the sick list; and I challenge any one to deny, that the three principal surgeons in the town have usually, during full term, seventy patients, each suffering under the same pestilence; and yet, (will it be credited!) a set of clergymen, to whom the health and morals of the rising generation are intrusted, tolerate the existence of a large village, inhabited exclusively by the vilest prostitutes that disgrace humanity? The foot-path to this city of death is the most broad, level, and easy walk out of the town. On the score of decency, this subject cannot be exposed in all its details; but I repeat my caution to all parents who think highly of the advantages of the University, that the saloons of Drury Lane and Covent Garden do not offer greater faci-

lities for polluting the mind and destroying the constitution, than the eastern extremity of the town of Cambridge.

Before bringing this letter to a conclusion, it may be desirable, in order to impress the sentiments it contains more strongly on the mind of the reader, to recapitulate the sum and substance of what has been stated. In the university system, there is no adaptation of means to an end; education is the end proposed, particularly the education of physicians, civilians, and theologians; now all that I require an admirer of the Universities to do, is simply to ask himself this question: Are sufficient securities taken by the masters to secure the ostensible end of the institution? If the literary qualifications for obtaining a degree are correctly set forth in this letter, can any man in his senses maintain that sufficient securities *are* taken? But perhaps it may be answered, this statement may be incorrect. I reply, inquire. If this letter shall induce one single individual to investigate the system of the Universities, I shall be amply satisfied.

J. D.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF THE CELEBRATED AUTHOR OF
ANACHARSIS'S TRAVELS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

May 11, 1825.

THE following letter, addressed to Dr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society, and endorsed in his handwriting, has lain by me for several years, since I copied it from his valuable MSS. which he bequeathed to the British Museum. The learned writer, Jean Jaques Barthelemy, who died in 1795, aged 79, is well known, especially by his deservedly popular 'Travels of Anacharsis.' The work which he here presents to the Royal Society, its President and Secretary, was published at Paris in 1754, and entitled 'Reflexions sur l'alphabet et sur la langue, dont on se servoit autrefois a Palmyre.'

The claim of first discovering the ruins of Palmyra, which M. Barthelemy liberally awards to the English nation, is founded, I apprehend, on this volume. I consulted, at the British Museum, 'Relation of a Voyage from Aleppo to Palmyra, in Syria, sent by the Rev. Mr. W. Halifax to Dr. Edward Bernard, late Savilian Professor of Astronomy in Oxford, and by him communicated to Dr. Thomas Smith, Reg. Soc. 8. 1695.'

After an attempt in 1678, which was frustrated, the *Voyage* here related commenced in 1691. "We departed from Aleppo," says the relater, "on Michaelmas-day, and in six easy days travel over a desert country, came to Tadmor." He mentions various inscriptions "in Tadmor:" one of "the 314th year from the death of Alexander the Great, preceding the birth of our Saviour about ten years;" another "between twenty and thirty years before the reign of Hadrian, and consequently before the Romans got footing there." Mr. Halifax adds, (p. 108,) "From these sumptuous structures, and these costly mausolea, we may reasonably conclude they were a potent and opulent people before they became subject to the Romans, and were not obliged to them for their

greatness." The result of this journey was communicated to the learned of Europe in the 'Inscriptiones Græcæ Palmyrenorum, cum scholiis et annotationibus. Edwardi Bernardi et Thomæ Smith.' Published at Utrecht in 1698.

The Royal Society also, as mentioned by M. Barthelemy, extended the knowledge of this subject by giving in the Vol. XIX. No. 217, a view of the ruins, and, in No. 218, 'Extracts from the Journals of the English Merchants of the factory of Aleppo to Tadmor, anciently called Palmyra.' To these Dr. Halley added, 'Some account of the Antient State of the Country of Palmyra, with short Remarks upon the Inscriptions found there.'

Your readers, who have cultivated an acquaintance with the antiquities of the East, scarcely need to be reminded of that splendid work 'The ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor in the Desert,' published, in 1753, by Mr. Robert Wood, who had survived the companion of his travels, in 1751, to that interesting spot. OTIOSUS.

MONSIEUR,—J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser trois exemplaires de ma Dissertation sur l'Alphabet et la Langue de Palmyre. Je vous prie d'en garder un pour vous, d'en présenter un à la Société Royale, et le troisième à M. le Président de la Société. Tout justifie la liberté que je prends ici; c'est votre nation qui la première a découvert les ruines de Palmyre, c'est votre illustre Compagnie qui les a fait connoître au reste de l'Europe; et l'attention qu'elle recevra avec bonté l'hommage que je lui rends. Il deviendra plus digne d'elle quand vous voudrez bien le lui offrir vous même, et l'assurer que l'envie de répondre à ses vues, est un des principaux motifs que m'ont engagé à publier cet ouvrage.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un respectueux dévouement,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Paris, ce 10 Aoust, 1754.

BARTHELEMY.

(*Ayscough*, 4300. 41.)

TO THE GNAT.

Ah, thou little stinging fly!
 Thy buzzing horn
 At night or morn,
 Brings back the dreams of infancy!
 Dost thou still invade my ear
 With drowsy hum,
 As constant come
 The spectral hours of midnight drear?
 On the silent couch reclined,
 When thought is rife
 On death and life,
 I scarcely hear the howling wind:
 Yet, slight imp! thy shrilly tone
 Will aye be heard,
 Like evening's bird,
 Because, like her, thou fliest alone;
 But, obey a poet's word,
 And hence begone!

ON LORD PORCHESTER'S MOOR.¹

THE rapid production of volumes of verse, denominated poetry by courtesy, ought of itself to be enough to wear out the stupid patience of the public. By what process, if all is poetry that is called so, do they think a poet is formed? We suspect that nothing more is necessary than the capacity to count the syllables in a line, and, occasionally, ear enough to decide what two words will rhyme together. As to the minor matters of plot, characters, manners, metaphors, common sense, &c. the poet grows familiar with them by instinct:—"instinct is a great matter;" he trusts to his *genius*,—a word, according to Mr. Hazlitt, of entirely modern growth, the ancients not having possessed it, nor the thing it signifies! Now, modern *genius* is really and truly a substitute for all the other qualities of a writer, whether of verse or prose, standing its possessor instead of art, and learning, and meditation, and experience. It is all in all. However, our *geniuses* sometimes make sad work, in spite of their omniscient principle, being apt, for want of art and study, to grow excessively dull and garrulous in their more elaborate efforts. The *art* of writing, said Rousseau, is not so easily learned, whatever talents a man may be born with. But poetry is now no longer an *art*: a man comes into the world with little packages of it in his skull, which in due time he spins and manufactures according to his own fancy, depending all the while on the force of nature, as the old astrologers did on the influence of the stars.

By *nature*, a modern poet always means his own notions of nature, his own fancies, as contradistinguished from the suggestions of art, which he utterly abhors, as requiring meditation and labour,—things altogether inconsistent with the spontaneous play of original genius.

Accordingly, there is *no art* in the generality of modern poems, and, consequently, nothing to reward the labour of perusal. The author having followed his *genius*, having consulted his ease in writing them, the judicious part of mankind generally consult *their* ease by neglecting to read them. This proceeding is quite just. Whoever is desirous of lasting fame, is desirous of a thing of very difficult attainment, and miscalculates exceedingly if he expects to reach it in an easy chair. The "sleepless nights and long laborious days" of the poet, are the only handmaids to renown; and many, very many, have made themselves anxiously acquainted with these, without ever obtaining one preserving smile from the object of their adoration. Shall it, then, be possible for any indolent nobleman that chooses to write, to bind his temple with bays in a moment? Is the King of Parnassus understood to be so very partial to the aristocracy?

Let but a *Lord* once own the happy lines,
How the wit brightens, how the thought refines!

says the satirist. But, in fact, the Muses are very shy of being found in the company of lords, and have predilections and propensities altogether plebeian.

Be this as it may, Lord Porchester, the author of the '*Moor*,' is cer-

¹ The *Moor* by Lord Porchester. London, 1825.

tainly an "interloper," (to borrow an East India Company phrase,) in the territory of the Muses, trading without license, and liable to be sent back to his own country at a moment's notice. In other words, he is no poet. This proposition would admit of demonstration, if it were worth the while; but we suspect the reader will be very satisfactorily convinced of the fact, even from the best passages of the "poem," which we shall extract, as well as from our abstract of the tale. The writer that is incapable of invention, is incapable of poetry; and a fable more incoherent than that of the 'Moor,' and more unworthy of the name, we have seldom met with.

The story opens with the parting of a lover from his mistress: the lover is a Moorish general; the mistress a married lady, with whom he has lived for years in adulterous intercourse. They are now about to be separated for a season by the calls of war; but the lady evinces some repugnance to be left behind in her husband's house; and Hassan, her lover, engages to provide her a more agreeable retreat. The dialogue that passes between them upon this occasion is long and dull, but it enables the reader to conceive a thorough contempt for the characters of the interlocutors, which is an advantage to his morality, if it detracts from the interest with which, under different impressions, he might pursue the thread of their adventures. No sooner does this precious pair separate, than we find the worthy Moor making up his mind to desert the frail fair one altogether; because, forsooth, he suspects his connexion with her *may* estrange his followers, and impede his own ambitious designs. He however expresses, "*entre ses dents*," the greatest possible wrath against her husband, whom he thus apostrophizes:—

"Thou art near,
 Thou most detested of mine inmost soul,
 Lord of her fate! beneath whose spurn'd control
 Her being withers, in whose glance alone
 Her beauties pass neglected or unknown;
 With sensual gaze those stupid eyes admire
 Her form of matchless mould, her glance of fire,
 But cannot read her mind's fair poetry,
 The soul that sparkles in her beaming eye,
 The heaven that wakens in her smile; thy day
 Of tranquil triumph comes, fast speed thy way,
 She is thine own, seize thy devoted prey."

From this stupid rant one might be led to believe that the caittif himself *had not* looked on her with "sensual gaze," and that *he could* "read her mind's fair poetry"! But the truth is, that Hassan was already as tired of Zaira's "poetry" as we are of his Lordship's, which, with due submission, we imagine to be much more troublesome "to read." Hassan's mode of life, for the next two years, is shrouded in considerable obscurity; but before the end of the first Canto, the reader will of course have gathered from his fierce and valiant soliloquies, that he could have been employed in nothing "sensual." What, then, will he say, when he discovers the truth, when he learns that this chivalrous Moslem, this proud knight, this man of mighty designs, this despiser of neglectful husbands, had buried his remorse, for having deserted and betrayed Zaira, in the arms of the loosest and most abandoned of women? We shall copy two or three lines, mentioning his desertion of the guilty

Zaira, and then a passage which does equal honour to the author and his hero :—

The cold bright stars of evening saw him part ;
But ne'er return to glad her aching heart,
Or mark that eye, whose lustre lived for him,
Day after day in Hamet's gaze grow dim.

Since Zaira first, *last loved*, on Daro's shore
Lost on one eve the fruit of years before,
Of thought impatient, Hassan's suffering breast
Each willing fair for one brief hour possess'd,
And heard with smiling brow, but heart unmoved,
Wild glowing praise from lips he little loved ;
He knew those specious lips were skill'd to flow
With rapturous greeting or impassion'd woe ;
The faithful heart to his responsive pressed,
Last night, perchance, some sated friend had blessed ;
The tear for him, should fall for other shed,
For other arms their revel couch be spread ;
Yet still shall woman's practis'd strain deceive,
And long the fool and wise like him believe ;
Till cold experience, as a chilling cloud,
Throws o'er the summer heart its wintery shroud ;
Then that duped heart shall first awakening learn
Their welcome to distrust, their tears to spurn ;
To grace their couch by night, at morn forget,
Win without love, and lose without regret.

Canto the second exhibits Hassan in a new light ; he is there transformed into an ambassador :—

And now he comes on royal embassy,
To try each art of *high diplomacy*.

His mission carries him to Beleguer, a castle in the neighbourhood of Ruti, in Andalusia ; where he enters into negotiation with certain Spanish lords, whose different characters and manners the poet attempts to describe. The following is the account of his entrance and welcome at the castle :—

While thus the chiefs exchange of honours gave
With much of pomp and salutation grave,
Their differing ranks the scowling foemen view'd,
Nor gazed forgetful of their lineal feud ;
Even when their Lords uniting led the van,
In ranks unmingling march'd each rival clan ;
The Moslem, vain his trophied arms to show,
The Spaniard follow'd silent, stern and slow ;
Ardent, they deem'd their chiefs, in close debate,
Now fix'd the crisis of their country's fate ;
Fired by each herald's speech, ere yet begun,
They deem'd the work of embassy was done ;
Unskill'd, they little knew when blend the great,
High ceremonial, antique form of state,
Is cold and dubious sign of love or hate,
Nor guess'd that courtesy tied either tongue ;
And yet the question dread suspended hung,
While every pressing interest gave place
To converse casual, as of tilt or chace.

Like veteran scarr'd, Beleguer's massive might
 Bore many a mark of frontier's ceaseless fight;
 Each loop-hole mann'd, each angle turret-bound,
 The gloomy moat secured its ample round;
 Buttress, and keep, and bastion closely pent,
 Shields proudly ranged in lieu of battlement,
 Spoils won by Kedith's lords in conquering field,
 Spoke hand that dared, and soul that would not yield
 Stern signs of war! but now at peaceful call
 The arm'd retainers ope the spacious hall,
 With stateliest honours greet the Moorish train,
 As best becomes the lofty style of Spain.

They pause, while Hassan pass'd the Gothic door
 Where never Moslem warrior trod before:
 High o'er his head the arms of Arragon
 And old Castile in blended grandeur shone;
 Below, Spain's grateful Sovereign parting gave
 The imperial chain, in gloomy grace to wave,
 That sternly told, by factious force oppress,
 These towers had held a Monarch for their guest
 Within, each sunk and stained window frown'd,
 And shed its sad and solemn light around;
 To the high walls the storied tapestry clung,
 And, dear to Spain, Pelayo's armour hung.
 Now eve descending, quell'd the struggling ray,
 And heavy fell the shades of deepening day,
 But bright o'er kindling hearth the pile was raised,
 And gaily flashing o'er the rafters blazed;
 There, closely crowded round the cheerful light,
 Where group'd the leaders of the Spanish fight,
 And Kedith led him to the gather'd ring
 As chief on honour'd mission to the King.

Unlike the aerial hall, the magic dome,
 The dazzling glories of his distant home,
 Where columns carved with fretted arch arise,
 And sculptured grace with glowing colour vies;
 No eastern spoils their purple dyes unfold,
 No silver tissue strives with glittering gold,
 No bright brocade, no rich embroidery falls
 To sweep in gorgeous lines the lofty walls;
 But massive monuments of power they stand,
 Like Spain's unbending Genius, stern and grand;
 Yet nobly ranged, those tapestried scenes impart
 The mimic grace and breathing pride of art;
 A lengthening line of honour'd deeds unfold
 The daring prowess of their sires of old,
 Bold warlike images distinctly spread,
 And wake the martial memory of the dead.
 With patriot fire, reviving Bernard glows—
 With blade in hand, begirt by countless foes,
 He grasps the sacred pennon, stems the fray,
 And rescues Spain, and twice redeems the day.
 Manriquez, maddening 'mid the routed press,
 Kneels on his foe, and stern and mercileless,
 Stains with life's ooze his tide his better brand,
 And tears the prize from Lorna's dying hand.

Here oft unseen the thoughtful Spaniard came,
And nursed in silent hope the aspiring flame ;
Here gazed, where victors of the field, array'd
In wreaths and laurels never more to fade,
Beyond life's fitful destinies, the brave
Lived o'er their deeds and triumph'd o'er the grave ;
Then turn'd his flashing eye to yonder shrine,
And felt that fever of his heart decline ;
O'er his rapt spirit holier fervours stole,
And love and reverence thrill'd his vanquish'd soul ;
For one there was to which his eye was raised,
And all the warrior soften'd as he gazed ;
Where, loved of God, the Maid of Beth'lem smiled,
And dawning glories crown'd the heaven-born Child ;
Whilst near, the undying taper, emblem bright
Of hope undying, breathed its constant light.

High prayers and solemn grace the priest has said,
And thrice each chief in mingling chorus pray'd,
Ere ample banquet on the board was laid.
With all the honours ancient custom gave,
Badge of nobility, the liveried slave
And laced attendant brought the sparkling wine,
And livelier bade the living lustres shine.
Kedith the master's foremost seat has graced,
And Hassan on his better hand was placed ;
Allied to kingly Arragon, the Lord
Of Cabra next in leading deck'd the board ;
And then at courteous call each chief of name,
A gallant group in fix'd gradation came.

Now Spain's young knights have doff'd their mail'd array,
And lightly cast their threatening arms away ;
Array'd in garb might suit the softer hour
Of banquet-scene, or lady's peaceful bower,
With golden clasp the curling ruffle gleam'd,
And fan and free their locks unfetter'd stream'd ;
O'er each bold form the rich red mantle flung,
Down to the knee in folds of velvet hung,
And worn with graceful, gay, and careless pride,
With every gesture droop'd from side to side.
Of all the splendid pomp and martial mien
That morning sun so fierce and stern had seen,
One sign alone the knightly train confess'd—
Still proudly rose the warrior's waving crest,
Spain's dark-red plume ; but now no longer borne
O'er soldier-brow, on threatening helmet worn,
It crown'd the peaceful hat, whose ample round
O'er each half-shown, half-shadow'd feature frown'd.

The description of this feast, of the Lord Cabra, of Kedith's daughter Blanche, and of the songs that she sung, with a retrospective glance at the deserted Zaira and her sorrows, takes up the remainder of this Canto.

Canto the third opens with the introduction of Hassan to the council of the Spanish chiefs. His presents, in the Oriental manner, accompany him, and are correctly enumerated. He then tries his hand at oratory ; but if the rhetoric of the noble author be not more rich, copious, and

persuasive, than that of his hero, we strongly advise his Lordship never to attempt public speaking, as he will never be able to "wield at will" the passions of his countrymen. When Hassan has finished his most insipid speech, Kedith, the Spanish chieftain, replies, and the business under consideration being a treaty, proposes to the Moor a short delay, in order that they may consult the Spanish monarch, who is not at hand. The honest man of course consents; and, to reward his courtesy, the usual amusement of a bull-fight is thought of. The reader will remember the description in 'Childe Harold' of this savage sport, and will wonder that Lord Porchester should have liked to touch it after Byron, whose pen, like a Dutchman's pencil, descended upon this occasion to the most minute touches, and called up before the mind the bloody arena, with all its circumstances. In 'The Moor,' the bull's antagonist has his courage inflamed before the combat by the shouts of the bystanders, who, as if the fate of the kingdom were to be decided, denominate their champion "the guardian of their fame," and call to his mind the glorious battles of their forefathers under Pelayo, which were not carried on, however, against bulls in the arena, but against the enemies of their country. Another topic dilated upon by these sagacious Spaniards, is the nobility of the combatant, which, according to Lord Porchester, raised him above "the common sons of earth," and made him, we presume, a fitting adversary to bulls and bears. Of all silly things, a silly aristocrat is most stupid. Lord Porchester has not the clear-sightedness of a drayman; for, with evident approval, he puts into the mouth of his Asturians the most absurd jargon, as a topic of persuasion, and surpasses it afterwards, *in propria persona*, by describing its effects. We request the reader to mark particularly the phrases printed in *Italics*, and then to ask himself what he thinks of Lord Porchester.

"Now bear thee well!" Asturia's sons exclaim,
 "Thou countryman and *guardian of our fame*;
 Think, Pedro, how *in honour's earliest day*
 Our Fathers fought beneath Pelayo's sway;
 He gave our Sires to bear the stainless brand,
 Lords of the soil, *Hidalgos of the land*;
 He gave us that *nobility of birth*,
 That raised us o'er the common sons of earth;
 Forget, with life alone, the blood you bear,
 The noblest of the realm might nobly share;
 More proud, who from Asturia's mountains springs,
 Descent more lofty than the line of kings,
 Save Ferdinand's alone."

With serious nonsense of this kind has he spun out an interminable poem, sprinkling the dreary waste now and then with drops of something like meaning. On the present subject, however, he is utterly contemptible, pouring forth phrase upon phrase, in which no oracle could detect the slightest resemblance to sense. Let the reader try his faculty of divination at the following lines; they immediately follow the speech above quoted, and are meant to describe its effects upon the noble bull-fighter—

As rose that cry,
 Collect and calm his mien, his soul glanced high,
 It soared above the craven pulse of fear!

A thousand passages of this kind might be easily collected out of the poem, that would defy the perspicacity of *Oedipus* himself. They may, nevertheless, be aristocratical phrases, signifying something of which we are entirely ignorant; for it appears, that the nobles of the land, like *Homer's* gods, have a dialect peculiar to themselves, which must be translated into the vulgar idiom before the "common sons of earth" can possibly guess at its meaning. Be this, however, as it may, the man slaughters the bull as expertly as any butcher in *Smithfield*, and the stupid multitude, nobles and all, make a wonder of it. Then comes forth a noble of *Castile*, (the former was an *Asturian*,) and a fresh beast, which he attacks—

For God, his country, and his lady's love,

is produced on the arena.

In the famous controversy on the comparative excellence of the ancients and moderns, which once agitated the literary world, certain French critics made themselves very merry with *Homer's* "comparaisons à longue queue," as they termed them; we should like to know what they would have said had they read *Lord Porchester's* 'Moor;' not of his "comparisons," which God knows are always bad enough—but of his reflections. For our part, we consider them to be the most tiresome, impertinent, "long-tailed," series of common-places, we have ever seen. On the introduction of *Cortez*, the Castilian noble, occasion is taken to discuss the advantages of a clear, and the miseries of a guilty, conscience; for no other reason, than that *Cortez* is an innocent kind of young man, whom the author determines to kill; and that, on the eve of death, it is somewhat advantageous to be free from remorse. It is quite clear that the bull kills *Cortez* in order that the author may have an opportunity of being pathetic; and as misery is always a little eloquent, he is not altogether unsuccessful. For this reason we extract the passage:

Slow from the Circus rose a heavy cry
To see the hope of Spain, young *Cortez*, die;
Beyond all meaner grief, through the rent air,
Heard ye that piercing shriek of deep despair?
Clara! 'twas thine!—behold thy warrior's bier,
Gaze, wildly gaze, nor shed one useless tear!
He stood, even now, with victory's laurels crown'd,
But fate rose grimly o'er, the wreath unbound,
Gave to the winds each long-recorded vow,
And rear'd the cypress o'er his destined brow.
Go, *Clara*, go!—the flowers that freshly bloom
To deck thy conqueror's front, shall grace his tomb;
No more with early rapture haste to hear
His joyous accents greet the willing ear;
No more with maiden train at evening wait
To hail his welcome step by *Vale's* gate;
Cortez is low, and *Clara* desolate!

The bull-fight is followed by a dance, which the author very judiciously passes over in a few words. Then follows an account of how *Haman* passes his time at *Beleguer*, among the Spaniards, while "days, weeks, and months roll on," and the herald despatched to the Castilian King does not return. The Moor, with great courtesy, frequents the dances

and bull-fights of his entertainers out of compliment, and the company of Kedith's daughter, Blanche, out of choice. The reader will please to recollect that this same Hassan had lived for some years in open adultery with a lady of his own nation; that he had basely deserted her, and had then plunged into vulgar vice with every wanton he could find. (See Canto iii, p. 99.) Now for Blanche!

The poet informs us (page 58,) that Lord Cabra "blithely loved" Blanche, but we do not understand exactly in what capacity. However, Hassan, a well practised lover, quickly wins his way to her heart, and the young lady seems to be not a little pleased with his passion, for she sings his favourite song to him, and wanders by his side on the sea-shore at night; the father, a Spaniard! being entirely blind to her danger. But take the poet's version of the story:—

Oh! oft at eve, beneath that pale pure star
To lovers dear, Blanche tuned her light guitar,
Nor yet forgot the melancholy strain,
That never fell on Hassan's ear in vain;
And sad their mingling notes together rang,
And mingling hearts 'The Fall of Lara' sang—
That only strain, to early memory true,
His boyhood loved and yet his manhood knew.
They stray'd on Ruti's shore in cloudless night—
For well that maiden loved the lovely night,
When silence reigns and sorrow sinks to rest,
And all seem'd pure and peaceful as her breast.
So day by day in Hassan's softening mind,
His better dreams of bliss with Blanche combined,
And round his heart her fairy form entwined.

In the meantime, the messenger from the King of Spain returns with the answer of that monarch: the Prince of Castilian Knights, having observed the decay of the Moslem power, is enabled to be laughty and brave; he had received from the Moors complaints of injuries sustained; he replies with menaces, and speaks of tribute from the worshippers of Allah! Very princely, to be sure. But Has-an, enraged at the insult thus offered to his sovereign, repairs to the council of the Spanish chieftains; and having there given vent to his indignation, retires from Beleguer, visiting Blanche, however, privately before his departure. At it happens, this interview passes without any injury to the lady's virtue; and thus the third Canto concludes. The fourth commences with—a continuation of the tale? no such thing; but with some account of the hunting of the red-deer in England! Passing over this, we find Hassan again as he draws near Granada—but to unravel the confusion of the story is beyond our patience: he and his page converse together; they part—the page homewards, the chieftain to a Christian convent. His errand no man could ever guess; but that Lord Porchester should have imagined a wretch like Hassan could excite the sympathies of mankind, is a proof of the sad chaos of his mind. For, why does his hero now visit this convent? He who, but now, had felt a pure passion for Blanche, whose parting kiss had hardly yet faded from his lips? Why, to inquire the fate of a messenger he had despatched to Zaira, the adulteress he had formerly betrayed, to tempt her once more to forsake her husband! He learns, at the convent, the death of the messenger,

who, it seems, had left for him a letter from Zaira in the hands of the Abbot : this letter details her sufferings, the progress of decay in her frame, and her approaching death. The monster is moved at length, and can scarcely, or rather cannot, conceal the anguish of his mind. Nevertheless, he and the Abbot ascend the terrace of the convent to enjoy the prospect ; and the description, most *ingeniously* introduced in this place, of the ruined pile, is not without merit :

He spoke, as through the long arcade they pass'd,
And galleries open to the sweeping blast ;
High fretted domes with glowing colours traced,
By hostile rage and mouldering damp effaced ;
Fair drapery quaintly carved on cedar frame,
Saints scorch'd and wither'd by the blackening flame ;
Rich costly mouldings, that the spoiler's blade
Had sometime spared to mock the wreck it made ;
Where yet by fits dark ebony strove with gold,
And mournful tale of ancient grandeur told.
Up many a ruin'd step they toil with pain,
And now with heavy hearts the terrace gain ;
A glorious scene, where bright in summer's glow
A humbler world extended lay below.
Here oft, o'er wood and wave, the raptur'd sight,
And o'er each lower mountain's vassal height,
Had stretch'd exulting, till in boundless view
Alvira's dark and distant range it knew ;
Here, too, in laughter days of convent fame,
In crowded groups the sons of Alva came ;
Where now, alone, the stealthy step of fear
Starts wildly back, its own quick tread to hear ;
Alone, some straggler, hasty glance to throw
And learn how near the peril, where the foe.

On his return from the convent, he is surrounded and taken prisoner by Guerillas, the description of whose movements and approach is about the very best portion of the poem :

So when conflicting wind and surf prevail,
The shrieking death-birds crowd the heaving sail,
And hover round, with wild and ominous flight,
To hail the approaching gloom of storm and night ;
And Moor and Spaniard pause :—heard they that cry ?
Again it peals more confident and high ;
“ I know my northern countrymen, I know
That summons stern, it is the native foe :
Retreat were desperate, from the mountain side
They come—the fierce Guerilla ! ” Gomez cried.
And ever as in breathless speed they came,
They held their carabines' presented aim ;
And fierce as torrent rushing in its might
Kept steady hand and eye, that not by flight
Their promis'd prey might shun the impending fight :
And as they ran prepared for deadly blow,
And only paused to ask if friend or foe,
With hideous yell and frame half bent to earth,
They seem'd of savage and appalling birth ;
But when in headlong course they nearer drew ;
Their form and dress were nobler given to view :

Untamed their shaggy locks fell far behind,
 Their dark red plaid stream'd wildly to the wind ;
 Their jerkin blue, and blue their rugged vest,
 Their hardy limbs the figured sandal prest ;
 And well the sweeping bonnet's scarlet fold
 The sons of kindred Catalonia told.

Hassan is lucky enough, however, to escape the wild vengeance of the Guerillas, and returns to Granada, to deliver to his sovereign the answer of the King of Spain. On this occasion, the reader is introduced into the Alhambra, or palace of the Moorish Kings, where he finds the successor of the Caliphs surrounded, on a festival night, by all the pomp and splendour of Moslem chivalry :

Oh ! given to song, and revelry, and light,
 Alhambra's halls were beautiful that night ;
 Her cedar roof, with precious pearl inlaid,
 Her walls transparent, seem'd of crystal made ;
 So light and shadowy, that the stream of day
 A thousand faint interstices its way
 Broke through, as through the veil's thin mystery
 Comes the half-clouded soul of woman's eye ;
 And o'er the Mesuar's gorgeous gallery play'd,
 Where clustering columns bore the light arcade ;
 And danced the Lion's marble count upon,
 On floor where thousand colours brightly shone,
 O'er domes of Persia's never-fading dye,
 And blue more glorious than its native sky.

Nor yet heaven's splendours rose alone to view :
 The gay pavilion stream'd of every hue
 The rainbow knows ; rare gems were o'er it strung,
 And glittering stalactites in marble hung,
 'Mid clustering fretwork carved with matchless care,
 Of diamond form, or curling light and fair,
 As bees had built their summer grotto there ;
 Of texture wonderful as sparry cave
 Of ocean-maid beneath the sea-green wave ;
 While, bright as morning dew on wintry day,
 A hundred fountains shed their glistening spray
 O'er all the exulting scene : melodious sound
 The forest's captive warblers pour'd around ;
 The rifled mountain spread her highest bloom,
 And woo'd the spell-bound sense with rich perfume ;
 While India's scents, from vaulted hall below,
 The mingling odours of the East bestow,
 And breathing through each sculptured floweret, bear
 Delicious fragrance to the upper air.

Apart, in high alcove, the monarch lay,
 Reposing from the beams of sultry day ;
 The spangled garb of Tunis round him roll'd,
 And o'er his head the canopy of gold :
 Here figured china scatter'd incense round—
 There Persia's purple carpet deck'd the ground ;
 Her silks fell fair o'er gilded balustrade,
 Where fount of fretted alabaster played ;

In gorgeous dress the train of royal power
 Reclining, wait their monarch's waking hour,
 Around its verge reposed; bend they to hear
 That soft strain slowly steal upon the ear,
 As fearful uninvited guest: again
 The music swells a bolder, loftier strain—
 More loud, till all the fretted roof rebounds,
 And all the glorious gallery resounds.

The strain rang blithely through the echoing hall,
 And far the scene; but oh! more far than all,
 That bower that hung o'er Daro's poplar shore,
 And heard dark Xenil's stream in ceaseless roar:
 More gracefully each sculptured flow'ret grew,
 And every colour own'd a brighter hue.
 Here citron groves their witching scents exhale;
 Here sings on ivied elm the nightingale;
 And here the tufted palm, the myrtle bower,
 The cedar's spicy grove, the allala flower;
 There, resting in the moonlight, pure and pale,
 Against the deep-blue sky her snowy veil
 Nevada stretch'd, while, bright with festal glow,
 A thousand spangled mimæts lived below.

Such is our poet's description of the Alhambra, which, being rather confused, we recommend the reader, for further and better information, to Mr. Murphy's splendid folio on the Mohammedan Antiquities of Spain, and to Swinburne's Travels in that country.

In this Canto, as well as in the second, a few lyrical pieces are introduced, the best of which is the 'Moorish War-Song,' p. 205, &c. A *prophet* is then introduced, who is commanded by the King to relate (for what purpose, heaven only knows) the slaughter of the Abencerrages. He obeys the tyrant, and then proceeds to his proper business of prediction, in which, it must be confessed, he is very prosy and tiresome: but, to make sure of giving no further offence by the length and obscurity of his prophecies, he dies as soon as he has fulfilled his task.

From the Alhambra we proceed to the field of battle,—a scene where aristocratic virtue is sometimes very rigorous, and which aristocratic *genius* is very fond of describing. In fact, the roar of cannon, the groans of the dying, the shouts of bloody victory, appear to awaken a spark of energy even in Lord Porchester: he actually bestirs himself a little, and becomes animated, as his lordly pen "bodies forth" the circumstances of destruction. The earthly combat, however, is aptly ushered in by a wrestling-match between Morn and Night, in heaven; in which gymnastic contest, the former, as day is approaching, is of course successful. Having defeated her antagonist, Morn then briskly betakes herself to rubbing away the clouds, dashes a little *rouge* over the cheeks of the East, and rouses the "slumbering hosts;" after which, the soldiers breathe a drowsy sort of prayer, between sleeping and waking, and prepare for business.

Having an eye to Homer's beautiful list of the nations who assembled before Troy, which has been imitated, more or less strictly, by every heroic poet for the last two thousand years,—Lord Porchester attempts to convey an idea of the various tribes that fought in the battle of Lucena,

and gives two or three sketches that are really spirited and interesting. The following are his descriptions of the warriors of "Afric" and Granada :

Apart the dusky sons of Afric rode,
Of garment strange, and aspect wild, they show'd :
Their coursers, of that dark high-mettled breed,
Of strength unequall'd, and unmatch'd in speed ;
Round arching neck, and o'er each crested head,
The doom-destroying talisman was spread ;
Of shape uncouth, high rose the saddle-bow,
And short the graceless stirrup hung below ;
The rowell'd spur unpolish'd, stiff and long,
The curb with native metal rude and strong ;
And never yet on marshall'd field of fight,
Had mingling nations lent a stranger sight :
The shrouded tribes that distant Tetuan knew,
The turban'd chiefs of bright mulatta hue,
And Ethiop's giant sons whose sable dye
Bespeaks the fervours of their tropic sky,
Who nothing, save their white aliaïque, bear :
Like worms is wreath'd their black and tangled hair ;
Their shaggy brows' unperturbed scowl beneath,
And in their eye the savage glare of death.
In that confused undisciplined array,
No stated signal, equal line, have they ;
The leader, he who rides the foremost man—
Who lately foun'd the rearward, march the van ;
In dress, in step, in arms irregular,
Some bear the brand, and some the scimitar ;
With frantic gesture and discordant yell,
Like demons rushing from their native hell,
With carabine, and slung, and bended bow,
They break in fierce disorder on the foe.
Alas ! that honour lent no loftier tone
To chiefs so daring in the battle shown ;
A powerless despot sway'd their barbarous land,
And lawless chieftains grasp'd, with careless hand,
The secret knife, or warrior's open brand :
So brave, with little that becomes the brave,
And free, with every crime that stains the slave ;
They come, sworn kinsmen, to Granada's state—
Not link'd in friendship, but allied in hate.
'Twixt souls like these and heaven-born chivalry,
One link alone preserved the breaking tie,—
The burning sense of unrequited wrong,
Their vengeful purpose, steady, deep, and strong ;
And hand and heart, devoted to the cause
Of him who gave an empire Allah's laws.

Far other sight Grenada's sons might boast,
Where proud Abdallah led the central host :
A sea of crested honours, wave on wave,
The flower of all most beautiful and brave,
That morn devoted Ishmael show'd, and gave
Like spirits of a nobler mould to view
The fairest chivalry her warriors knew.

How bright, some few proud moments more, the clan
 Of destiny Sarracino leads the van :
 With silver chain they bind the studded blade,
 In silver sheath the scimitar is laid ;
 Their simple pennons like the undrifted snow,
 As emblems of their spotless honour show ;
 White are their reins, their chargers snowy white,
 Graceful they move like glorious sons of light ;
 Their courser's mane descending sweeps the way,
 And glistens brighter than the bright sea-spray.
 The fatal hue that Yemen's warriors bore,
 To-day the princely chief of Muca wore ;
 The sapphire's beams from gorgeous trappings fly,
 His plumed crest was of that azure dye ;
 His jazerme with border blue inland,
 And blue the scarf his lady-love had made ;
 With azure field his pennon floated high—
 An eagle soaring through the cloudless sky,
 And on it graved, "Of heaven-born line am I."

Victory declares, as in history, in favour of the Spaniards, by whom the Moslem King, after the battle, is taken prisoner, his forces having been almost entirely cut to pieces. Hassan is left for dead among the fallen and wounded on the field of battle ; but, reviving during the ensuing night, he flies from the dreadful scene, and repairs to the dwelling of his married mistress, Zaira. Her husband being fortunately dead, or out of the way, (the author takes no notice of him,) Hassan penetrates at once to her chamber, and finds her delirious and on the verge of death. Will the reader be so kind as to forget the mad lady in the ' Veiled Prophet of Khorassan' ? or, at least, make no " odious comparisons " between that personage's meeting with Azim, after her seduction by the prophet, and the last interview of Lord Porchester's hero and heroine ? Like her of Khorassan, Zaira recovers a gleam of reason at the approach of Hassan ; but, to cut the matter short, she dies, as an adúlteress ought, with a remorseful conscience and with doubtful hopes. Her base and hardened seducer, still clinging to life, marches off, like Byron's Corsair, nobody knows where, and comes to his end nobody cares how. Lest the inquisitive reader should be grieved at not hearing a word or two of the fate of Blanche, the noble poet very kindly condescends to inform him, in true novel phrase, that it was whispered she found another lover—we were afraid he would have given her to Hassan—and ended her days in the bosom of her family. And thus ends this " strange, eventful history " !

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—The accomplished and indefatigable Orientalist, M. Von Hammer, has recently published a German translation of all those tales and anecdotes of the Thousand and One Nights, which had not before been seen in any European language.

Some of these are beautiful and interesting; some, as will be readily supposed, are of very inferior merit; and some are poor imitations of tales already known.

M. Von Hammer gives us also a curious history of the present translation. From this it appears that he first made a French version of the Arabic original, the MS. of which translation was sent to Paris for publication, and consigned to the care of the Baron de Sacy. Having, however, been subsequently advised to send it to London, the MS. was forwarded from Paris accordingly, and has, from that time, been lost, every inquiry after it having been in vain.

Under these peculiar circumstances, and to prevent the fruit of his labour being gathered by another, M. Von Hammer has hastened the publication of the present work, which is a German translation of the lost French one.

I shall not dwell upon this singular loss. The unimpeachable honour of the illustrious and venerable scholar to whom it was committed in Paris, and the integrity of the gentleman (the Rev. Mr. Keene) by whose advice it was sent to England,—gave M. Von Hammer every security that the most jealous author could desire; and if all his researches have proved fruitless, the random surmises of another would be as ridiculous as they would be uncalled for and unjust.

A second Preface contains a valuable and highly-interesting essay on the origin and progress of the Arabic work itself. M. Von Hammer traces it to an Indian source; and then ingeniously shows the various additions of Persian, Arabian, and even Grecian romance, made, from time to time, to the first collection.

The following remarks form a third Preface, and contain a brief account of all the MSS. which are known in Europe. Amid much display of that extensive learning which characterizes all the works of this eminent Orientalist, he here, however, draws some conclusions which, as it seems to me, at least, are scarcely supported by the premises.

After presenting this third Preface to your readers, I shall, with your permission, take the liberty, in a future Number, of making some trifling observations on the opinions of M. Von Hammer, upon the collection of the Thousand and One Nights itself, and on the various imitations of it which have appeared in France or England.

D. S.

On the Contents of the Twelve MSS. of the Thousand and One Nights, which are known to exist in Europe.

The manuscript from which M. Galland made his translation, and which is to be found in the Royal Library at Paris, contains only 282 Nights; which are, moreover, much shorter than the same Nights in our

manuscript. The translation of Galland agrees with it, as far as touches the arrangement of the Nights, till the sixty-ninth, where, in the original, the story of the Three Apples commences; while, in the French translation, it begins on the ninetieth Night. This disagreement arises from M. Galland having there inserted the story of Sindbad, which he took from another manuscript, his own not containing it. In this way he arbitrarily confounded the number of the Nights. The remaining part, from the 90th to the 282d Night, contains

The Story of the Three Apples—of the Little Hunchback—of the Christian Merchant—of the Purveyor—of the Jewish Doctor—of the Tailor—of the Barber and his Brothers.

The Story of Abu'l Hassan and Shemschihar—of Nouredin and the Fair Persian—of the Persian Prince, Bedr—and of Camar-al-zaman; with which the manuscript concludes.

These tales, in the translation of M. Galland, follow in the same order, with this difference only, that the story of Camar-al-zaman precedes that of Prince Bedr, and that the number of the Nights is changed.

The translation of M. Galland contains besides, The Story of Ganem, the Son of Abou Agub—of Zein al Asnam, and the King of the Genii—of Khodadad and his Brothers—of the Princess of Deriabar—of the Sleeper Awakened—of Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp—of the Adventure of the Caliph Haroun al Rasbid—of the Blind Man, Baba Abdallah—of Sidi Noman—of Coja Hassan al Habbal—of Ah Babu and the Forty Robbers—of Ali Coja—of the Enchanted Horse—of the two Sisters who envied their youngest Sister.

Of all these tales, the manuscript contains only two; namely, the Story of Ganem, and that of the Enchanted Horse. M. Galland appears to have taken all the rest from the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian collections in the Royal Library at Paris; since, in another manuscript of that Library, in twenty-seven parts, ten of which are wanting, a series of 870 Nights is contained, in which these other tales are equally missing. In lieu of them, are found therein the Story of King Noman and his Son; with other fables and anecdotes, some of which are already known, and some are yet untranslated, but will soon appear in print at Paris.

The third manuscript, which in completeness surpasses both of these just spoken of, but which is yet behind ours in that respect, is the one which formerly belonged to Wortley Montague; and which afterwards, through the hands of Dr. White, became the property of Mr. Jonathan Scott, who published, in the Oriental Collections of Sir Wm. Onseley, a table of its contents.

Beside the deficiencies which appear in the succession of the Nights, we have only to compare the table of contents with that of our manuscript, to be convinced, at the first glance, of the greater copiousness of the latter.

Mr. Scott possesses also a fragment of the *Thousand and One Nights*, brought from Bengal by his friend Mr. Anderson. In his work, called *Tales, Anecdotes, and Letters, translated from the Arabic and Persian*, London, 1800, he has published, from this fragment, the story of the Flying Chair, and that of the King, his Mistress, his Son, and the Seven Viziers. The second of these tales is contained in our manuscript, but not the first.

The fifth known manuscript of the *Thousand and One Nights*, is that which Dr. Russel brought from Aleppo. It contains only 280 Nights, and the stories contained in it are already translated. Dr. Russel is said to have found in it some tales which are contained in the 'Continuation of the *Thousand and One Nights*,' by Cazotte, translated from French into English, and published at Edinburgh.

We readily believe that the substance of several of these tales may be found in Dr. Russel's manuscript; but the form of them belongs entirely to M. Cazotte, who appears to have translated them from the oral narration of an inhabitant of Aleppo. The greatest part of these tales, seeming to have an Oriental foundation, offend, too, by the mutilation of names, and introduction of French manners, against all local truth. Others are evidently altogether of the invention of Cazotte; as, for example, the story under the title of '*Les Promesses et la mort du Capitaine Franchemont, et de ses Braves.*'

The Story of Maugrabi, and that of the Lover of the Stars, are ornamented imitations of the tales translated by Galland. The only one among the stories of this so styled translation that we have found a genuine Oriental one, and met with in a collection of Arabian Tales, is the History of Sinkarib and his two Viziers. We are convinced that by far the greatest part of the remaining stories belong to M. Cazotte.

The sixth manuscript is that which was in the possession of the immortal Sir William Jones, and of which Richardson has given a specimen in his Arabic Grammar. We know how far the contents of this manuscript extend, as it is in that respect the same as the one which is to be found in the Vatican Library.

The Imperial Library at Vienna has an imperfect manuscript, which contains 200 Nights, a part of those translated by Galland.

In the last place, we know three manuscripts, which, like ours, were bought in Egypt; and, in regard to the succession of the tales and order of the Nights, resemble it exactly. This, however, prevents not a difference of style appearing.

The first of these belongs to the valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts of Count Italinsky. The second is that which was procured by the English travellers, Clarke and Cripps, at Cairo, but which, by the damage it suffered in a shipwreck, has become illegible. The third, at the time of the French expedition to Egypt, was in the possession of M. Varsy, a French merchant, who formerly resided at Rosetta, and has since returned to Marseilles.

Not one of these three manuscripts can, for the beauty of the writing, be compared with ours, which, although not of choice beauty, is yet correct and legible.

By this review we see, that, of twelve manuscripts of the *Thousand and One Nights* known in Europe, only four appear to be copies of the same original; and that the compilers and transcribers of these collections alter, according to their pleasure, the order of the Nights,—inserting, in this frame, tales, anecdotes, and fables, which belonged not to the original design. Thus the *Thousand and One Nights* are a medley of Persian, Indian, and Arabian tales, of various ages and of various character, mixed together, according to their taste and humour, by the lovers of this kind of reading. The frame-work always remains the same; the

length of the Nights must increase in proportion as the original matter is enriched; and since the modern inhabitants of Egypt exceed all other Orientals in their passionate love of romance, so must the substance of the Thousand and One Nights increase there much more than in Persia, India, or other countries inhabited by the Arabians.

ON THE VARIOUS OPINIONS ENTERTAINED AS TO A CON-
NEXION BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND THE
GREEK TONGUES.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Pontak, May 10, 1825.

I AM one of those who, after no small acquaintance with the perils incident to a voyage of life, have found myself, like the poet, "on a single plank thrown safe ashore," from whence

I hear the tumult of the distant throng,
As that of seas remote, or dying storms;
And meditate on scenes more silent still.

Yet I have not, I trust, survived an attachment to the great interests of our race, which descended to me, as a fair inheritance, improved by invaluable parental precept, and still more by the powerful stimulant of parental example.

I was thus prepared, as soon as the story of your wrongs reached this retirement, to appreciate the manner in which you propose to avenge them,—by enlightening the darkened intellect of oppressors, as to their true interests, while you promote among the oppressed the knowledge of their rights, and a courageous, yet pacific, determination to assert them.

To the *monthly* luxuries of my library-table, which serve to counteract the soporific influence of an old man's elbow chair, I immediately added the *Oriental Herald*; and observing that you encourage occasional digressions from subjects commercial and political, (both deeply interesting to those of your readers who are still *secularized*.) I have determined to hazard an experiment on your editorial courtesy.

At the top of p. 396 of your April Number, it is remarked, that "it may perhaps be difficult to persuade a modern philosopher that a Chinese and an ancient Greek actually studied at the same school." This remark brought to my recollection the conjecture proposed more than forty years ago, by a writer of whom I know nothing, unless he were *Daniel Webb*, whose name I find on the title-page of the justly admired 'Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry, 1762.' The work (of seventy-four 18mo. pages) to which I now refer, is thus entitled: 'Some Reasons for thinking that the Greek Language was borrowed from the Chinese: in Notes on the Grammatica Sinica of Mons. Fourmont. By Mr. Webb.—MDCCLXXXVII.'

I learn from the *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* (1789, iii. 700) that M. Fourmont, who died at Paris in 1745, aged 62, was a highly accomplished scholar, who used to be consulted as an oracle, on the Greek, Persian, Syriac,

Arabic, Hebrew, and even the Chinese tongue. His *Latin Grammar of the Chinese Language*, entitled *Grammatica Sinica*, was published in folio, 1742. M. Fourmont does not appear, from any of Mr. Webb's quotations, to have entertained the question he has proposed, and as to which he modestly says, (p. 10.) "My present aim is little more than to set it in motion." Neither literary leisure, nor grammatical ability, will allow me to aim at any thing beyond this notice, to those of your philological readers to whom it may be unknown, of an ingenious conjecture by a writer who sufficiently appears to have been no novice as to an acquaintance with the classic tongues. The following passages, from his preface, you will probably consider as worthy of quotation:—

"The splendour of the Greek language compared with the poverty of the Chinese, the distance of the countries from each other, and the silence of history concerning any communication between them, will be early objections. The first of these is easily dismissed; the greatest things must have small beginnings; Hercules, as well as Hylas, was rocked in a cradle. As to the rest—What do we know of the migrations and intercourse of men, previous to the commencement of the Greek annals, an era of yesterday, when we reflect on the probable age of the world? Who were the Pelasgi, and whence? Asiatics, most certainly; and this is all that we know of their origin; a circumstance which makes it probable that they came from the most distant parts of Asia.

"In cultivated life societies are stationary; they grow fond and proud of their own improvements. In an unimproved state, mankind are wanderers; the shepherd and hunter are, what the philosopher affects to be, —citizens of the world. Happily, the period is within record, at which our parents came down from the rocks of the North; and their language is now hissing on the banks of the Ganges. The spirit of trade has renewed our earliest habits, and brought us round to that East from whence we set out."

Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his *Dissertation Upon the Origin of Language*, (p. 6.) mentions—and it has a curious coincidence—that "Mr. Webb, an ingenious writer in the reign of Charles II., is so fully persuaded that the *Chinese* was not derived from any other language, that, on the contrary, he declares it to be the only original language; and that they now talk in China the language of Paradise." Dr. Shuckford also, having stated the pretensions of the Hebrew, adds, (*Connect. B. ii.*)—"There is, indeed, another language in the world, which seems to have some marks of its being the first original language of mankind: it is the Chinese."

Bishop Hurd, in one of his earliest publications, has brought together the Greeks and the Chinese, though he does not entertain Mr. Webb's notion, but rather assumes the priority of the Greeks. I refer to the 'Discourse on Poetical Imitation,' annexed to his *Horace*. In the first edition, (1753,) for it was afterwards omitted, there is an account of "the state of poetry among the Chinese," in which he gives "a short analysis" of 'The Orphan of the House of Chau,' a *Chinese drama*, with which "the very learned and inquisitive Du Halde hath obliged us." An English translation of this drama was one of the early literary occupations of Bishop Percy, who published it 1762, with Dr. Hurd's criticism, among his 'Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese;' including an original 'Dissertation on their Language and Writings.'

Dr. Hurd considers 'The *Electra* of *Sophocles*' as "a subject of near resemblance" to this tragedy, and discovers "several lesser marks of coincidence between this Chinese and the Grecian models;" while "the general plan or structure of this poem, in the main, agrees very well to the Greek form." From hence, he does not argue, as Mr. Webb would probably have argued, but supposes, that "common sense" had led "the Chinese to such an identity of composition with that of Greece." Perhaps some of your learned readers will pursue this subject. Should Mr. Webb's Treatise be scarce, which is not probable, on notice in the Herald, it shall be readily sent to your publisher for such a purpose.

SUBSIDIARIUS.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Nothing can be more gratifying or acceptable to us, than such curious and interesting inquiries as these suggested by our learned and liberal Correspondent. We shall be obliged by his sending Webb's Treatise for perusal, to our Publishers: and sincerely hope, if our necessary attention to the pressing subjects of the day should prevent our early attention to the subject, that some spirit, similar to his own, will be drawn out of its retirement to pursue it for us.

ON THE CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV.

THE long and eventful reign of Louis XIV. constitutes one of the most interesting and instructive eras in the annals of modern Europe. National vanity has compared this celebrated period to the Augustan age of Rome. Poets have immortalized it with praise, and Voltaire himself, forgetting that impartiality was the first duty of an historian, has bequeathed to posterity a fulsome and laboured panegyric. In the estimate of a genuine Frenchman of the old school, the personal character of Louis XIV. presents the *beau idéal* of a king. The gracefulness and affability of his manners; his gallantry and devotion to the fair sex; the taste and magnificence of his court; even the beauty of his countenance, and the elegance of his carriage, were the constant themes of praise and admiration among the wits and poets of the day. If contemporary applause were an unerring criterion of merit, and possessed the posterity-binding attribute of a legal precedent—Louis would occupy an exalted niche in the temple of fame. The rising generation, whose minds are impressed with the doctrine of equality, can form no adequate idea of the language in which the place-hunters of the seventeenth century addressed the great monopolist of fortune. Flushed with the enthusiasm of loyalty, and probably somewhat exhilarated by the prospect of an annual pension, they exalted the idol of their adoration to the rank of a demigod, and prostrated themselves in grovelling subservieney before his shrine. Nor has the age of Louis XIV. been destitute of panegyrists even in modern times. The advocates of absolute monarchy appeal to it with exultation: they boast of its military glories, its literature, its refinements, its progress in art and science. To considerable admiration the Augustan age of France can justly pretend; but it was an age of tinsel and external splendour, an age of hypocrisy and parade, which may dazzle and fascinate the superficial observer, but cannot impose on the philo-

sophical historian. It exhibited the triumph of legitimacy over utility: in the reckless sacrifice of general happiness to individual caprice, it displayed a warning example to modern times of the danger to be apprehended from the exercise of irresponsible power; and though aristocracy may indulge its dotage in recalling to memory those years of tyranny, when the noble was exempt from taxation, and the Bastile and the *lettre de cachet* stifled the remonstrances of indignant patriotism, yet by the truly virtuous and honourable mind, that reign of monarchical insolence will be viewed with disgust and horror, and the ministers and courtiers of Louis XIV. be held up to the scorn and execration of mankind.

In this essay, it is not proposed to enter into any discussion of the wars or public politics of the reign; such a discussion would be incompatible with the space to which this article must of necessity be confined. But it may not be unamusing to the reader, if a picture of the interior of the Court is here sketched out, and the principal characters who figured there introduced to his acquaintance. He will be, as it were, permitted to penetrate behind the scenes, and allowed to inspect the secret machinery of government; nor will the information thus acquired be simply entertaining; it may also be productive of instruction, and facilitate with young students of French history the acquisition of just and important knowledge. For since, in pure despotisms, the mere will of the prince constitutes law, it is highly conducive to a true apprehension of the causes which influence the enactment of his laws, to become acquainted with his private character, and to understand the feelings, passions, rivalships, plots, and parties of the Court circle. It is almost impertinent to remind the reader, that in studying the histories of France and England, he must philosophise on his facts in a very different manner: the public mind of a despotism bears no resemblance to that of a representative government. The pulse of the one beats languidly, while the other answers to the least pressure. In this disquisition, therefore, the manners of the Court will be described, as affording the best index of the spirit of the age.

From 1643, when Louis succeeded to the throne at five years of age, to his majority in 1651, it is the history of the Regency of Anne of Austria, his mother, and the Fronde. From his majority to the death of Mazarin, in 1661, it is the history of the Cardinal, who enjoyed undivided power. Upon his death, Louis, whose vanity had been frequently humbled by the dictatorial haughtiness of his minister, determined for the future to retain in his own hands the reins of government. At the first council, which he held in person, he displayed the despotism of his character. After having announced his intention of being his own prime minister, he proceeded in the following strain: "*La face du theatre change; j'aurai d'autres principes dans le gouvernement de mon état, dans le régime de mes finances, et dans la négociation au dehors, que n'avait feu Monsieur le Cardinal. Vous savez mes volontés; c'est à vous maintenant, messieurs, de les exécuter.*"¹ Duclos has related two anecdotes of the King, which strongly mark his disposition to rule without control. Shortly after he had promulgated his determination of directing affairs in person, he entered the Parliament in a hunting dress, booted, spurred, and with a whip in his hand, and after having prohibited

¹ Millot's Hist. de France, p. 387. Vol. 2.

the members from issuing any edicts without his permission, he dissolved the assembly. What must have been the state of public opinion, when such a violation of the law passed unnoticed! The same historian, who has recorded this transaction, also relates, that an old magistrate, on reading to the King a document which he had prepared for his signature, made use of the expression, "Le Roi et l'Etat;" on which Louis interrupted him, saying, "L'Etat! C'est moi." So high and exalted were his notions of prerogative! It was a misfortune of incalculable magnitude both to the King and to his people, that in early life his education had been grossly neglected. The ambition of Mazarin induced that crafty minister to rear up in ignorance the future sovereign of France, in the hope of perpetuating his own authority. He inspired his royal pupil with a passion for *fêtes* and military parade, and thus detached his attention from those more important matters of public polity, which the jealous Italian regulated at his pleasure. If the testimony of the Duchess of Orleans, who lived with the King for years, and must have had ample opportunities for observation, may be implicitly credited, he could scarcely read or write. "Louis XIV. et toute sa famille, à l'exception de mon fils (the celebrated Regent) haïssent la lecture. On n'avait rien appris au roi ni au Monsieur (her own husband): à peine savaient ils lire ou écrire."^{*} To this want of education the candid and liberal historian will attribute many of the imperfections of his character; but while the ignorance of Louis excites our pity, rather than provokes our anger, what language shall we find sufficiently expressive of our indignation against the treacherous Cardinal? It is not irrational to ascribe the religious bigotry of the King to the contracted range of his understanding, nor can we wonder at his submission to Le Tellier and La Chaise. Mazarin then must be execrated by posterity as the indirect author of the persecution of the Jansenists, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantz; for had Louis cultivated in youth his natural capacity, which was far above mediocrity, it is difficult to conjecture that he would have acted with so much impolicy.

It is an opinion eagerly embraced, and studiously promulgated by the aristocratic admirers of the age of Louis XIV., that his Court was the model of elegance, delicacy, taste, and refinement. Upon this favourite theme of declamation, it is now proposed to offer a few remarks, and, more particularly, on the prostitution and general libertinism of the *haut ton*, and to illustrate by a few facts the true condition of moral and conjugal duty, in the atmosphere of Marly and Versailles. Louis himself was passionately fond of women; he had very little of the tenderness or sentiment of a lover; animal gratification, as with the brutes, constituted the *summum bonum* of his felicity; nor does he appear to have appreciated the pleasures of sympathy, or entertained the slightest regard for mental attractions. Hence arose the wavering inconstancy of his disposition; for as mere sensuality was ever in his thoughts, he required the stimulus of novelty to excite his pallid and depraved appetite. "Louis XIV. était galant, mais souvent il poussait la galanterie jusqu'à la débauche; tout lui était bon pourvu que ce fussent des femmes, les paysannes, les filles des jardiniers, les femmes de chambre, les dames de

^{*} Mem. par la Duchesse d'Orléans, p. 29.

qualité; elles n'avaient que faire semblant d'être amoureuses de lui."² The truth is, that in matters of the heart, as well as in matters of government, Louis was a selfish, unfeeling, and tyrannical despot. He cared no more for a woman after she had once submitted to his desires (with the single exception of Madame de Montespan). This is a serious charge against his humanity, but the materials of proof are abundant. One instance must satisfy the reader: it is of La Valliere that we are about to speak—the modest, the beautiful, the affectionate La Valliere—of that fascinating but ill-fated woman, whose attractions must command our homage, whose sufferings must awaken our pity, and whose injuries must rouse our indignation. Louis first saw her in the establishment of Henrietta, of England, wife of Philip, Duke of Orleans. She was on the eve of marriage with an individual selected by her parents, but disliked by herself. In fact, she once encountered the King walking alone in the gardens, without any attendant, and immediately felt in his favour a pure and intense passion. She was, indeed, the only one of his mistresses who loved Louis de Bourbon; the others loved the King of France. After a struggle between inclination and duty, this virtuous maiden submitted to her lover, and for some years he returned her affection with reciprocal fondness. But he became at length tired and satiated; he gradually detached himself from his mistress; and when Madame de Montespan had meshed him in her toils, he cast off the virtuous La Valliere for the mercenary embraces of an adulteress. The new favourite exercised her triumph with all the malevolence of a rival, actually compelling La Valliere, with the King's assent, to dress and undress her. Why did La Valliere submit to such treatment? On account of her children, who would have been worse provided for than they were, had this excellent mother resisted the caprices of De Montespan. But even this indignity was slight in comparison with what she endured from her seducer himself.

The act we are now about to record, evinces such brutal heartlessness, such a total absence of humanity and manhood, that, had it not rested on the testimony of an eye-witness, for the honour of our nature we should have ascribed it to scandal. Talk of the ferocity of the lower orders, forsooth! Why, we venture to assert, that no ballast-heaver on the Thames would behave with such studied ruffianism towards a woman he had seduced, and who loved him, and was the mother of his children, as Louis did towards the affectionate La Valliere. The following passage is quoted at length, not only to point out the act he committed, but also to give the opinion of the Duchess on the character of La Valliere:—
 “La Valliere n'était point une maîtresse légère; elle l'a bien prouvé par sa pénitence continuée jusqu'à sa fin. C'était une personne aimable, bonne, douce, et tendre. Ce n'était pas par ambition qu'elle aimait le roi; elle avait pour lui une véritable passion, et n'a jamais aimé que lui. C'est sur l'instigation de la Montespan que le roi l'a traitée si mal: Madame La Valliere avait le cœur pénétré; mais la pauvre creature s'imaginait qu'elle ne pouvait faire un plus grand sacrifice à Dieu, qu'en lui sacrifiant la source de ses fautes; et croyait être d'autant plus agréable à Dieu, que la pénitence viendrait du même lieu où elle avait péché.

² Mem. par la Duchesse d'Orléans, p. 46.

Ainsi restait elle par penitence, chez Madame de Montespan. Celle-ci qui avait plus d'esprit, se moquait d'elle publiquement, la traitait fort mal, et obligeait le roi à en agir de même. Il fallait traverser la chambre de la Vallière pour se rendre chez la Montespan : le roi avait un joli epagneul appelle malice. A l'instigation de la Montespan, il prenait ce petit chien, et le jetait a la Duchesse de la Vallière ; en disant : "*Tenez, Madame, voila votre compagne : c'est assez.*"⁴

Thus it appears, that this most magnanimous descendant of St. Louis, who is described by his admirers as the model of chivalry, threw his spaniel in the face of the mother of his children, and telling her, at the same time, that she was not a fit companion for any thing but a dog, left her in tears, and walked away with an abandoned adulteress, whose heart was blacker than night. Yet this outrage was committed in that boasted "age of chivalry and exalted feeling," whose downfall was pathetically bewailed in the oratorical rhapsody of Burke, when that political renegade announced to his affrighted contemporaries, "that the glory of Europe was extinguished for ever" !

So much for the humanity of Louis XIV. Perhaps the following anecdote will give the reader as high an opinion of his honour : Mademoiselle Montpensier, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, was enamoured of the famous Count de Lauzun. The King had consented to their marriage, after many scruples on the score of "mesalliance." Lauzun, anxious to celebrate his nuptials with extraordinary magnificence, most imprudently delayed the ceremony for eight days, in order to astonish the courtiers by the splendour of his equipage. In this interval, Louvois, who dreaded the ascendancy of Lauzun, represented to the rest of the royal family the disgrace and hazard of this projected match, and he succeeded so well in his negotiations, that Louis retracted his promise, and incarcerated the unfortunate Lauzun in the dungeons of Pignerol. There he remained, during several years, along with the famous Fouquet ; but Mademoiselle proved faithful to her unhappy lover. She importuned the King incessantly to procure his release, but without effect. At length, as a *dernier resort*, she applied to Madame de Montespan, hoping, through the aid of the mistress, to alter the resolution of Louis. The manner in which this negotiation was conducted, shows at once the devoted constancy of Mademoiselle, the cunning and avarice of De Montespan, and the baseness and treachery of the King. Mademoiselle promised Madame de Montespan to constitute the Duke of Maine (the eldest child of Madame) her heir, provided the King permitted her marriage with Lauzun. This proposal was in due time communicated to Louis, and he affected to be deeply sensible of the generous kindness which Mademoiselle displayed towards his favourite son. Matters, however, did not advance so expeditiously as the impatience of a lover desired ; but to all remonstrances against delay, the only answer she received was, "At a more convenient season I will send for you." Unfortunately for Mademoiselle, before the convenient season did arrive, she was waited on by Louvois and Colbert, who announced the purport of their visit to be the arrangement of the immediate legal transfer of the principality of Dombes and the Comté d'Eu to the Duke of Maine. She

⁴ Mem. par le Duchesse d'Orleans, p. 54.

refused to ratify the deeds till Lauzun was released; but the threat of the Bastille overcame her resolution, and she reluctantly signed the document. "Après ma donation," says Mademoiselle in her *Memoirs*, "ce furent des remerciemens, des promesses sans fin et sans bornes: vous avez fait un tour habile, et d'une bonne tête; le roi, qui vous a aimée jusqu'à présent comme sa cousine-germaine, va vous considérer comme sa sœur. Ceci va augmenter son amitié et sa confiance, et vous lier très étroitement. Il ne songera qu'à vous donner des marques de sa reconnaissance, qu'à vous faire tous les plaisirs qu'il pourra imaginer. Vous serez de tout, et il voudra que tout le monde voie la considération qu'il aura pour vous." These were fine promises, certainly; but Louis, after having swindled his dupe out of her property, instead of expediting the marriage, laughed at her credulity, and, instead of blushing for his own dishonourable conduct, plumed himself on his diplomatic dexterity. Premeditated fraud and deliberate lying were quite compatible with the character of a gentleman and a king in the days of chivalry.

The *lutison* between Louis and Madame de Maintenon, and the extraordinary elevation of that celebrated woman, is a perfect specimen of the romance of real life. Her maiden name was Frances d'Aubigne. She was born in the prison of Niort. Hunger, rags, disease, penury, and filth, surrounded the cradle of the future Queen of France. After her parents were liberated from confinement, the family proceeded to America. On the voyage, the little d'Aubigne was supposed to be dead: a gun was fired preparatory to throwing the corpse into the sea; but the mother, in imprinting a last kiss on the lips of her child, warmed it into life, and thus saved it from an untimely end. Their day in America was short: the imprudent father addicted himself to gaming, and was ruined. The mother and daughter returned to France in a state of destitution; Frances was placed in a convent by the joint contributions of her relatives; and, at the age of fifteen, her aunt, Madame de Neillant, conducted her to Paris, where she was introduced to the celebrated Scarron. The deformed poet pitied her forlorn condition, and generously offered to place her in a religious establishment at his own cost, or marry her. She accepted with gratitude his hand, and, at the age of sixteen, became the wife of the greatest wit in Paris. The house and table of Scarron was the literary centre of the capital, to which the scholar, the soldier, the diplomatist, in fact, all the male and female leaders of the *haut ton*, incessantly crowded. In this society, aided and improved by the instructive conversations of her talented husband, Madame Scarron acquired that polished style and fascinating manner, which rendered her the charm and ornament of polite life. After a union of ten years, Scarron died, leaving his widow in extreme distress. She applied to Mazarin for the continuance of the pension her husband had enjoyed; but the future dispenser of rewards and titles was constantly refused. After many years of privations, she was at length indebted to Madame de Montespan for her subsequent elevation. The mistress of the King need not frequent the parties of Scarron, and there became acquainted with his wife. When the children she had by Louis were growing up, it was desirable to remove them from the palace, and confide their education to

some trust-worthy individual. De Montespan selected the widow of Scarron, whose talents she appreciated, and on whose discretion she placed reliance. She behaved towards the children with the tenderness and affection of a mother. The King surprised her one day holding, with one hand, the Duke of Maine, who was sick with a fever, rocking, with the other, the cradle of Mademoiselle de Nantes, and nursing the sleeping Count de Vexin on her knees. Louis was so penetrated at the sight, that he sent her, next morning, one hundred thousand francs, and raised her pension from two thousand livres to two thousand crowns.⁶ Shortly afterwards, he purchased her the estate of Maintenon, from which she took the name by which she is known to posterity. From this period, De Maintenon became the rival of De Montespan. The King had already felt the stings of conscience, and more than one temporary separation had taken place between him and his mistress. De Montespan became capricious and ill-tempered. Louis, after submitting to her angry altercations, repaired to the mild and virtuous Maintenon. There he saw his children, whom he loved with true paternal fondness; and he thus, insensibly and by degrees, transferred some part of his love from his offspring to the woman who had superintended their education. Into the details of the courtship it is impossible to enter: suffice it to say, that the widow of Scarron became, by one of the inexplicable freaks of fortune, the lawful wife of Louis XIV.

If it be true that vice is misery, and virtue happiness, it is difficult to understand on what grounds any consistent politician can praise or admire the Augustan age of France. The specimens exhibited in this article show the condition of moral duty to have been low indeed; but the catalogue might be swelled to an amount absolutely incredible to those whose attention has not been turned to the study of French history. Louvois solicited the King to nominate Madame Dufresnoy, a lady of honour to the Queen. Madame Dufresnoy was the avowed mistress of Louvois; but, notwithstanding, the appointment was given. The Duchess of Orleans, whose frankness of narrative is most extraordinary in a female, records the following detestable plan of Louvois for keeping up military discipline, and which was admired as a piece of dexterous policy. We must give this untranslatable *morçeau* in the original:—
 “Louvois, dont les amis s’y livraient pour la plupart au vice contre la nature, disait au roi, pour les sauver, que cela valait mieux pour le service de sa majesté, que s’ils aimaient les femmes; car, lorsqu’il fallait aller à la guerre et entrer en campagne, on ne pouvait les détacher de leurs maîtresses: qu’ils retournaient avant la fin de la campagne, et que lorsqu’on venait à la bataille, il ne se trouvait pas des officiers; il en citait beaucoup d’exemples: tandis qu’ayant d’autres inclinations, ils étaient bien aises de quitter les dames, et d’entrer avec leurs amans en campagne, et que dans ce cas ils n’étaient point aussi pressés de retourner chez eux. Par ce discours il avait engagé le roi à être indulgent; ce qui n’avait pas déplu à son confesseur. En effet, si l’on avait voulu punir ce vice, il aurait fallu commencer par le college des jesuites.”⁷

Many of the vices of Louis are to be ascribed to his defective education, and many more to the pride and self-sufficiency which was unhap-

⁶ Lettre de Seignie, tom. 2. p. 121.

⁷ Mem. p. 27.

pily produced by the servility of his flatterers. He was made to believe himself a demi-god, and to the shame of literature be it said, even Racine and Boileau contributed to the delusion. Louis, on his return to Versailles in 1677, said to Racine and Despreaux, his historiographers, "I am sorry you did not come to the last campaign; you would have seen the war, and the journey would not have been long." "Your Majesty," replied Racine, "did not give us time to pack up our portmanteaus."—"Reponse ingenieuse," adds Millot, "où l'on reconnaît l'art, si commun à la cour, d'assaisonner finement la flatterie."⁸ The flatteries of Boileau, who, as a professed satirist, affected a stern and noble independence of character, are disgusting to those who can penetrate beneath the flimsy veil with which he covered his fawning panegyrics. In the 'Discours au Roi,' prefixed to the complete editions of his satires, he tells the king that his royal wisdom is not the slow growth of age, but of innate intellectual superiority; and after sneering at his predecessors, who from want of capacity were compelled to nominate a prime minister, he compares Louis to the gods, who never act by deputy.

Toi, qui seul, sans ministre, à l'exemple des dieux,
Soutiens tout par toi même, et vois tout par tes yeux

This compliment gratified the king; and as a practical proof that he merited the comparison, he gave Boileau a pension, which the poet no doubt considered a very godlike act. In the ode on the capture of Namur, he again exalts the king among the celestials; but not satisfied with dealing in generalities, Boileau specifically identifies Louis with Jupiter Tonans. After desiring the winds to be silent, in order that the trees may enjoy the ode in praise of the king, and describing the French soldiers and officers as "dix mille vaillans Alcides," he then elevates his strain, in order to keep Louis at a proper elevation above these Herculean warriors. So it occurred to his imagination, that as Hercules was the son of Jove, he must of necessity, to have his ode in good keeping, place Louis on an equality with the lover of Alcmena.

"Quel bruit, quel feu l'environne !
C'est Jupiter en personne,
Ou c'est le vainqueur de Mons."

This fulsome adulation, addressed to a king who could scarcely read or write, and whose pride and vanity were unbounded, was well calculated to mislead and corrupt the natural good understanding which Louis undoubtedly possessed. He was induced to believe himself the greatest man who ever drew the breath of life, and regarded his subjects as mere tools and instruments by which he was enabled to accomplish the gratification of his desires. Inspired with this feeling, and anxious to leave behind him a monument of his power and taste, he indulged in the building *mania*, to an extent that ruined his finances. Dangeau, whose accuracy may be relied on, states in his Memoirs, that in August 1684, there were twenty-two thousand men and six thousand horses employed at Versailles. In the following year, the number was increased to thirty-six thousand labourers. The expenses at Marly were equally great. Louis, being tired with the publicity of Versailles, wished to build a small

⁸ Millot Hist. de France, tom. II., p. 103.

chateau, and occasionally retire into solitude. On this plan, Marly was commenced; but St. Simon declares that the cost of this palace was not inferior to the expenditure incurred at Versailles. Some idea may be formed of the reckless profusion of Louis, from the following extract:—
 “J’ai vu apporter de Compiègne et des autres forêts, de grands arbres avec leurs branches et leurs feuilles. Plus des trois quarts mouraient, et ils étoient sur-le-champ remplacés par d’autres. J’ai vu des allées entières disparoitre d’un coup de sifflet, de vastes espaces de bois epais changées en pieces d’eau, où je me suis promené en gondole, et remises ensuite en forêts, a n’y pas voir le jour, des le moment qu’on les plantoit. J’ai vu des bassins changés en cascades, des eaux jaillissantes en eaux plates, les séjours des carpes ornés de sculptures et de dorures les plus exquises, et à peine achevés, rechangés et rétablis en boulingrins; sans compter la prodigieuse machine avec ses immenses aqueducs, ses conduits, et ses reservoirs monstrueux.”⁹

France, during the reign of Louis XIV., experienced a vicissitude of fortune only surpassed by that which she felt under the late emperor. At the treaty of Nimègue, Louis had arrived at the zenith of his prosperity. From the moment when he most unjustly, in violation of the express clause in the treaty of the Pyrenees, claimed, in right of his wife, the throne of Spain, his fortune declined. The memorable war of the succession exhausted the wealth and humbled the pride of France. The triumphs of Luxembourg and Turenne were eclipsed by the successes of Eugene and Marlborough. The domestic afflictions of Louis, in addition to his political reverses, subdued his proud and arrogant spirit. The memory of his past vices all crowded on his recollection, and the fear of death became every day more dreadful to his mind. Can it excite surprise, that an old libertine, grossly ignorant, and horrified at the prospect of eternal damnation, should seek consolation and hope in the cheering promises of his confessor? The presence of his illegitimate children, dearer to his heart than the offspring of his marriage, constituted at once his happiness and his misery; as an affectionate parent, which he unquestionably was, he enjoyed, in the company of his family, all the gratification which paternal feelings generate, but that gratification was embittered by the recollection of his vices: he thought of La Vallière, a voluntary recluse, separated from the world, and driven into the solitude of a cloister by the agonies of remorse, and the studied cruelties of the father of her children; he thought of the young Fontange, and the wretched hour in which he held in his arms the pale and emaciated body of the dying victim of his seduction; and in these dreadful moments of reflection, he felt as a mere man: his victories, his trophies, his buildings, the flattery of his courtiers, his poets, and his historians,—what consolation could they bring to the harassed mind of Louis? Adversity, both political and domestic, had taught him wisdom: he saw and felt the nobleness of virtue, and learnt to de-pise the false glitter of aristocracy; but though he perceived that power “could not minister to a mind diseased, nor raze out the written troubles of the brain,” yet he unluckily sought protection among those who deluded his weak mind, and rendered him the instrument of their ambition. To the ascendancy of Le Tellier and La Chaise,

⁹ St. Simon, vol. VI., p. 165.

the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and the destruction of Port Royal, must be attributed. These intriguing churchmen, by the aid of superstitious terrors and the threat of eternal punishment, held Louis in complete subjection. The following particulars will place the religious bigotry of the king in a true and clear light, and this single example will enable the reader to judge of his general character after his marriage with Madame de Maintenon.

During the Augustan age of France, the clergy and nobility were exempt from taxation. The expenses incurred during the war of the succession had exhausted the treasury, and the ordinary sources of revenue were insufficient to meet the national expenditure. In this critical state of affairs, Desmarets, the minister of finance, urged the king to levy a tenth on the property of the church and nobility. This proposal filled the king with horror: he represented the plan of the minister as absolutely sacrilegious, and pleaded the privilege of the nobles against the arguments of Desmarets. St Simon, himself a peer, and a most determined stickler for authority, thus relates the facts¹⁰:—"Le roi, qui avait des scrupules sur l'énormité des impôts, en conçut de plus forts à mesure que l'extrême besoin le mit dans la nécessité de fouler davantage ses sujets. Prendre aussi les biens de tout le monde, disait il, c'est ce que je ne crois pas pouvoir faire en sûreté de conscience. A la fin, il s'ouvrit de ses scrupules au Pere Le Tellier, qui lui demande quelques jours pour y penser, et revint avec un consultation. non de sa compagnie qu'il ne fallait pas compromettre, mais des habiles docteurs de Sorbonne, qui decidaient que tous les biens des Français etaient au roi en propre, et que, quand il les prendrait, il ne prendrait que ce qui lui appartient." On this assurance, the scruples of Louis disappeared, but he permitted the clergy to compromise for their quota of the tax, at a very moderate sum. The conduct of Louis on this occasion shows, in strong colours, the wretched inbecility of his character; and the answer of the Sorbonne abundantly proves the debased condition of public spirit.—Louis, the pride and patron of aristocracy, the handsomest and best-bred gentleman in France, could not reconcile to his refined and delicate conscience the taxation of the rich; but this most religious and gracious descendant of St. Louis never hesitated to extort the earnings of honest industry, to gratify the rapacious avarice of his strumpets, and pamper the sneaking sycophants of his court.

The impossibility of including in this article the last years of Louis, and explaining the nature of his famous will, and the consequences to which it led, compel us to close this notice abruptly. In a future Number, we shall detail the struggles for the regency, and the peculiar views of the Duke of Orleans and his competitor, the Duke of Maine.

¹⁰ St. Simon's Memoires.

REVIEW OF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR IN BRITISH
INDIA.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*,

SIR,

Bengal, Jan. 1825.

YOUR publication has attracted deserved attention in "the city of palaces," and countries subject to the rule of those who reside in it. It has elicited a spirit of inquiry which must be productive of advantage; and whatever may be the opinion of those who disperse the loaves and fishes in this best of all countries, be assured your efforts "*ex funno dare lucem*", will be regarded with no common interest by that portion of your countrymen who venture to think without asking the permission of the constituted authorities. May you long continue your labours, to the amusement and improvement of those whose vocation it is to rule, and of those whose business it is to obey. The classes are somewhat unequally divided, but a vigilant attention to the proceedings of "the powers that be," will not be useless to either.

If an attentive and impartial review of the events of the last year be taken, it will not be found that they are less replete with interest than those which have preceded. We have had wars and rumours of wars, although our late illustrious ruler *gives* such pledges of uninterrupted tranquillity, that one should suppose it quite impossible that any period short of a century should witness the discharge of a gun between the Ganges and the Indus, without the express sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council. The pamphlet recommending the transformation of our swords into ploughshares had scarcely reached us, when the Government Gazette was compelled to announce that our troops had retired (of course in good order) before the subjects of his golden-footed Majesty; that a Pindaree chief had appeared in force on the frontier; and that the head collector of a vast tract of country, repulsed in an attack on a zumeendar's abode, had fallen before "a potty fortress by an unknown hand," leaving his principal assistants in the hands of the enemy.

The history of the Burmese war will not want a chronicler: Hastings had his; and Amherst will not find it difficult to present to the world a goodly quarto, "*more solito*," from the most authentic sources, and according to the most approved receipts for such compilations. We hope the historian of his Lordship's deeds of arms will have the candour to tell us who advised him to consent to the "*rendezvous*" of the expedition upon a coast so insalubrious, that, at the season of the year selected, to approach it was certain death.

The taking of Rangoon, which, by-the-by, the enemy very wisely abandoned at our approach, was announced to the capital and the provinces by that firing of salutes at sunrise, and hoisting of flags, which it is a great mistake to consider the most certain indication of military success. As Voltaire has remarked, "*Après le combat on fit chanter le 'Te Deum' chacun dans son camp*;" and we presume the King of the Golden Foot has long since thanked the white elephant he worships for putting it into

the heads of Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget, to fix the period for the despatch of thirteen thousand men from Calcutta, precisely as if they had determined to give them the obvious advantage of reaching their destination in the rainy season, when the pestilential miasmata exhaled from this universal swamp might have the full effect apprehended by those who had thought it worth while to read any account of the country, and most desired by the enemy.

"Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat." We have covered ourselves with glory, (as the *Moniteur* used to say,) at Ramoo and Rangoon; but be the final result of the campaign what it may, let us not forget that the time of the year selected for its commencement cost us the lives of two-thirds of our army.

It is pleasing, however, under any state affliction, to be able to rely on the affections and loyalty of the army, because we have good military authority for supposing that "Dieu est presque toujours du côté des grandes masses." Accordingly, we felt secure in the "imposing attitude" we had assumed; and "come what may," as Mr. Canning says, we relied for ultimate success in the struggle on the devoted attachment of the Native soldiery; when "Eheu fugaces" accounts arrived at the headquarters that two battalions of sepoys were in open mutiny at about ten miles distant from Fort-William.

This was very disagreeable information, as you may well suppose. However, the heads of offices were collected and consulted; for we hold in esteem the proverb which sayeth, that in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom; and every effort was accordingly made to convince the sepoys, by irrefragable argument, that it was much more respectable, and according to established usage, to go and die of pestilence in the Burmese swamps, than to fall ingloriously by the guns of the European artillery and his Majesty's 47th regiment, drawn up in admirable positions for giving effect to the able and convincing demonstrations of the Quarter-Master-General on this head, who was on the spot ready to apply that "ultima ratio" with which it was obviously politic to combat such absurd prejudices.

There are some people whom nothing will convince. The "bad spirit" of these battalions evidently required coercion: the word was given,—the guns opened on these misguided wretches, and were worked with such spirit and precision, that the Barrackpore parade was speedily strewn with dead bodies. Some of these, indeed, had been owned by spectators, who, more curious than wise, had been attracted to the scene, and who ought, as we know the Opposition will say in England, to have been warned of their danger. But the court reply is always at hand,—What business had the bearers and washermen of the gentlemen at Barrackpore to take any interest in the refusal of the troops to go to Rangoon? Besides, "To do a great right, do a little wrong,"—vide Blackstone, and Lord Ebrington's conversation with Buonaparte on the affair of Jaffa.

This salutary warning to those who presume to take a part in such scenes, and to those who are unwise enough to look on while the tragedy is performing, was followed by a court-martial, which very properly applied the gallows to those who had escaped the gun. The remnant of the disaffected were sentenced to different periods of imprisonment, with labour and irons on the public roads, in order that the "Ultima Thule"

of our Indian territory might have an opportunity of remarking our clemency; while the "example," as it has been termed, will have the double good effect of overawing the disaffected, and those who think of enlisting will understand that a soldier should take no care of the morrow, neither "what he shall eat nor what he shall drink;" that he has no business to prefer Bengal to Arracan; and that nothing can be more imprudent and hazardous than any futile representation of his wants, where the Quarter-Master-General explains to him from a battery loaded with grape-shot, that it is impossible he should have any.

"Il est bon quelquefois de faire fusiller un Amiral pour encourager les autres." When the deserters have made the above important truths more certainly known to the Company's provinces, we shall have our reward in the popularity of the service and the ease with which our army will be recruited.

In the mean time, however, we doubt not that some of those ignorant and ill-advised persons, who will always fancy they see errors in forms of administration, however nearly they may approximate to sublimary perfection, will on the present occasion indulge themselves in much indecorous and unnecessary sarcasm. They will say that there was not an officer of any standing in these corps present with them; that the orders for the movement of corps on this unpopular service were so strictly impartial, that the 16th regiment had been at Barrackpore three years, and had not been moved, while the disaffected corps had just had a long and fatiguing march from distant stations; that seven rupees, formerly a sufficient and liberal allowance for a sepoy, when every thing was cheap in the country, is no longer so now; that every article of life can be proved to be nearly double the price it was twenty years back; that, after all, Government had been compelled to give rations, or, in other words, an increase of pay to the troops in the field, thereby affording a tacit admission of its insufficiency, and rather a dangerous ground of inference to those who will fancy that the rations are an emanation from the fears, rather than the liberality of the Governor-General in Council;—finally, that not a musket of the mutineers was fired, or even loaded, and that such violent measures must increase the number of desertions now so prevalent; that the Governor-General had made the offence highly penal, in opposition to that wise policy which never made much stir about desertion in the Native army, in order that the country might believe that we scarcely thought it worth while. All this, and much more, will be said on this unhappy event; but such senseless clamours will impose upon nobody: he that has placed his body at the disposal of another has no right to make any use of his mind. Soldiers, we repeat, have no business to do any thing more than just eat and drink enough to support life, until the glorious moment arrives for sacrificing it in a swamp or a jungle. To them it matters little whether the standard of the regiment waves over the Duke of Wellington or a broomstick.

"Point d'argent point de Suisse." Money has been wisely denominated the sinews of war. To meet the exigencies of our situation with becoming vigour in the financial as well as the other departments of the state, a loan was opened on terms so popular with the capitalists, that we verily believe there is some truth in the report which fixes the maximum of the subscriptions at no less a sum than from thirty to forty thousand rupees.

The certainty of support from the monied class, that important body in

all countries which are pugnaciously disposed, having been thus ingeniously ascertained, the efficient and judicious application of their resources was one of those debts which are sometimes contracted by the governors with the governed, which in the hurry of multiplied avocations are not unfrequently left unpaid. Wit and forgetfulness, we know, are proverbially close allies. We hope the Transport Department did not forget to report to the Governor-General in Council their having despatched a rotten vessel for the stores of one of the coast magazines, the bottom of which came out, positively in still water, close to Calcutta. The Indian Government have a preference for rotten ships: we recollect a precisely similar fact occurring in Bombay Harbour, when the expedition sailed for Rassoolkhyra. However, they will make a good case even of this; for it can be logically demonstrated that a thing is not lost as long as you know where it is, and the public should be satisfied when they are told that the stores of the *Golah* are at the bottom of the Ganges.

Being thus secure of a wise and economical superintendence of the *matériel* of the army—ample means provided for the payment of the troops, in the event of any unforeseen prolongation of the war—the affections of the Native part of the army judiciously conciliated by the abovementioned distribution of rations to those who wish to live, and grape-shot to those who want to die, it only remained to gain the confidence and good-will of those who lead as well as they who are to follow. Accordingly, no better measure could possibly be devised than that impartial selection of officers for the command of brigades on the frontier, under which the Bengal army will remark with so much self-congratulation, that six Brigadier-Generals have been chosen from the King's regiments, while their body has had the honour of supplying a solitary commander of the above rank.

We believe that Brigadier-Generals Sir Archibald Campbell, Dunkin, Morrison, M'Kellar, Cotton, and M'Bean, are valiant men of war; and we doubt not they will smite these Mugs, and spoil their tents. But it is said that they have no natural and exclusive vocation for such operations; and there is no lack of Captains of experience and renown on our own Army List, who will probably think themselves almost as competent as the Commander above named, to lead forth our strength, and do battle with the enemy. But these are errors of judgment. If all are to command, who would be left to obey? "*Non semper vox casualis est verbo nominativus*;" which may be paraphrased, "We do not always nominate a Company's officer to give the word."

On the other hand, we cannot help indulging in some painful anticipations as to the approbation which may be extended to this list of warriors when it reaches Leadenhall-street, accompanied by the Military Auditor-General's items of disbursement for staff-allowance, camp-equipage, horses, writers, stationery, all thereunto conforming. We are almost afraid the Court of Directors will regard our list of military dignitaries, as the poor fisher in the 'Antiquary' contemplated the coffin of his dead son,—"*an object on which he could not steadfastly look, and yet from which he could not altogether withdraw his eyes.*" But alas! "*Le vin est tiré, il faut boire.*" Besides, Brigadier-Generals must have camp-equipage, or whence the poetical expression of the "tented field"? And as to horses, writers, and paper, it is in vain to think of walking in this hot climate; and we are all, more or less, addicted to writing.

I have now intruded, so largely on the pages of your "valuable miscellany," or "scurrilous pamphlet," as it will be termed respectively by your readers, according as they happen to have been "filled with good things," or "sent empty away,"—that I hesitate in appropriating any further portion to the domestic occurrences of the year; which, however, are not less varied and entertaining than those of which we have taken the liberty of supplying you with a rapid sketch. And here, again, we are strangely apprehensive that the ill-natured *will* cavil, and the ignorant *will* condemn. They will take up, for example, the list of human sacrifices for the year 1824, and immediately uplift their voices in condemnation of the horrid examples which the reports of the Missionaries have constantly brought before the public; they will cry shame on that magistrate of one of the Company's districts, who permitted the chief Hindoo law-officer of his court to strip to the skin, and in this state to assist in piling the wood for the sacrifice; while half the society of the station looked on, and marvelled that such things should be. Mistaken opposers of the wisest institutions! Know ye nothing of that state-necessity with which, as with the broad mantle of charity, we are wont to cover every political sin? Heard ye nothing of the labours of a committee, appointed for the express purpose of ascertaining if such scenes are more or less frequent than heretofore? Did they not report, that, though suttees were still as frequent as before, there were grounds for supposing that we had brought the *young* widows of India to a better way of thinking on the question, the sacrifice being now most generally performed by the *old*?

It is thus that the wisest men, and the most able measures, viewed through the jaundiced medium of the most absurd prejudices, are misrepresented by calumny, and misinterpreted by ignorance. But mark how a plain tale shall put such calumniators to scorn. The committee, full of zeal in their vocation, and well versed in Malthus, whose indecorous allusions to the political uselessness of old women, we believe, they had the audacity to quote,—considered that, out of a redundant population of a hundred millions, it was no great sin to burn a few ancient females, who were never likely to add to it. We must not, however, be understood as giving any approbation to such monstrous doctrines. "*Abolendus est malus usus,*" as the lawyers say, whether in practice among the young or the old; and to be just, we believe that the committee's opinions on this part of the question were deservedly reprobated in Leadenhall-street, where old ladies are in justly good repute, whether English or Indian.

We regret that we cannot acquaint you with the result of a commission sent out into the districts of Burdwan, Hoogly, and Midnapore, to investigate the amount of the losses sustained by the landholders in those districts, by the great inundation of September, 1823. The measure, of course, held out the expectation that some remission of rent would necessarily follow on the evidence which the commissioner was sent to collect, and which we know he obtained, of that unparalleled calamity. "*Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*" Collections continued as usual; the ruined estates advertised for arrears of revenue, as if nothing at all had happened; and, when the Government were expected to give some relief to these provinces, the landholders were given to understand that we patronize all sorts of funds in Calcutta, but we

never re-fund; and, as they had contrived to pay some how or other, their necessities had gone by with the waters which occasioned them. All this was good reasoning, as applied to those districts where the value of land under the permanent settlement has increased, in many parts of the country, more than a hundred per cent. since that great event. But the Rajah of Kunka was differently circumstanced. He lost upwards of 150 villages by that calamity; and his territory forming part of the district of Cuttack, is superintended by a commissioner, one of whose duties it is to see that the collector makes a regular periodical assessment, calculated on the actual net proceeds of lands under cultivation. We are afraid that you will scarcely get a sight of those paragraphs of the territorial letter of the last year which allude to the Rajah's misfortune; but if they record its alleviation, by any remission of even the uttermost farthing due on the rent-roll of the estates, "*credat Judæus Apella*," we are very willing to believe, if we had not good reason to doubt.

Alas, poor Ravenscroft!—"nec ut soles dabis joca." Some speculation was excited, in the early part of the year, by the circumstances attending the barbarous murder of this gentleman in a remote part of the King of Oude's dominions. It was well known that he had been removed from the office of Collector of Cawnpore, and ultimately compelled to fly from the Company's provinces, in consequence of certain errors in the revenue accounts of the district, which it was scarcely possible to bring into any order, as long as mankind are prejudiced against the mode of addition used in the Customs, where it is understood that two and two do not always make four. Mr. R. was residing with his wife in a hut, situated in one of the districts of Oude, when he was attacked by a gang of armed banditti, and barbarously murdered. Here, as one should have supposed, the curtain dropped over his errors, (we could not recollect his amiable disposition, his princely, thoughtless liberality, even his engaging form, and apply a harsher term,) when the Bengal Civil Service learnt, with equal surprise and concern, that the Supreme Government of one quarter of the globe had condescended to order a military committee to repair to the spot, where the mangled remains of one of their body, "yet but green in earth," lay "festering in the shroud," there to rake up his ashes to ascertain what?—not his death, for that was attested by his half-distracted wife, and a British officer present, when he fell covered with wounds, and who could have no possible interest in misstating the horrible fact! We shrink from any further examination of the disgusting details; and we advise, in all Christian charity, those who live in the vicinity of St. John's Cathedral, to do something more than listen to the principles which are sometimes to be learnt there.

The chit-chat of the day affords no more facetious subject of discussion than the late decision of the Honourable the Court of Directors, and his Majesty's Minister in the Board of Control, on the momentous question of the claim set up by the lady of the President of the Board of Trade, to be handed to dinner by the Governor-General instead of the lady of the Naval Commander in Calcutta, to whom his Lordship's hand had been temporarily assigned. We have not leisure for reference; pray, therefore, inform us in your next, which Roman emperor assembled the senate to consult the conscript fathers on the proper mode of dressing a tunny fish. There is also a good decision of either Louis XIV. or Henry IV. on a question of disputed precedence nearly as important as ours. The monarch

decided that the elder of the two ladies should walk first; and there were no more nonsensical references.

We have had a mission from the Court of Persia, on the subject of a claim made by the Shah to a vast sum of money, which the British Government, whenever called upon, refers to the East India Company, and *vice versa*. It will be recollected that his Majesty of Persia, who does not understand these differences of opinion between corporate bodies and the advisers of his Brother of England, had it in serious contemplation to cut off the head of his representative at 'Telran, just to show him the consequence of protesting his drafts at St. James's. With great difficulty, however, the charge d'affaires was permitted to proceed to England; and, after much discussion, was again accredited to the Shah, with the fullest assurances that, as it was impossible to consider any sacrifice too dearly purchased for the continuation of so valuable an alliance, the subsidy should be paid "instantly," according to the treaty. No money, however, arrives; and the worthy charge d'affaires despatches his brother to Calcutta, with an urgent solicitation to the Supreme Government for a remittance "*pendente lite*." Mistaken diplomatists! wist ye not that his Majesty of Persia can no more sit between two stools with impunity than any private individual; particularly when we only hear of his performing the operation at such a prodigious distance from our frontier, and the Governor-General can take up his *Urbace*, and reply with a single line,—"*Persicos odi puer apparatus*."—To be continued by

AN OLD ACQUAINTANCE.

TO GRIEF.

GRIEF, thou art ever, with thy wrinkled brow,
 Our faithful follower wheresoe'er we go;
 No slumbers steep thy dim and tearful eyes,
 Nor cease, a moment's space, thy bosom's sighs.
 I mark thy spectral form at dead of night
 Glide slowly through the moon's uncertain light,
 Invading sleep's dull regions, where, 'tis said,
 Least oft thy numbing influence is shed.
 To me, thou comest with the morning dreams
 That haunt my pillow with delusive gleams
 Of bliss, untasted, and with growing day
 Withdraw their golden forms, and flit away.
 And oft as forth at eve I go to view
 The form of twilight stealing o'er the dew,
 And list the murmur of the groves decay,
 As slumbers snatch their inmates' voice away,
 Just as the pulse of joy begins to beat,
 I hear, I hear thy fast approaching feet,
 And my brow saddens, and the landscape fades,
 And night unheeded wraps the world in shades.

ON THE PRETENDED DISCOVERIES OF MR. PRICE RELATIVE
TO THE PERSEPOLITAN CHARACTERS.

THAT in a work treating expressly of the 'Antiquities of Persepolis,' and bearing date in the year 1825, it should be asserted that "hitherto there has been no clue known to Europeans" by means of which the inscriptions of those celebrated ruins could be deciphered, is calculated greatly to surprise all who are acquainted with the researches of Professor Grotefend, the accuracy of whose principles at once secured, and has still preserved, universal assent. To these researches, it is true, Mr. Price, the author of these Antiquities, does not once advert; but we can scarcely suppose that he alone, of all the travellers who have visited Persepolis within the last twenty years, and who, with his single exception, have united in giving to the learned professor his due meed of applause, could be utterly ignorant of what had been done for the elucidation of the system of writing, which forms the subject of his dissertation. If, indeed, by a "clue," he means a "filum Ariadneum," similar to that by which he himself professes to have acquired his knowledge of the language and characters of the inscriptions, we will not only admit that no such "clue" has "hitherto" been known, but we will go farther, and maintain, that that, of which he states himself to be possessed, has proved incapable of leading him at least through a single turn of the labyrinth. Verily, "some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them." To the second of these classes belongs Professor Grotefend, and to the third, if we take his own account of the matter upon trust, Mr. Price. While the former achieved his greatness at the expense of years of laborious investigation, the latter scarcely looked abroad for it, when it fell upon him by a chance so singular and opportune, as forcibly to remind us of the fortunate and equally fortuitous means by which the editors of those interesting works, 'Chrysal,' and 'The Adventures of an Atom,' became possessed of the valuable secrets which they afterwards kindly imparted to the world at large.

During the time (says Mr. Price¹) that the British embassy, under his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., remained at Shiraz, in 1811, I made frequent inquiry among well-informed persons, respecting the inscriptions on the walls of Persepolis; most of them concurred in opinion, that if those inscriptions could be deciphered, the language would prove to be nearly the same as that now used by the Guebres. Among other inquiries, I endeavoured to ascertain whether there was any clue to the reading of the inscriptions, but could not find any person who could assist me in the slightest degree. By making these inquiries, I became acquainted with many of the most learned men of the place, and whatever they possessed in the way of ancient literature they brought for my inspection. Beside, Abu'l Hassan Khan and his suite having intimated to their countrymen that I could read hieroglyphic characters, from my knowledge of Chinese, I received numerous visits from persons of various descriptions: some, for the purpose of showing me their curious papers; and others, as dealers, with a view of profiting by the sale of such rare manuscripts as they could meet with. A gentleman one day brought me an ancient MS.

¹ Antiquities of Persepolis, p. 1, 2, appended to the Journal of the British Embassy to Persia: by W. Price, F.R.S. L.

to try if I could read it; it was written in strange characters, and though not with the arrowhead, I perceived some of the combinations resembled those of the arrowheaded characters. I wished to obtain the book, but the owner would not part with it on any terms, because, he said, it was an heir-loom, handed down to him from his ancestors. Not willing to let so curious a book pass through my hands without profiting by it, I prevailed upon him to allow me to copy part of it. I chose such parts as appeared to have characters of another sort opposite; but not being able to make any thing out of either, I laid up the copy with other literary collections. It remained in that state for several years, without my being able to make out a single stroke, till commencing the present work, when, in order to illustrate some remarks relative to the Guebres, I began the study of the Pahlavi characters and language; and referring to my collection of papers, was agreeably surprised in finding part of the strange characters above mentioned were alphabetic letters and words in the Pahlavi language, explanatory of their opposite symbols. This discovery induced me to compare the other characters with similar combinations in the arrowheaded characters, and, after a minute inspection, I perceived the only difference consisted in the shape of the strokes, the combinations being the same in both series of letters. The copy consists of three alphabets and a hieroglyphic key.

The first is what I think may have been used for private purposes, it being of no use in deciphering the Persepolitan inscriptions. This alphabet will be found in the plate, with the Pahlavi letters of the same powers in the parallel column;—it is distinguished by No. 1.

The second is what I consider the skeleton key to the Persepolitan;—it will be distinguished in the following sheets by No. 2.

The third appears to combine characters of a mystic tendency, and may be termed the second alphabetic key.

The fourth is a sort of key to a series of hieroglyphics, frequently found among alphabetical words. These, perhaps, served for the purpose of abbreviations or mystical signs. There is a trifling difference in the characteristic of this, it being shaped more like the nail-head, while the other three, differing but little from each other, resemble the minim used in music.

Now, without stopping for a single moment to comment on the improbability of a key to inscriptions, the antiquity of which cannot be less than two thousand years, and the value of whose characters is not even guessed at by the present inhabitants of the country which exhibits them, being thus almost miraculously obtained by a casual sojourner among them; without waiting to express our wonder at the talisman, through whose means these treasures of the olden times were to be rendered available to us, having so long remained useless in the hands of its possessor,—we at once turn with anxiety to the “following sheets,” to discover “No. 2,” “the skeleton key to the Persepolitan” inscriptions. Aware of the years of labour and research which have been devoted to their deciphering, we feel anxious to compare the results of the able and persevering inquiries of Professor Grotefend with those which chance has in an instant placed within the reach of Mr. Price. How great, then, must be our disappointment, when we find that the last plate in the work is No. 1, this being “of no use in deciphering the Persepolitan inscriptions;” while the real key is still retained in the possession of its fortunate holder, and is therefore, for the present, equally inaccessible and useless to the remainder of the world as if it had never existed at all.

To explain the advantages derivable to the public at large, from the imparting to them of an alphabet only “used for private purposes,” and which is “of no use in deciphering” public inscriptions, would lead Mr. Price, we imagine, as well as ourselves, into too wide a field of discus-

sion. It might have become him to enter into such an exposition, and thus to account for its appearance in his pages; but as he has refrained from doing so, it does not rest with us to enlarge upon the utility of explaining, by an alphabet which is confessedly "of no use," inscriptions, to the understanding of which it consequently cannot be applied, and thus to elucidate what may generally be regarded as a very singular process of induction to the comprehension of a difficult and perplexing question. In his second volume, Mr. Price may probably be more explanatory; in the meanwhile, we can only follow him through what he has already thought fit to give us; and as we are not allowed to avail ourselves of the alphabet by means of which he has been enabled to read the Persepolitan inscriptions, we must be content to view them with his eyes, and to take the translations of them which he gives, as resting on his authority alone.

"Many of the inscriptions," observes Mr. Price, "appear to have been placed" at Persepolis "in the time of Feridoon; and I think most of them, if not all, were done by him and his three brothers." Of these three brothers, our readers doubtless now hear for the first time. Of their existence, no historian of any period appears to have been cognizant before the publication of Mr. Price's '*Antiquities of Persepolis*.' He therefore trespasses on no man's ground; the country is entirely his own; it is a terra incognita, of which he is sole and undoubted possessor. He can therefore do with it as he wills, and be accountable to no one. He can make, as he actually does, Feridoon the son of Jemsheed, and not the offspring of Abteen; he can make him, moreover, the brother of Zohak; and Zohak, so far from possessing an individual existence, may be transformed into a triumvirate, his name being derived from *seh*, three, and *mek*, a suckling, ("mek, in the Pahlavi meaning, possessing or holding by force.") He can also assign to each of the three persons composing this triumvirate, names hitherto unheard of, but which are, nevertheless, perfectly legible by him among the inscriptions of Persepolis. Nay, to designate these three persons, he can even give four names:—"His Majesty King Kacha," "His Majesty King Kacha Keib," "His Majesty King Kacha Keibed," and "His Majesty King Kadkeb." Which among these is the supernumerary, and therefore to be struck out from the roll, we venture not to determine, lest we should chance to commit treason by depriving of existence a real king. We fear, moreover, that as all these kings are exclusively the property of Mr. Price, it would be to trench upon his royalties, were we to attempt to reduce them to the precise number wanted for his purposes.

In the preceding reading of this portion of the history of Persia,—a reading utterly and incontestibly novel, we have not in the least deviated from that laid down by Mr. Price. According to his declaration, it is thoroughly borne out by the Persepolitan inscriptions, which he has investigated on the principle now first discovered by himself. On this principle, as he has not permitted us to avail ourselves of it, we can neither confirm nor contradict his assertions. We can merely look to those inscriptions contained in his work, of which he has given translations, and endeavour from them to obtain such results as may set at rest entirely the extent of his acquaintance with them; and this we propose to do by instituting a comparison among themselves, and between them and other inscriptions which have been previously published. In doing

this, we are willing to set aside, as if they had never existed, all former attempts at deciphering and translating them; to draw no inference whatever from the discordant reading of the same inscriptions adopted by Grotefend; and to view the subject in precisely the same manner as Mr. Price appears to have done, as one hitherto utterly unknown, except by the copies of them which are to be met with in the works of eastern travellers.

The inscriptions given by Mr. Price are seven in number, three of these, viz. that over the window frames, and those from the right and left of them, being similar in their contents, and differing only in the language and characters in which they are expressed. On these we have nothing to remark, as they are left untouched in the 'Antiquities of Persepolis.' Of the remaining four, two are stated to be copied from Le Brun, and two were copied on the spot by Mr. Price himself. It is to these latter that we would especially apply ourselves, commencing with the one entitled 'Inscription among many figures on the grand façade, being the Proclamation of the three Kings.' The translation is stated to be that "of the commencement of the proclamation of the three Kings, (in a compartment of the grand façade;)" and from this title we are induced to suspect that Mr. Price's version cannot be correct, on the plain ground that it is not the "commencement" of any inscription whatever. So far, indeed, is it from being the commencement of an inscription, that it is not even the beginning of that mutilated portion which still remained at Persepolis at the period of Mr. Price's visit in 1811; two prior lines to those exhibited in his copy having been still legible in 1818, by Sir Robert Kerr Porter, in the 44th plate of whose work they are given, together with the whole of the inscription as it existed at that later period. Sir R. K. Porter's copy, however, though containing two lines of characters above those given by Mr. Price, does not exhibit the commencement of the inscription; four previous lines, which existed in 1765, being published by Niebuhr in the 24th plate of his second volume, A. Neither does even this plate of Niebuhr's contain the "commencement," that having been broken off before the period of his visit, and being fortunately disinterred from the rubbish which concealed it by Mr. Morier, the secretary to the embassy, during the period of Mr. Price's inactivity at Shiraz. It was subsequently brought to England by Sir Gore Ouseley, and by him presented to the British Museum; in the Gallery of Antiquities belonging to which it is now open to inspection, being the most important and almost the only specimen of a Persepolitan inscription which has reached Europe. And here, by the way, we might remark on the want of penetration exhibited by Sir Gore Ouseley, in suffering the deciphering talents of Mr. Price to rust for three months and a half at Shiraz, within two stages of Persepolis, that ample field for the display of his skill, which he only visited *en passant*, and where, seriously speaking, he certainly proved himself extremely active during the two days' rest of the ambassador and his suite. To return, however, to our subject. The portion brought to England by Sir Gore Ouseley, which is evidently, from the double line that limits its upper part, the commencement of an inscription, is broken into two pieces, and exhibits four lines of characters, and the upper portion of a fifth; a few groups being wanting in each line, owing to the absence of a third piece, which should have occupied the middle space between the two fragments preserved.

There are thus the five lines of the Museum fragments, the four of Niebuhr, and the two of Porter, occurring in succession before the "commencement of the proclamation," as given by Mr. Price, whose accuracy is certainly open to suspicion, when we find him regarding, as the beginning of an inscription, the twelfth line of what originally consisted of only thirty!

In looking to this, as to an individual and detached inscription, it is impossible to judge of the value of Mr. Price's translation, except from such specimens as have just been adduced of his general want of acquaintance with the subject. In analysing, however, still farther the portion of it which he has submitted to the public eye, we shall meet with other circumstances strongly indicative of his incompetence. One of these occurs even at the first step; Mr. Price having commenced his inscription with what is, in fact, according to a principle long recognised, and reduced by Grotefend to almost mathematical demonstration, the middle of a word, the initial letter of which is to be found in the line above. We have, however, before remarked, that we shall treat the question as though no previous attempt had been made at translating the inscriptions, and therefore pass by without further notice this point, which we might otherwise insist on as exhibiting manifest ignorance; and, without adverting to minor but evident errors of copying, go at once to the last line given by Mr. Price, which presents a fact of the greatest importance. This is no less, as may be readily proved by turning to the plate either of Niebuhr or of Porter, quoted above, than the omission of nine characters, or groups of arrowheads, occupying in the original nearly three-quarters of a line, which should have succeeded the oblique arrow-head following the third group. In lieu of these, Mr. Price has inserted a single group, evidently the termination of the last of the nine, and unaware of the existence of any such gap as must arise from the omission he has committed, and the difficult reading which would result from the substitution effected by him, has gone on to translate with equal fluency, as if no such corruption of his text had taken place. There are few languages, we imagine, which would admit of such liberties being taken with them without impairing, if not entirely destroying, their signification. If the "soft, simple, expressive, and energetic diction" of the "ancient Persian or Pahlavi language," which Mr. Price discovers in these inscriptions, exhibits its peculiar beauties equally well in this mangled and disjointed, as in its purer, state, it has yet one other advantage to be added to his list of its elegancies.

Hitherto we have looked only to Mr. Price's 'Commencement of the Proclamation of the three Kings,' deducing from itself such proofs of fundamental errors, as cannot fail to be readily admitted as indicative of his want of acquaintance with the subject. If, however, we now proceed to show, by comparison with another inscription actually under his inspection at the moment of his writing, that that gentleman's 'Proclamation of the three Kings' is really part and parcel of his 'Proclamation of Feridoon,' who deposed them, no further proof of our assertion need be urged. Yet such is actually the case. The inscription A. (plate xxiv.) of Niebuhr, of which the 'Proclamation of the three Kings' forms a part, was proved by Grotefend, upwards of twenty years since, to correspond, in its first seventeen lines, with the contents of a considerable part of the 131st plate of Le Brun, given by Mr. Price

as the 'Proclamation of Feridoon.' The earlier part of the inscription A. of Niebuhr being wanting, could not of course be at that time compared with the commencement of Le Brun's 131; its recovery, however, by Mr. Morier has proved the correctness of Grotefend's statement, as it evidently corresponds with the beginning of the inscription of Le Brun, allowance being made for the numerous errors of copying, for which the latter is remarkable. Towards the middle of this inscription, Le Brun's errors are, however, far less frequent than at its commencement, and it is precisely here, where the agreement is most perfect, that Mr. Price's corresponding portion of Niebuhr's A. is to be found. Yet these, which are really and proveably the same thing, Mr. Price has translated in a totally different manner; his versions being as diametrically opposite to each other, as the subjects which he conceives to be treated of in them—the usurpation of three brothers, and their expulsion by one lawful claimant.

How then, it may be asked, if the correspondence between the two inscriptions is thus complete, could so gross an error be committed? It does, indeed, seem impossible for a man, even moderately circumspect, to fall into such a blunder; but it is one which has originated in limited means of research, and in neglecting to employ even those sources of information which were at hand. The sole difference between this portion of the inscriptions consists in the seven characters, or groups of arrowheads, which signify *king*, being given at full length in the sculpture on the façade copied by Niebuhr and Price; while in that of the southern building, given by Le Brun, its place is constantly supplied by a monogram, or contraction, consisting of only one group. Nothing connected with the inscriptions of Persepolis is more clearly demonstrable, than the agreeing signification of this contraction with that of the collection of seven characters. It is proved by their repeated occurrence in similar places of corresponding inscriptions, and it is decisively established by the same signs in the second and third kinds of writing found at Persepolis and elsewhere, being continually employed as equivalents both to the contraction and to the word at length. That Mr. Price should be unacquainted with the value of this contraction, we are not at all surprised at; it is only another portion of his general incompetency to translate Persepolitan inscriptions; but we confess that we felt mingled wonder and regret at the exhibition in the *Journal Asiatique*, (tom. ii. p. 87.) of a similar want of knowledge on the part of M. Saint Martin, who really appears to have paid some attention to the subject, but on whose assumed peculiar knowledge of the second and third kinds of writing, this important error is calculated to cast considerable doubt.

To return, however, to the inscriptions, and to enable the reader to judge for himself of the perfect concordance which exists between them. If he will turn to the 'Inscription among many Figures on the grand Façade' given by Mr. Price, and to the 'Proclamation of Feridoon, 131, L. B.' in the same work, it will be easy for him to follow the correspondence, and to ascertain the equivalent value of the contraction. The eighth line in Mr. Price's copy of Le Brun, (but not in the original,) commences with a character, or group, of arrowheads, succeeded by a single oblique one. This is followed by another group, consisting of two angular figures, (formed each of two arrowheads, joined together at their broader part,) and two vertical arrowheads; immediately after which is

the portion corresponding with Mr. Price's part of the inscription on the façade. The first six characters correspond precisely in each, and are succeeded by the oblique or terminal arrowhead; after which, we find in the one a series of seven characters, and in the other the equivalent contraction noticed above, each succeeded by a terminal arrowhead. The succeeding characters, if Le Brun's transverse shorter arrowheads be applied to their proper vertical ones, (from which they are more separated in Mr. Price's copy than in the original,) will also be found to correspond precisely as far as the next terminal mark in Mr. Price, which, in Le Brun, is erroneously figured as an angle. Succeeding this, we have again, in the one, the series of seven characters, and, in the other, the contraction, each terminated as before, and each followed respectively by the same seven characters, and by the same contraction, but not by the terminal mark, there being added to each four other characters corresponding in both, and then the oblique arrowhead. This is followed, again, by the seven characters succeeded by a terminal mark in Mr. Price's inscription, and by the contraction terminated by a second erroneous angular figure in Le Brun. The seven following characters, and the terminal wedge, again correspond in both. The immediately succeeding character differs, being erroneously given by Le Brun with only one transverse arrowhead above, instead of three, as represented by Mr. Price; the three following characters correspond in both; but in the next, Le Brun is again in error, having represented a terminal mark succeeded by two long vertical arrowheads, with a shorter one in the middle, instead of two with two shorter transverse ones between them. From this point the two inscriptions agree as far as the next terminal arrowhead, which is followed, in the one, by the series of seven characters, and, in the other, by the contraction, each succeeded by the terminal mark. At this point occurs, in Mr. Price's copy, the omission previously adverted to, of nine characters, which occupy the remainder of the line in Le Brun. The next character in Mr. Price's plate is, as we have already said, an introduction of his own; after which, the remaining characters succeed, in regular order and concordance, in both the inscriptions. It may be proper to observe, in addition, that a transverse short arrowhead has been, in one or two instances, omitted by Le Brun; and that, in the two first occurrences in Mr. Price's copy of the seven letter-word, signifying king, there is, in the sixth character, an erroneous copying. That this latter is merely an error, is, however, evident, without referring to other copies of the same inscription, from the mere inspection of the subsequent repetitions of the same word.

It is tedious to follow a comparison of this nature to any extent; and it is also difficult to convey, on paper, that conviction which inspection cannot fail to produce, of the general and almost universal concordance of the two inscriptions. This is indeed so complete, that no argument of any weight can be deduced against it, from the very few discrepancies which exist between the copies. In copying characters so uniform in their elements, it is almost impossible to avoid occasional errors; and if it is certain that Niebuhr himself is not always accurate, no further proof of this assertion can be requisite. Yet these two inscriptions, so perfectly agreeing with each other as to be actually and essentially the same, Mr. Price has translated in the very opposite manner which we have noticed. We had thought of inserting his parallel versions of the same

passage, but the effect of the contrast would be too ludicrous; and we, therefore, decline to exhibit, on the one side, "We our Majesty King Kadkeb—" and, on the other, "Trusting in the Most High Lord, I, the son of Jemsheed, am the rightful successor of the vacant crown, to hold it in the Sabæan faith," &c. The conclusion is too palpable.

We have now done with the first inscription copied by Mr. Price at Persepolis. We have proved that it is not the "commencement" of any inscription, as stated by him; that there occurs, in his copy of it, so great an omission, as to render it incapable of a correct translation; and that it is actually part of another inscription, of which he has given a totally distinct version. More cannot be required to show his incompetence to the task which he has undertaken. We shall, however, briefly advert to the second portion of an inscription, also copied by him "on the spot."

Of this, 'The commencement of the Investiture of the three Kings,' as it is entitled by him, a brief notice will indeed be amply sufficient. It is neither more nor less than the commencement of the inscription of the 131st plate of Le Brun, copied from the work of that traveller, and translated by Mr. Price, as the 'Proclamation of Feridoon.' The general agreement, which will be evident on inspection, is so strong, that little doubt of their being the same will be excited by the numerous errors of Le Brun's copy, from which Mr. Price's is free. Nay, we more than suspect that Mr. Price, without being aware of the circumstance, copied the identical inscription, which had been previously transferred by Le Brun into his so-often-quoted plate; a suspicion which is strongly supported by the evidence afforded by the last character of Mr. Price's portion, that, in his inscription, the same contraction is made use of which the reader has seen to be so frequently repeated in that of Le Brun. If Mr. Price had been more explicit as to the situation, among the buildings, of his inscription, this point might have been readily cleared up. He merely remarks, that "the tablet appeared to have belonged to a hall of considerable elevation; the distance of the inscription being too great for the naked eye to discern it, I was obliged to use a telescope. The fragment that contained the inscription stood at the south end of the ruins, and must have belonged to the same apartment in which Le Brun copied the Proclamation." He has thus brought his inscription into very close contact with that of Le Brun. We will add, that the latter is, according to Niebuhr, on the upper part of a stone upwards of twenty feet high, an elevation similar to that of Mr. Price's inscription; that the inscriptions (errors of Le Brun excepted²) agree perfectly with each other; that in

² Mr. Price will not object to our repeated reference to the numerous errors of Le Brun's copies, as he must be perfectly aware that such are to be met with in every line of the inscriptions given by that traveller. In copying, as he terms it, the third compartment of 132 of Le Brun, Mr. P. has himself arbitrarily altered four of the characters. His own copy of the inscription over the wind-w-frames also corrects several errors in 134 of Le Brun, especially so confused a jumble as to be utterly unintelligible, which occurs about the middle of the latter. The same fact must have been equally evident to him, if he ever instituted a comparison between his own copy and that of Le Brun, of the inscription on the façade. In the line of Le Brun's corresponding with Mr. Price's first, the second, fifth, and sixth characters, are erroneous; in the next line, the first character is so blurred as to be illegible; the second, sixth, and seventh, are er-

both the same contraction for king occurs; and we will then inquire what reliance can be placed on a person who translates what, if not identical, as we believe it to be, is, at least, corresponding in the following opposite manners?

We are the support of the nation. It is essential that each of us three princes be empowered with the stability vested in the three. Wherever the boundary of the triumvirate may extend as a company, it shall belong to the three as a trio in equity. With each king, cases shall stand on the same footing as with the trio, being co-equal kings in majesty. The trio, taken separately, &c.

Look on this picture, and on this:

It is the close of the month of Aban (October), thirty entire months have elapsed, and the crown is still vacant. The royal child of the crown comes; it is the crown of Jemsheed that he seeks, and no other. The crown, indeed, should be adorned with tributary gems, but it is empty in his absence. A crown that is permanent for life, receives celestial splendour in proportion as hopes are realized in its duration, and truth and justice founded in its sovereignty. But the crown is usurped by a triumvirate, &c.

Into this long and somewhat tedious analysis of Mr. Price's assumed knowledge of Persepolitan inscriptions, we have been induced to enter, not merely on account of the interesting nature of the subject, but also because it has been asserted that his discoveries vie in value with those of Dr. Young in Egyptian hieroglyphics. We have, therefore, placed before the reader such facts as will enable him to form a correct judgment, and to assign to Mr. Price his due meed of fame. On these facts the same conclusion must be arrived at by all. His discoveries are worse than valueless: "the truth is not in them."

roneous; the eighth blurred and incorrect, &c. &c. Every one, in fact, who compares a single inscription of Le Brun's with a corresponding one of any other traveller, must immediately become so satisfied of his frequent incorrectness, as to hold it prudent not to venture on translating any thing whatever which rests upon his authority alone; and Mr. Price, if he had instituted such a comparison, would probably, even on this principle, have been deterred from giving to the public his version of the 'Proclamation of Feridoon.'

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

THE intelligence received from India during the past month contains no new trait of much importance; but private letters add many finishing touches to the sad picture of affairs already given. Little is said in them of the progress of the Burmese war, of which every one appears to be heartily sick, and desirous to avoid even thinking about a subject which, in whatever way it be viewed, presents no pleasant prospect, except, indeed, to the ship-owners, who would, no doubt, be very well pleased to have their vessels so profitably employed in carrying troops and supplies to Burmah for the next seven years, provided the Company's treasury can hold out so long in this expensive process. The following account of the effect produced upon the Governor-General, by the various events of the contest, is of a piece with the frivolous causes in which it originated, and the prodigious alarm and childish exultation that have alternately marked its progress. A letter from Calcutta says:

At every petty triumph, Lord Amherst fires a *feu de joie* and a salute! He rides up and down the Course, as the lady of the simple hygrometer comes out in fine weather; but when there is bad news, or none, which is equal to it, Barrackpore holds his Lordship! So much for sending out a Bed-chamber Lord!

If the very surprising unanimity so seldom found in political matters, but now evinced in India, be not a proof that there is no room for difference of opinion as to the incapacity of the head of the Government, we must suppose that a conspiracy to slander and misrepresent this individual extends from the Burrhampooter to the Indus. As, in the present thralldom of the public press, truth can only be gathered from private correspondence, we proceed, as usual, to present fairly before our readers the opinions expressed in the letters that have reached us. One observes:

The amendment expected from a change of Governors has not been realized: Lord Hastings is wished for back again by every one. The acts of the new Lord are so notoriously and so obviously absurd and little, that one scarcely troubles oneself to think of them. He *must* be removed; and the best-informed amongst us are looking out for a frigate with his successor in her, every moment! The precipitancy of offensive operations, before even the Commander-in-Chief was made aware of the declaration of war, when our frontier was defenceless, and Calcutta open to the enemy; the sacrifice of life and national honour at Ramoo, — a consequence of his imbecility and absolute folly; the inattention to the actual wants of the troops going on service (for all they asked was *necessaries*, and *not* comforts), and which inattention caused the mutiny; and lastly, ignorant as we were, and *still are*, of the moral and physical resources of our enemy, the sending a force to Rangoon, that was not only inefficient, but which, if it could have advanced, could not have been supplied with provisions and warlike stores, even if the former had been procurable; — were acts not only preposterous, but hazardous to our very existence as a power, and so full of precipitancy, that, had the enemy offered peace, the Governor-General could not have assumed any credit but that of having foreseen their determination of doing so. The expense of sending this force before others were ready to co-operate with it, has been enormous; the loss of life, too, very lamentable: and what have we gained? Stockades have been taken, abandoned, and retaken when rebuilt. The Syrian Pagoda, taken, evacuated, and retaken; and, at last, it was thought of to blow up a part (we may suppose of some importance) which we had not troops sufficient to occupy.

According to private accounts, the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry into the causes of the Barrackpore mutiny, were sent home in the *Rose*, which arrived in England about six weeks ago. It is now to be hoped, therefore, that the Court of Directors will venture, at last, to afford the public some explanation as to those lamentable transactions, so unparalleled in the annals of our history. The vessel said to bear the despatches having left Bengal about the end of January, nearly three months after the event, their servants had taken sufficient time to make up their defence; and as those in England have had half as long to make their statement, after so much cookery, it ought now surely to be fit for the public eye. Private letters continue to attribute the discontent among the troops to their bad treatment; and so far from thinking their conduct infamous or unjustifiable, most persons are surprised they have borne so long and so patiently. On the subject of the Commissariat Department, it is stated that—

When a Native regiment in the field and on active service is compelled to apply to the Commissariat for provisions, it is a melancholy truth that the pay of every individual in this branch of the service suffers an unreasonable, but, alas! an authorized deduction. Let the world know this fact, and reflect on it; then, perhaps, surprise will cease at hearing of mutinies in the Indian army: for what army in the world would not have mutinied long ago! What European regiment, King's or Company's, would have suffered it in silence? In the centre division of the Grand Army, (in 1817 and 1818,) pursuant to General Orders, flour was sold to the sepoy at sixteen seers per rupee; whereas, out of camp, only three, four, or five miles distant, so much as thirty-five seers could be purchased for the same money, and of a better quality than that supplied from the Commissariat market. At Teak Naaf, Chittagong, &c., in the year 1824, the Commissariat, equally conformable to order, supplied rice at fifteen seers per rupee to the army, but purchased the same for Government at less than half the price; nay, so low as thirty-five, forty, and even fifty seers per rupee, in the low country around. This extortion from the putance of the poor soldier will be put a stop to without delay, if the home authorities are in the least desirous to promote the *welfare* and *fidelity* of the Indian army. Surely double prices can hardly be required to defray the expenses of the Commissariat Department; but if it do incur a charge so lamentably heavy, Government should take it upon itself, instead of taxing so severely the soldier's slender means, his only resource, his pay. It is so far happy for him to live in the present times of dire necessity, which (after the wise measures of last year) have obliged the Government to furnish rations of provisions, *gratis*, to the Native troops on the eastern frontier; but, with peace and security from danger, the old system of retrenched allowances may soon return.

The Commissariat Department is well known to be the great field of profit and speculation in an army; its proceedings being the least *cognizable* by the controlling authorities, who must, therefore, necessarily allow the agents employed a much greater latitude of discretion than any where else admitted in military matters. The prices of provisions at the various stations over a vast country, the expenses of carriage, rates of hire to coolies, hackeries, bullocks, &c., are matters too multitudinous in their details to be known accurately and appreciated by Government, unless, indeed, it were aided by the Argus eyes of the public keeping watch over them, and at liberty to make impartial reports through the medium of the press. Accordingly, while a degree of freedom was allowed to it in India, it exercised a considerable check in this way; and we have no doubt those connected with the Commissariat Department cordially thank the Government for screening them from its disagreeable scrutiny,—a comment on the Bazaar rates being no more

pleasant to them, than was to Mr. Adam, their patron, a comment on the appointment of a clerk of stationery. But the wisdom of the Company has decreed, that it is better for millions to suffer under unchecked abuses, than that their authors should have their delicate feelings hurt by their exposure; and that it is better to have mutinies in the army, and murmurings of discontent throughout their service, than that a few individuals at the head of it should have the mortification of being told, "You have done wrong," when they are acting contrary to the public interest, and abusing the powers entrusted to them. The following account has been sent us, of what are entitled "Commodore Hayes and Sir Edward Paget's own Dark-Green Marines":

The Calcutta Commodore has been forming a corps of sweepers, and other men of low caste, as sepoy for the gun-boats employed on the eastern frontier. These men get ten rupees, while the regular troops of the Native army, who have fought all our Indian battles, receive only eight sonant rupees per month, and, in garrison, only seven. This is deeply considered by the Native troops, at the Presidency of Fort William, who see their comrades shot for asking a little just indulgence, while superior treatment is given to low-born men, soldiers of yesterday, who will never (as they express it) look the enemy in the face. Can our veteran troops do otherwise than behold these things with a jealous eye? They also groan under the deductions to which they are subject in the lower provinces, from the conversion of the nominal currency (or sonant) into *sicca* rupees, as at Barrackpore, and every station below Benares. Observe, that the sonant rupee is not a real, but a fictitious coin, having no existence in the country otherwise than in figures, to cheat the poor soldier out of part of his hard earnings. Up-country men dislike the Bengal provinces exceedingly, (and doubly so, of course, when they have less pay and greater expenses,) where they are far from their homes, their friends and families, and often suffering loss of health in the damp atmosphere of this flat swampy country. For the duties of Fort William 560 privates are required; and these are sometimes five months without being relieved, even from the guard-duties, with four men, instead of three, to each relief for sentries. It is thus the duties of the Bengal army become at once disgusting and sickening to all classes of this valuable and peaceable race of men. The foregoing may serve to account better than volumes of General Orders, for desertions in the army.

Another writer, on whose accurate information and impartial testimony, as to the general political state of India, we can fully rely, gives it as his opinion that—

The change of Governors has been of no benefit to the servants of the Company, and of no advantage to the Company itself. Waste of money, waste of life, mutiny among the troops, and the country endangered, have been the consequence. Even in the abuse of patronage, the appointment of Dr. Abel is ten times worse than a person drawing a salary as magistrate of Calcutta while residing at Hyderabad. Dr. Hare (whom he has succeeded as Apothecary-General) was not allowed to accept the appointment, unless he consented to stay in the shop always, and give up, therefore, his private practice. This, to be sure, was made up to him by making his brother-in-law (who was also brother-in-law to the chief Secretary, W. B. Bayley, Esq.) his deputy. He was permitted to practise; and thus the restriction (which was necessary on account of the accidents which arose from the former neglect in that department) did not lessen the Governor-General's patronage,—nay, it increased it; for the same family got two appointments instead of one, and private practice to boot! The Court of Directors strive in vain to check these evils. They would not hear of a medical officer's being suffered to escape his tour of duty when he pleased to do so, and then take it when convenient to himself, (as was permitted to be done by the Governor, Mr. Adam, in the case of Dr. Wm. Russell,) but have prevented that gentleman's ever rising in the service. This is only known in Calcutta; it is not published, or all the medical service would feel grateful for the kindness, and admire the honesty and impartial justice of that honourable Court!

The good deeds of the honourable Court not published, and dare not be made known in India! No wonder they are sneered at by their servants, who wallow in the rich abuses of power and patronage, as the "old women of Leadenhall-street," (the usual phrase by which they are designated,) while their mandates are laughed to scorn. They can compare them to nothing so aptly as an old apple-woman, who should allow herself to be persuaded by some designing urchins to shut her eyes that they might pilfer her stall with impunity. In what other light can the people of India regard the "honourable Court," which allows itself thus to be hoodwinked by its servants, who wish to screen their malpractices from its view? They knew well, that while the liberty of the press existed, such glaring abuses could not be concealed from the eyes of their masters; and if the latter had not been weak enough to listen to the selfish advice of those who wished to keep them in ignorance of their own affairs, by abolishing the freedom of discussion, they would not have had the mortification of seeing that their orders are set at nought, and their benevolent intentions concealed from their servants and subjects. We learn from our correspondent that—

It is now determined, in the face of Dr. Russell's case adjudged, that the present Secretary of the Medical Board shall be allowed to evade his tour of duty as Acting Superintending Surgeon, and the next to him be ordered, *volens volens*, to take it. The plea set up I understand to be, that a man, *unless actually promoted*, is *not actually promoted*! What evasion! The man's tour of duty calls him to the army as clearly when it is to fill an officiating appointment which comes by rotation, as the real appointment which also comes by rotation. The appointments, such as that held by Dr. Russell, like all other staff appointments, used to be held till promotion to a grade in which they could be held no longer. But by this innovation, they would become places held at will, at the pleasure of the Governor-General. In fact, all rules are broken through, ingenuity taxed to show they are not; and that all men of reflection prefer a certainty to an uncertainty, is lost sight of. Use this as your own—not as mine; and send out your HERALD by every ship.

This is the usual peroration of letters from India,—praying that the writer's name may be concealed, a request to which honour and humanity alike require us to pay the most sacred attention, considering what the consequences to the writers might be. Notwithstanding this miserable thraldom in which the public mind in India is thus kept, so that no individual dare utter a whisper of complaint, even when he has the greatest reason to be dissatisfied, some people in England have had the hardihood to assert, that there is in India the greatest facility of making grievances and abuses known. If persons dare hardly mention them in private letters to their friends at home, lest they should by any accident happen to become known as complainers, will they venture boldly to remonstrate to the oppressors themselves? The supposition is too preposterous. Whether or not there be ground for complaint, let the following view of the facts of the case decide:—

Dr. Abel (says a correspondent) is now Apothecary-General, and his deputy (being a gentleman five or six years his senior in the service!) is called upon to say whether he will give up his private practice or that situation. If he prefers the former, instead of the Apothecary-General being obliged to do all the duty, whilst the deputy is released in order to give him the emoluments of private practice, (as was the case formerly with Dr. Hare and himself,) he, the deputy, will be obliged to do all the duty, and the Apothecary-General will be relieved from any. For the Company this is good; because Dr. Abel is Acting Superintendent of the honourable Company's botanical gardens, six or eight miles south

from Calcutta, and on the other side of the Ganges; and he is also Body Surgeon to the Governor-General, who lives, five days of the week, sixteen or eighteen miles north of Calcutta! Now, as Dr. Abel (however able) is not ubiquitous nor omnipresent, nor the Governor-General so omnipotent as to make him so, he may perhaps manage to avoid the imputation of receiving between three and four thousand pounds sterling per annum for what it is impossible for any single gentleman to perform. In this, the present Governor-General has abused patronage more than his predecessor; since Dr. Hare was entitled to the appointment, having been upwards of twenty years in the service; whereas Dr. Abel had not been twenty months, and had no claim to the situation whatsoever. He is, in fact, incapable of performing the duty; he is unable to give orders in the Hindoostanee or Bengalee language; he can know nothing of the service, its details, &c. But enough of him. His appointment, and that of an Assistant-Surgeon, (Dr. Jeffries, brother-in-law to the Adjutant-General,) to a similar one at Cawnpore, leads the service to fear that length of servitude will no longer be considered as necessary to render persons eligible to such appointments, for which long experience was hitherto considered an indispensable qualification. Patronage, and not talents, favouritism, and not long tried services, are now regarded. Hence the King's service, for surgeons and military men, is now better in all respects than that of John Company.

To this conclusion, we believe, all ranks and classes in the Indian army will soon come, if they do not look forward already with impatience to the time when only the royal standard of England shall wave over their heads; when they will have the honour of his Majesty's Government to depend upon for the security of their rights, and be no longer exposed to cuttings and clippings of rulers, the value of whose *solemn promises* is so well known, especially to their subjects in the ceded and conquered provinces.

To compensate Lord Amherst for the many hard sayings respecting him, contained in the private letters from India, we think it but fair to copy some of the "sugared words" employed in speaking of him or his family in the public papers. The following extract from the *India Gazette* may serve as a specimen of the present style of Oriental flattery:—

His sentimental Majesty Xerxes, we are told, when he reviewed the *vastest* army that ever campaigned, wept. "Alas!" said he, wiping his black proud eyes with the skirt of his purple robe, (for he had no pocket handkerchief,) "Not a man of these myriads, who call me master, will be alive one hundred years hence!" Now, when we remember that Xerxes was a most haughty, aristocratical legitimate, it must be conceded that it was very condescending of him to have yielded to such an impulse of good feeling in the midst of his power and his grandeur. But if he fell thus into the "melting mood" for a multitude of barbarous, frowsy, whiskered Persians, few of whom he could have known personally, what would have been his feeling had he been present at Government House on Thursday night? We just figure the imperial despot retiring to a corner, and, quite subdued by his reflections at contemplating the beautiful and splendid *tout-ensemble*, exclaim, while hiding his face in a square of lavender-scented cambric—"Alas! alas! a hundred years hence not a trace will remain of all the distinction, worth, loveliness, and grace, which shed their celestial radiance upon this scene of elegant festivity and polished hospitality; and all the flowers of youth, beauty, and goodness that now wave their happy petals here, will have withered away before the sweeping simoom of fate"! Really we are getting too, too pathetic—we must spare our gentle readers' feelings, and beg of them, if they "have tears to shed," *not* to shed them now, for they would be quite out of place; let them reserve them for a more befitting occasion, for we can assure them that none but a Xerxes would have been absurd enough to have become lachrymose on the one we allude to.

Without further preface—we have the pleasure to inform our country readers, (for our fashionable friends in town are already most agreeably aware of it), that Lady Amherst was at home on Thursday night. To say that the graceful affable

lity and noble urbanity of her Ladyship made her guests really feel *at home*, would be only stating a simple fact; and yet we are restrained by delicacy from affirming more than this simple truth, lest our comments might be understood more in a merely complimentary light than as a humble tribute of sincere admiration.

Among the various phenomena that have lately characterised the Indian press, not the least singular is that of the Calcutta *John Bull*, (who was begotten in intolerance and nursed in the lap of illiberality,) having at last become an advocate for the advantages of "free discussion!" In publishing the fifth report of the Serampore College, he makes the following remarks, in the hope that the people of England will become convinced that the press is "capable of doing much good" in India! We never doubted it, and therefore only publish them for the benefit of the Court of Directors:—

Our readers (says he) will not fail to observe, that the missionaries speak of their progress and prospects in somewhat more measured language than they formerly indulged in. Without meaning to speak any way disrespectfully of these gentlemen, we may be allowed to remark, that this very becoming change in their style may not unfairly be attributed to the watchfulness which the local press now keeps over *all public bodies* who have the disbursement of charitable and benevolent funds in their hands; and we hope it will be received in England as *one proof among many*, that the INDIAN PRESS IS CAPABLE OF DOING MUCH GOOD, and is actually effecting *not a little* in a department where interests of the very highest nature are involved.

Without doubt the affairs of the Serampore establishment for converting the heathen, are, spiritually speaking, of "the very highest nature"; but, in a worldly and temporal point of view, there are other interests ranking far above them, on which the press dare not touch. The missionaries may have intrusted to their disposal, at most, a few thousands a-year; the Government has about ten times as many millions. If a local check be necessary and useful in the one, how much more so in the other? The servants of the Company, it may be said, are responsible for their conduct to the authorities in England; so are the missionaries to the parent Baptist Society; yet both frequently act in direct contempt of these distant supervisors, from "a carnal self-seeking," which can only be restrained (as *John Bull* candidly admits in the one case) by the watchfulness of the local press. But when it is confessed that spiritual men are prone to err, unless the rod of correction be near, will it be contended that worldly men, with a thousand times greater temptation, are quite infallible? The difference is, that the latter are too powerful to suffer their conduct to be remarked on; the former must needs submit to it, and avoid censure by reforming what is objectionable. In this way the press effects "a little" good; just enough to show that it is capable of producing infinitely more: but dare it touch on the abuses of patronage, the neglect of public improvement, or the misapplication of any charitable fund with which powerful individuals are connected? The answer must be in the negative. Compelled to overlook the conduct of those who are the supreme dispensers of good and evil to sixty millions of men, the press exerts its salutary influence on two or three humble unprotected missionaries, who have taken refuge in a foreign colony to escape the power of the Company. And while the great interests of the British Indian empire are left to their fate, *John Bull* congratulates the world, calling upon both Europe and Asia to behold with admiration the wonderful reforms the press has produced in the petty settlement of Serampore!

The principal of these reforms are stated to be—that a trust deed is to be executed by the missionaries, in which certain gentlemen in England (not named) are to be included as trustees for their new college—that the method of teaching the Sanscrit language in it is to be improved, by the students being no longer required, as formerly, to commit the *whole* of the grammar and *dictionary* to memory before they get any reading exercises; in addition to which, there is “an honest admission” that the Serampore College must continue for years nothing more than a “grammar school;” which, it is said, will “prevent disappointment on the part of those who, as matters stood before, might have been thinking of nothing short of daily prelections on all the arts and sciences.” These reforms in the “Missionary Grammar School” at Serampore, are, no doubt, as aforesaid, vastly important, and prove that the Indian press, under the present *regime*, is not altogether good for nothing! The subjects that chiefly engage its attention are, however, usually of a nature far more remote from general utility than this. For a long while a favourite topic, that occupied many a lengthened column, was the weighty question of blasphemy! After the *pros* and *cons* on this prolific theme had been fully argued, for the instruction of the Indian world, till the patience of editors and news-readers was nearly exhausted, they were happily relieved by the introduction of the science of phrenology; a course of lectures on this subject having been commenced by Dr. Paterson. This has afforded the public papers occupation for months together, and will no doubt continue to do so till some fresh game is started; probably the question—whether the soul be material or immaterial? (which has been already hinted at in some of the papers,) or that of the existence or non-existence of matter? or some other metaphysical subtlety equally remote from anything bearing on the events passing around them, that come home to “the bosoms and business of men.” Instead of discussing the policy of the Burmese war—the best mode of prosecuting it with vigour, or bringing it to a happy close—or pointing out the means of improving the country and its myriads of inhabitants, public writers in India are compelled to keep their minds aloof from all such affairs, and waste their energy on barren speculations, like the amusements of Milton’s fallen angels, who

Apart sat on a hill retired
In thoughts more elevate, and reason’d high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix’d fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

But we shall not offend the phrenologists by applying to them the line that follows:—

Vain wisdom all and false philosophy.

Nevertheless, the object of both is much the same: to gratify the craving thirst of every intellectual being, angelic or human, for something whereon to exercise its powers. And it is but just to say, that the Indian editors, chained as their minds are in their “sultry” abode, deserve no small credit for the ingenuity with which they contrive to “entertain the irksome hours” in “sweet discourse”

Of blasphemy and bumps, and casts and skulls,—

which, although others may think it

Vain wisdom all and false philosophy,
Yet with a pleasing sorcery may charm
Pain for awhile or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm the obdured breast
With stubborn patience as with triple steel.

This comparison (the only one we find for their unhappy situation) will be excused by these gentlemen, whose fault it is that they are expelled and shut out from that paradise of mental freedom which is the birth-right of British subjects.

A society has been formed for promoting the study of the new and interesting science of phrenology in the capital of British India, to which we wish every success, and subjoin an alphabetical list of the Members that had already joined it, containing many highly respectable names, and among others that of the celebrated Rammohun Roy, so well known in Europe by his writings as an honour to the age and country in which he lives :—

Abel, C., M. D.; Barber, James; Carr, William; Cavell, H.; Dick, Paris, M. D.; Dickens, T.; Dove, J. M.; Drummond, D.; Egerton, C. C.; Fleming, R.; Forbes, N.; Frith, Robert; Gordon, J.; Grant, J.; Kyd, J.; Macnaghten, R. A.; Mellis, J., M. D.; Muston, W. P.; Neave, R.; Paterson, G. M., M. D.; Robison, C. K.; Roy, Rammohun; Smith, S.; Strong, F. B.; Vignolet, C.; Wyllie, Robert, C.

The only sort of liberty the Editors seem to enjoy in perfection, is that of commenting on each other; in which they consequently most freely indulge. The following may be taken as a specimen; and it also serves to explain some doubtful passages in Mr. Secretary Mackenzie's speech, as reported by the *Bull*, and quoted in our last; whose eulogies on the "undaunted servant of the public," are now conjectured not to apply to the honourable John Adam, as before supposed, but to the individual whom he banished from the shores of India, for really deserving this character. A letter addressed to the *Scotsman in the East*, in reference to the Editor's comments on the *Bull's* report of that famous speech says :—

Your strictures upon the sentiments alleged to have been uttered by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, in the Town Hall, I consider to have been passed with unnecessary severity—that the immaculate *John Bull* is correct, in regard to what fell from that gentleman, is one more of the many examples of John's lick-spittle subserviency; for my part, I never read any thing more allegorical, and should not be surprised to find Mr. Mackenzie acknowledging it to be so himself, than that the appellation "undaunted servant of the public," was with allusion to an *absent individual, who, in reality, did sustain that character, and was in consequence forced to abandon it*: that a faction did exist, and carried with malice, vengeance, and physical strength, every thing before it, to the ruin of that individual, is undeniable; and this faction, afterwards denominated the "*League*," you will permit me to mention, was the notorious "*Bull faction*."

Another short extract shows the reliance to be placed on the fine representations of the successful progress of the Burmese war issued from the enslaved press of Calcutta, and thence reprinted into some of the London papers, who have no knowledge of the real state of things in India. This is no less than a confession extorted from the *Indian Bull* himself, that he had been misleading the public there; who, however, were too near the scene of action not to detect the imposition. He says, respecting the Chittagong division :—

We have seen letters from the camp of General Morrison, on the Banks of the

Majsoo river, of date the 23d of February. They state that at that time the boats had not made their appearance, and the army was consequently at a halt; as the river at the point where they had arrived was upwards of two miles broad. The same letter speaks of the troops having suffered a little from dysenteric affections, caused by the water which they had been drinking. It would appear that our officers are not quite so enamoured of the country as when they first entered it; as they are now alleging that the "fine climate," "plentiful supplies," "beautiful country," are to be found in the pages of the *John Bull*, "and no where else!"

The following paragraph, from the 'Edinburgh Times,' confirms the sentiments we have frequently expressed:—

It occurs to us that the familiar letters of our own countrymen to their friends at home, are more to be relied upon for accurate intelligence from India than any other source of information which is open to us. Our readers must be satisfied that the management of the military matters is at present far from being unexceptionable. We have seen a private letter from one of our own townsmen, where he describes an affair in which he was engaged on the first morning of the present year; and adds, that he and his men were surrounded by nearly four thousand of the enemy, and with difficulty kept them at bay for a short time with a few brass guns. His animadversions upon the conduct of some of the superior officers are sufficiently strong, and well merit public attention. He says: "I have received a sabre wound on the face in this business, which must disfigure me for lifetime; and I know the cause of the accident, ———, to whom I shall not hesitate to express my sentiments in suitable terms. He was aware of our situation, and could only attempt to justify his delay by adverting to the *ambiguous* terms of his instructions from head-quarters." One well-authenticated occurrence of this kind speaks volumes against the entire system of our Indian warfare, and accounts for many of those disastrous encounters which are so uniformly ascribed to common accident, and yet are productive of the loss of so many valuable lives.

The hints dropt in the Calcutta papers, of the eagerness with which assistance is looked for from England, afford indirect evidence (although they dare not speak plainly) of the opinion generally entertained there, that the Indian Government requires the strong helping hand of England to extricate it from the present contest. The *Hurkaru* of the 8th of March has the following remarks:—

The *John Bull* says that a thousand men are coming out from England on board of men of war. It would not require a *whole fleet* of such ships to bring out *that number* of men, nor do we think it would be worth while employing men of war for the conveyance of so small a number. We have seen letters from England which say that *ten thousand* men are to come out, and, *under all circumstances*, we think this account the most likely to be the true one.

We are not surprised to find, republished in a Calcutta paper, (the *Bengal Hurkaru* of the 9th of March,) a condensed summary of all the slanders issued from the East India House, against the Marquis of Hastings and the house of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, without one word of the justification of their conduct, which has overwhelmed their enemies and calumniators in this country with confusion and disgrace. It is quite worthy of the present Government of India to employ its enslaved and degraded press in circulating, throughout their territories, the most false and malicious slanders against the administration of their predecessors, which with all its faults, reflects infinite discredit on their own.

As every symptom of advancement in consequence and respectability made by the race of Indo-Britons, notwithstanding the cruel and unjust neglect and political exclusion by which they are kept down, must be interesting to every liberal mind, we reprint the following paragraph from the *Bengal Hurkaru* of March 7th:—

We find that a meeting of East Indians is to take place on Monday next, for the purpose of establishing a Dinner Club. We much approve of respectable associations of this kind, and therefore hope that the leading men of that body will attend the meeting, to which we suppose none but the most unexceptionable characters need expect admittance.

The following is the only hint our late Calcutta newspapers contain respecting the present state of affairs in the interior of India :—

Jubbulpore, Feb. 22.—"General Adams left this on the 17th, in progress to Kurnaul; long will his name be remembered on the banks of the Nerbudda, and his departure from hence will long be regretted. Mr. Wilder intends to reside at Jubbulpore, and expresses no little anxiety for the completion of his palace. We understand that two troops of irregular horse are to be raised here, and the Nujeeb corps to be greatly increased; and also that Mr. W. is about to apply for several more assistants; for he is said to attribute the unsettled state of the province to the want, principally, of European agents. When the 8th Cavalry have left the districts, we may expect some troubles again; and most probably one officer will have to go to Tejghur, and another to Mundelah, towards the end of the month."

SHAKSPEARIAN BRIDGES AND DAWK IMPROVEMENTS.

Our readers are fully aware of the extensive fame conferred on the Postmaster-General of Bengal for the introduction (if not invention) of tension and suspension bridges in India; hence, in that country, called Shakspearian, after his own name. The *Calcutta Government Gazette*, unwearied in celebrating the praises of this discovery, has lately given the following account of "Metamorphosis of the Shakspearian Coir Rope Bridge of Suspension, at Allypore, into one of Sylhet Cane or Ground Rattans":—

This curious change was, we understand, effected with ease in the course of a few hours. The result is very interesting, inasmuch as it proves the great facility and economy with which these ingenious structures can be composed and suspended.

It appears that canes, from 100 to 225 feet in length, and from one to nearly two inches in diameter, are procurable on our north-eastern frontier, merely for the cost of the labour in collecting them together. The Governor-General's agent, Mr. Scott, when at Sylhet, sent down to Calcutta, at the request of Mr. Colin Shakspeare, a supply of canes, coiled up like rope; and of which he has constructed the present small bridge, of 130 feet span by five feet in width. Not only the roadway, but all the radiating guys, catenary curved swings, preventer braces, and vertical suspenders, are of cane, none exceeding one and a quarter inch in diameter, and many not three-quarters of an inch.

The use of iron thimbles throughout the composition, gives an air of symmetry and neatness, while they greatly diminish friction, and add much to the strength of the bridge, which, like its rustic predecessor, has only one iron-jointed arm in the centre.

The appearance of the arch is singularly light, even more so than rope; and it is in reality lighter as a whole, because the bamboo cross slips, forming the roadway, are lashed at once to the canes, and thus it becomes firmer than in the rope bridge, in which the treadway is distinct, and lies over the strands.

Eighteen canes, of 150 feet each, form the bearings.—These are lashed together at each end of the bridge, and then bound round four open hearts, in substitution of dead-eyes. Thus the *setting-up power* acts in the same way as with the rope bridge.

There are no friction sheaves in the standards, with the exception of one for the lowest guy, the angle being acute.

The strength and durability of the cane is by some considered equal to that of rope, but this is a question that time will solve. Meanwhile it is quite clear, that if the cane should only last a season or two of the rains, (and it is strongest when kept moist,) the advantages gained to the country, abounding in that useful and cheap commodity, will be incalculable; no bridge whatever, we believe, having

been attempted in that quarter up to the present time. And we may conclude that the Natives, from habit and method in working up cane, will improve both on the neatness and strength of cane bridges now to be introduced, especially as they well know, from experience, how to choose the best kind of cane, and to cut it at the proper season for the purpose intended.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General visited the Cane Bridge on Friday morning, and his Lordship was pleased, after a minute inspection, to signify his approbation of so novel and useful a structure.

The original experimental Beraï Torrent Bridge, still lying at Allipore, under cover, was also exhibited to his Lordship, preparatory to its return to its station for the third season of the approaching rains. It is then, we are told, the Postmaster General's intention that it shall be accompanied by a new bridge for a torrent a few miles west of Bancoorah.

This facility of transporting and erecting rope bridges of all dimensions naturally leads to the question, whether such machinery would not have proved very useful in the present warfare on our east and north-east frontiers, especially with General Shuldham's Division in Cachar, a country intersected with innumerable Nullahs, and no enemy in front.

Celerity of Expresses and the common Dāk.—We are happy in recording a very extraordinary instance of further increased celerity in the progress of our mails to Madras. On the 4th of last month an express from Government to Ceylon, via Madras, reached the latter place in the short space of nine days and three quarters of an hour, having thus exceeded by twelve hours the greatest speed yet attained even on the improved rates which of late years have taken place. The measured distance, it is well known, is 1044 miles. The common Dāk, which brought this intelligence in little more than eleven days, now greatly surpasses all former expresses on the old regime.

From the Bombay side of India, an express reached Calcutta on the 5th March, in the short space of thirteen days and a half, the distance being 1308 miles. On the advantages to Government, and the mercantile body, thus acquired by these very expeditious rates of communication, it would be superfluous to say more than that they reflect much credit on the Post Office Department.

The *Madras Supplementary Gazette*, of Tuesday evening, 22d Feb. brings accounts of the safe arrival of the French ship, *Auna*, at that port, after having struck on the Pulicat Shoal. She had on board two Shakspearian bridge models for the Madras Government, one a highly finished town model, the other of the rustic order.

SYLIET FRONTIER.

The accounts from this division of the army, under Brigadier-General Shuldham, extend to the beginning of March. They were still contending with the difficulties of the country, and their progress retarded by the want of carriage and of the means of keeping up supplies, all aggravated by the rains that had already fallen. The following are extracts:—

Feb. 22, 1825.—The force under Brigadier-General Shuldham, which left Doodpattee on the 16th, have, in consequence of the heavy rain, only advanced eleven or twelve miles; the roads are represented to be quite impassable for the artillery and loaded cattle. The progress of the advanced party, employed in clearing the forest, has also been greatly impeded by this fall of rain; the soil is so slippery, and there are so many ascents and descents, in crossing the little rising grounds and nullahs, that it is with difficulty that the men can keep their feet. Loaded cattle slide about, and scatter their loads in every direction; camels and bullocks are said to be nearly as useless as carriages in such a country. Those who were in Cachar during this month last year, state they experienced similar weather. Until it clears up, it seems in vain to expect the force can make any progress. Reports state that Munnipore is occupied by 2000 of the enemy; and that a still larger force is in the vicinity. But little dependence can be placed on the information received, as it is now generally supposed the enemy have possessed themselves of the passes through the hills. Elephants are in great demand for carriage. The pioneers, in cutting the road through the forest, lately met with a

nutmeg tree in full blossom, the fragrance of which is said to have been very great; several nutmegs were found scattered on the ground under the tree.

The 3d Brigade and Artillery, with the Head-Quarters and Staff of the Division, reached Banksandy on the 24th Feb., having been detained on the banks of the Badree Nullah for five days by heavy rain, which rendered the road over the Badree hills so difficult, that the train and rear-guard did not come up till three days after the arrival of the head-quarters at that ground. It was intended to halt the troops at Banksandy until the road through the forest was completely opened, and a sufficiency of supplies collected in advance at Noongshie to provide for future wants.

Camp Banksandy, March 1, 1825.—The 16th Local Battalion has been ordered to advance to Noongshie to keep the Nagahs in check, as they have lately attacked and driven back the Quarter-Master-Generals' hurkarus. Want of supplies, or rather the means of conveying them, will prevent Blair's horse and the pioneers from advancing farther than the edge of the great forest, as it would be at present impossible to supply the men with food, and the horses with forage or even grain, after they enter it, or until some better carriage than bullocks be found, and able to penetrate the forest in its present muddy state. We are obliged to keep a sharp look out, as the Burmese are skulking about in the hills, watching an opportunity to cut off stragglers of the reconnoitring parties.

Adverting to the opinion of a high military authority, mentioned in our last, of the certainty of failure in this quarter, we cannot but think that the probability of his ominous prediction being verified is much increased by what is stated above.

CHITTAGONG FORCE.

The division of the army advancing into Arracan, under General Morrison, had not, according to the last account, yet reached the capital of that province. The difficulties of penetrating into the enemy's country were found to increase at every step; and it was at last found expedient to make a halt until the means could be procured of proceeding by water.

On the 4th of March, General Morrison ordered the troops to advance upon the Arracan River, (also called the Oratong, the Umba, and Kola-dyne, in various parts of its course,) the stream on which the capital of that name is situated. The numbers of the enemy in the fort of Arracan are variously stated: by some accounts at 10,000; by others at only 7 or 800. Commodore Hayes, with the gun-boat squadron, had taken three of the stockades guarding the advance to Arracan, without opposition; but private letters, received in town, state that "his flotilla had met with a very serious disaster. Having come to an anchor in one of the islands, they were attacked, it is said, by the enemy, and a great proportion of the boats destroyed." This account is rendered but too probable by the composition of this force, which has always been described as consisting of men of low caste, lately enlisted, on whom no reliance could reasonably be placed. If such a disaster has happened, it will completely paralyse the future efforts of this division.

As an example of the obstacles and disappointments which this army has to encounter in a country so little known, it is stated that the Mayoon or Mayoo River (called Mageeo in our map) is found to be not at all as described or laid down in any of the maps hitherto published. Instead of being a narrow river, it is "an inland sea, branching off in different directions, and the shortest width is said to be about three miles and a half."

The difficulty of transporting the baggage, &c. of the army, and bringing up supplies, has been already seriously felt, when the troops were not

more than twenty or thirty miles from our own frontier. With all the advantages possessed in our own territory, it took ten or twelve days to convey them across the Naaf river, which forms the boundary in that quarter. A letter, dated from camp on the 26th of February, says, that the ships with the commissariat stores having been detained by southerly winds, the troops were on half rations, and obliged to halt, and that elephants had been sent back to Mungdoo, the frontier station, for supplies. The enemy were said to have taken up their position on the other side of the Mayoo, and the army was waiting for boats to convey it across this river, which being three or four miles broad, the undertaking would be much more arduous than the passage of the Naaf. Commodore Hayes, with his squadron, (consisting of the *Vestal*, *Research*, *Helen*, *Trusty*, *Asseerghur*, *Pluto*, *Osprey*, and some gun-boats, with a company of the 54th,) was in the Arracan river, and about to attack a strong stockade named Chingbela, reported to be "garrisoned by 1000 of the enemy's troops, and a body of peasantry who were forcibly retained for its defence by the Burmese." The Mug Sirdars (that is, the chiefs of the original natives of the country subdued by the Burmese) "had been imprisoned (says *John Bull*) by the Burmese authorities of Arracan, to secure, if possible, the neutrality of their dependents." "Rumours (he adds) had reached the camp, that the Mugs in and about the capital (of Arracan) had been massacred." Such rumours are never wanting; but while these Indian politicians see so clearly how great a source of weakness it is to the Burmese that their subjects are a different race from themselves, do they never reflect that the position of the British in India is exactly similar; with this difference,—that the Burmese have done every thing in their power to increase their own numbers and identify themselves with their subjects; while our policy has been just the reverse? Letters from General Morrison's camp warn those to whom they are written, that unless water-carriage can be procured in greater abundance, they must not be very sanguine of the force soon reaching Arracan. Even if they do reach it before the rains, it will be attended with no small sacrifice, both of men and money, to keep them there during the ensuing monsoon.

RANGOON EXPEDITION.

Accounts from Rangoon, dated about the middle of February, state, that the long-expected and much-wished-for advance of the troops under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, had at last taken place. It is certainly to be regretted that the army had not been fully supplied with provisions, and provided with every necessary equipment for this undertaking four or five months earlier, when they would have had the whole dry season before them, instead of having to make the attempt now, when the weather is on the point of becoming unfavourable; so that the chances against success, arising from the nature of the country, are immeasurably increased.

The advanced guard moved on the 3d of February, and the first encounter with the enemy was at the stockade of Lain or Lyng, where the Burmese advanced guard was posted, consisting of 2200 men. This stockade was carried on the fifth, the garrison being first summoned to retire in peace, with all their property, to their own habitations. This proposal they refused to assent to, and stood the first assault, after

returning which, by one discharge, they retreated. The following is a more detailed account, from a letter dated Rangoon, February 18th:—

The long-expected and much-wished-for advance of the troops from Rangoon, under the command of General Sir A. Campbell, K.C.B., has at length taken place; the whole party left Rangoon on Sunday the 13th of February, upon which occasion a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the Dagon Pagoda heights. Rangoon stockade has become completely bare, and has the appearance of a deserted village. On the 5th of February, a strong party, composed of the Europeans and Natives from the different corps, embarked and went off to a strong stockade called Tanteabeun, where they arrived on or about the 7th inst., and were received with a very sharp fire from the enemy, of cannon, ginja, and musketry, which lasted for some time, until the steam-boat, with some of the rocket troops on board, and sloop *Satellite*, ranged up close to the stockade, assisted by the men-of-war's boats under the command of Captain Chadds, of his Majesty's sloop *Arachne*, when they opened a heavy fire of rockets and cannonades, while the troops landed and put the enemy to the route, leaving but few killed and wounded behind them, with all their guns and ammunition, consisting of twenty-nine pieces of cannon of various calibre, from twelve to four-pounders, brass and iron. We are happy to state that the troops, both Natives and Europeans, behaved with their usual gallantry.

On the 8th of February, part of the party returned, leaving 100 Europeans and 300 Natives to destroy the works. Our loss is only one soldier drowned, one Sepoy and two *Lascars* of the steam-boat wounded; four Burmese that were wounded were taken prisoners.

The route proposed to be followed by the land-forces is not very clear; but it will, no doubt, keep near the course of the river for its supplies. The Burmese are lying in force at Denobew, which is about sixty miles from Rangoon, in a north-westerly direction. A letter, published in the 'Calcutta Government Gazette,' says:

Denobew has been so long the head-quarters of the Burman army, that I think it but reasonable to expect that the whole science of the empire has been exerted in preparing for its defence. There the united legions await our approach, and there, most probably, the fate of Ava will be decided. Three Malabars, who arrived from Denobew yesterday, state the Bundoola's force at 40,000 men, and add, that numbers were daily pouring into his entrenched camp; that he, Sarrawaddy, and Moun-shoe-za, had settled all their differences, and were acting together for the public good. The real state of the case will now soon be known to us.

This is the end of all the rumours of quarrels, rebellions, and massacres, among the Burmese leaders, so repeatedly circulated by the Indian Government Papers, and as often belied. Equally little reliance, we suspect, can be placed on the hopes held out, that the natives of the country will co-operate with us against the Burmese. That the people in the conquered provinces may remain neutral, is not improbable; feeling, as those living under a despotism must do, that, since they are slaves already, and cannot be much worse, it matters little to them whether they live under one tyrant or another. The negotiations with the Siamese Chiefs have always worn a very equivocal aspect, and not less so now than ever. They are, no doubt, desirous of reaping all the advantage they can from the quarrels between the British and the Burmese; but although they hold out large professions and promises to us, and possibly to our enemies at the same time, it does not appear they have yet committed themselves with either party by striking a blow. They have addressed a piece of the most fulsome bombast to Sir A. Campbell—"the English hero—the champion of the world—the tamer of elephants!" with the view evidently of penetrating the policy of the British Government. From the style in which it is written, (which is merely Sir Archibald's own Orientalised)

they would appear to have formed a very indifferent opinion of his understanding, if they hoped to secure his friendship by such a tribute to his vanity as the following 'Letter from Siam':

The Chief of the Country of Zaky, of Lagoon, and Jumma; the splendid hero and renowned warrior of great splendour, dignity, and riches; the Prince, the ruler over fifty-seven Provinces, possessed by my ancestors from the remotest generations. The Lord and Chief of the nine tribes of the Siamese people. The illustrious Prince possessing the richest Throne in the East. The name of the second Chief is Bems, Agan Loom Yat. The name of the third, Shoom Zova Banzagan Lan Cheg. These three Chiefs were present at Durbar, with three and thirty Wazeers, and being unanimous, having but one mind and one object, present this to His Excellency.—

To the Governor over Sixty Tribes, and the Great Conqueror over Countries, the English Hero—the Champion of the World—the Tamer of Elephants—the General victorious over the Burmese, mild and merciful—the Leader of Leaders—the Inspirer of Bravery,—this request is written in the year of the Hegira, One Thousand One Hundred and Eighty-six; a year greater than seen by any of our ancestors; a year more auspicious than all former years;—in which the Conqueror of Provinces, the English Hero, by command of his King, came with an army to attack the Burmese, over whom he has been victorious, who has not molested the inhabitants, but has permitted the poor to remain in their dwellings. This intelligence having reached us, diffused general joy. We have likewise heard that many Wazeers and Burmese soldiers have been sent to the regions of death by the invincible warriors. The English hero, who is seated on a throne, and is exceeding beneficent, has ordered that neither vexation nor trouble is to be given to the people remaining in their houses. Against your power no enemy can draw an arrow. The poor and the cultivators in your prosperity find ease. Further, we are of opinion, that if you continue fighting after this manner for one year, or one month, neither the name nor vestige of the Burmese will remain. Then will the poor in tranquillity pass their lives, and then the name of their merciless enemies will be obliterated. We are likewise persuaded, that, to the people living under the shadow of the standard of your clemency, not even a cause of trouble can arise. The great Chief Lecagat, the second Bungan Khoon, the third Bungan Khasan Cheydoo Ghom Thuham, the Chief of the countries of Laboon and Jamaz, all being assembled, and being unanimous, and having but one mind and one object, I have described it to the great English hero and conqueror; and I wish to be informed of your circumstances and every wish in your mind. This request is addressed to the presence of the illustrious enthroned English conqueror.

No doubt they are "desirous of being informed of his circumstances," that they may shape their course accordingly. Their views are still further developed in the following extract from 'John Bull,' containing, as usual, reports of the most bloody dissensions among the enemy:

On the 16th of February, Sir Archibald Campbell was twenty miles from Rangoon. It was reported that the Bundoola, and his brother General, had arrived near Paulang, with 80,000 men; a rumour which found no great credit at Rangoon. On the 16th, Brigadier-General Cotton sailed with his division, and expected to be at Paulang on the 19th. This division is embarked on board six brigs, and a large number of gun-boats, and proceeds up the river parallel with the main body of the army; from which, we understand, it will never be separated more than seven miles. Brigadier Cotton is to meet Sir A. Campbell at Donobew, and they are to proceed to Prome. On the 18th, Major Sale sailed to Bassain, with 2,000 Europeans of the Light Infantry of the Royals, one battalion of Sepoys, and the Larue, under Captain Marriot. In that quarter it was understood that the inhabitants were most impatient to have our presence among them, as they and the Burmese were fighting with each other. After taking possession of Bassain, Major Sale was to proceed to Donobew to join Sir A. Campbell and Brigadier-General Cotton, by land or water, as may be found most convenient. Three Siamese Chiefs, from Martaban, arrived at Rangoon, and were received with military honours, the troops lining the streets as they passed. They came with offers of immediate assistance to the amount of ten thousand men, and a plledge

that the King will furnish as many more. *They desired that Martaban, Tavoy, and Mergui, should be delivered over to Siam, as they formerly belonged to them. No specific answer was given to this proposal, but they were recommended to advance immediately, and attack Tungo, on the south-east frontier of Ava.* These Chiefs sailed again, on the 20th, for Martaban. Brigadier McCreagh remains in command at Rangoon, and Colonel Smelt, second. On the necessary carriage arriving from Calcutta, Brigadier McCreagh proceeds up the river, in command of the second division. In the mean time the fortification of Rangoon was going on briskly. One letter mentions, that a sepoy, having gone into the jungle, and not returning, his comrades went in search of him, when it was found that he had been carried off by the Burmese. Two days afterwards he returned to Rangoon, and stated that he had been suddenly knocked down with a bludgeon, by a Burmah who started from the jungle; and, on recovering, found his hands tied behind his back. In this state he was carried to an old stockade, about two miles distant, where he found nine or ten Burmese. They questioned him as to the strength of the English at Rangoon; he said they had fifteen regiments of Cavalry and fifteen of Infantry, when he was threatened with being hanged if he did not tell the truth. He persisted, however, in his story. He was then escorted by a Burmah to near the lines, and allowed to return; the savages, however, having first cut off two of his fingers, probably to disable him, in future, from pulling a trigger.

The subjoined extracts, from the 'Bengal Hurkaru,' show that no expense of troops or transports will be spared, in order, if possible, to ensure success to this enterprise, of penetrating the Burmese empire by the principal river:

The following ships and vessels were taken up for the grand expedition: John Shore, Beamont, Commander and Deputy Agent of transports; brig Macaulay; brig Pallas; brig Phoenix, Captain Edmund Harrison Clift; and David Malcolm. Ships on the expedition to Bassein: his Majesty's sloop Larne; ships Argyle, Lotus, and Carron. The following ships remained in the river: Moura, a store-ship; Fort William, grand store-ship; ship Anna Robertson, store and hospital ship; ship General Wood; the Erneaud prison-ship; the Good Hope, Buny, Commander, discharged from the duty of the Dullah guard-ship, and relieved by his Majesty's brig Soply, Captain Ryves. The ships Windsor Castle, David Scott, and Heron, left the mouth of the river on the evening of the 14th February, for Bencoolen. Accounts were received, on the 13th inst., of 800 war-bands, consisting of a force of 80,000 men, under the command of Monchuzar, were collected at Bassein, spoke the Honourable Company's boat Narcissa, Captain King, from Martaban, on the 11th, with the Siamese Ambassadors for Rangoon; on the 15th, spoke the ship Zenobia, below the Elephant, where she has been lying two days for the pilot, all well; on the same evening, spoke the ship Dunvegan Castle, with volunteer Native troops from Madras, all well.

The same paper states:

From the Commander of the Mary Anne, the following additional news from Rangoon has been obtained:

The army had moved forward about the 10th, leaving but a few troops to protect the town. Six brigs, with the steam-vessel and several gun-boats, had passed up the river.

The brig Ben Jonson, laden with potatoes and 100 bullocks, had arrived. On the 18th, the expedition sailed for Bassein, consisting of his Majesty's ship Larne, his Majesty's cruiser Mercury, transport Lotus, Argyle, and Carron, with a considerable number of galleys and row-boats.

On the 24th, the Mary Anne fell in with and spoke the transport Fergusson, Hercules, and Virginia. Several other ships were, at the same time, seen to windward, all standing towards Rangoon, and would reach it in a few days (26th).

From 'John Bull' we also learn, that another embarkation of elephants, for the service of the army at Rangoon, had taken place lately.

It is singularly unfortunate that all the grand preparations are only completed within one or two months of the return of the rains, which, according to all that is known of the country, are to be expected in April,

when the troops will again have to struggle with the unfavourable season, and depend for their supplies on the fleet, which can only reach them by a long inland navigation, rendering it far less easy to keep up supplies than at Rangoon, where so much was suffered in the preceding season from want of provisions.

Sir Archibald Campbell, on ordering the advance from Rangoon in the beginning of February, issued a proclamation, which in highly worthy of being inserted as a companion to the foregoing address from the Siamese to this "Leader of Leaders, and Great Conqueror over Countries." It is as follows:—

PROCLAMATION.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, K.C.B. AND K.C.T.S. COMMANDER OF THE ENGLISH ARMY IN THE DOMINIONS OF THE KING OF AVA.

INHABITANTS OF THE BURMAN EMPIRE!

The English forces have come amongst you to seek redress for the *cruel murders and numerous insults* your *arrogant* Court had the presumption to inflict upon, and offer to, the subjects of the British Government, in a time of profound peace.

A great and generous nation, confident in its own strength, like that of the British Empire in India, tried every thing possible, by mild and temperate expostulation, to make your Court sensible of the enormity of its conduct, and the inevitable consequence that a perseverance in it would occasion. These remonstrances tended only to increase the insolence of the Court of Ava. Recourse to arms was therefore the only measure left to the English, in support of their own rights and dignity. What that appeal has already produced, it is unnecessary for me to say—you all know it. The bravery of my troops has already deprived the Court of Ava of its maritime provinces of Mergui, Tavoy, Yeh, Martaban, and the island of Cheduba. The ancient kingdom of Pegu has become a desert from the ravages of war. The most powerful armies, possible for your Court to get together, have been sent against us; WE HAVE DISPERSED THEM LIKE CHAFF! Since the arrival of my force at Rangoon, in the month of May last, we have at different periods taken from you more than *seven hundred pieces of artillery*, and small arms too numerous to be counted, and your loss in lives has been, as you all know, most enormous; and with you, on that account, I lament the tears of aged parents, sisters, widows, and innocent children. All this has been endured merely to support the folly and obstinacy of your Court, to whom our peaceable desires have been made known. Yet, it still abstains from offering any reparation for the *wanton cruelties and unprovoked injuries* I have already mentioned. It only, therefore, remains for me to carry the victorious English arms not only to your capital, but to the remotest parts of your kingdom, till your Court is brought to a proper sense of that justice, honour, and policy, due from one neighbouring state to another.

Having thus briefly explained the cause of our coming in arms amongst you, you will see and fully understand that to your own King and Government alone have you to attribute all the past calamities of the war, and such as may still ensue from its further progress. My most anxious desire is to alleviate those miseries towards the peaceable and innocent inhabitants, to the very utmost of my power. Show yourselves, therefore, deserving of that feeling towards you by keeping, as we advance, yourselves and your families peaceably and quietly in your houses, and you may depend upon the most inviolable protection of your persons and property. Bring to my army such articles of the produce of your farms and industry as you wish to dispose of; every thing will be paid for with the most scrupulous fidelity. I ask you not to take up arms, or to take any part whatever in the war; I have troops sufficient for all the objects I have in view, without any further aid. May the spirit of your forefathers direct your hearts to follow the line of conduct I have laid down for your guidance, which will insure for you, as I have already promised, my fullest protection, and *every respect to your religion and temples*, &c. &c.

Given under my hand and seal at Rangoon, the 1st day of Feb. 1825.

(Signed)

A. CAMPBELL, B. G. &c. &c.

The first question suggested by this strange document is why General Campbell begins by telling the Burmese the reasons which have brought him there nine months after he has been among them? We have heard of hanging a man, and afterwards trying him; so Sir Archibald, after inflicting all the horrors of war upon a country, rendering, according to his own account, a whole kingdom a desert, and causing an "enormous" loss of life, making the tears of parents, widows, and helpless orphans to flow,—after subjecting, as he states, an innocent people to all these calamities for nine long months, he begins a proclamation by telling them the reason; namely, that it is for no fault of theirs, but of their rulers. He says that those unhappy people, so long the innocent victims of this war, will now be spared, if they remain quiet: on this condition, he now promises them "his fullest protection, and every respect to their religion and temples;" this he now offers after so much blood has been shed; and his army has been employed, for nine months, sacking and demolishing every sacred edifice throughout the country, that came within their reach! Can a people, smarting under infliction of all these injuries, be expected to rely on the mercy of their invaders, set forth in pompous proclamations belied by their deeds? To justify the infliction of so much misery on an innocent people, General Campbell talks of "cruel murders and numerous insults" inflicted by their *arrogant* Court on British subjects. Where and when, may we ask, did the Court of Ava commit such murders? If he mean on the missionaries or merchants whom Lord Amherst's precipitate declaration of war threw into their hands, the assertion is not borne out by fact; as from all that has been yet heard, the lives of these unfortunate men are still spared. But Sir Archibald means, the Mug-boatman killed near Shahpooree island! His murderer, however, was not the Court of Ava, but a malefactor who fled, and could not be apprehended. If the deceased, therefore, had had the blood of Kings and Emperors flowing in his veins, it would not have afforded the shadow of an excuse for the oceans of blood pretended to be shed on his account. The Burmese did not refuse to deliver him up, but were unable. Supposing, however, that they had, on the contrary, been able, but refused; still this would have afforded no excuse to the British Government for making war on them; because, in similar circumstances, where men, living under our protection, have killed not one but hundreds, nay, thousands of Burmese subjects, and filled their country with disorder and bloodshed, the Company's servants have refused to deliver up the perpetrators. This has happened over and over within the last dozen of years.

A Burmese rebel and outlaw, of the name of King-berring, who formerly belonged to Arracan, having taken refuge in our territories, after fourteen years plotting, succeeded in raising a force sufficient to invade the Burman Empire, which he did in 1811. Lord Minto justly conceiving that such an invasion, proceeding from our dominions, might be looked upon by the Burmese as a dissolution of the relations of amity between the two states, sent an embassy to do away with this impression, by disavowing all connexion with the outlaw. His attempt having failed, after causing the destruction of the lives and property of many Burmese subjects, he then took refuge again in our territory, and our Government positively refused to deliver up either himself or the other desperadoes of his gang. It pretended, indeed, that they should not be

allowed a refuge in our territories any more; but they, notwithstanding, found an asylum there! It professed to give orders for securing them, but it intimated to the magistrates, that it would be very sorry, indeed, if they were actually secured! (Parl. Papers, p. 15, March 4, 1812.) After a hint of this kind, it is superfluous to add, that the outlaw was not apprehended. Having recruited his strength a little in our territory, he was soon again in a condition to renew his attempt on the Burman empire! And, on this fresh attack, our Government made fresh professions of its desire to secure him, and keep him quiet. These professions it performed in its usual way: King-berring and his band of outlaws, in gangs of 40 or 50 each, made excursions from our frontier, and supported themselves by rapine and plunder; and he openly avowed his intention of making another grand attack on the Burmese dominions. The British Government still refused to surrender up the perpetrator of so many murders and robberies, but renewed its "solemn assurances," that it did not encourage him. The better to deceive the world, it resolved to issue a proclamation, declaring, in express terms, that if this rebel should renew his attempts, he should be surrendered to his sovereign. But, in another paragraph, (p. 96,) the Government states plainly, that it did not at all mean to be bound by this promise! It was made, they declare, only to mislead the Burmese and their rebel subjects. "Because, say the Supreme Council, 'there is a wide difference, in effect, between a knowledge of our intentions so obtained, and a formal declaration of them: our measures will not be embarrassed by the former'!" We are happy to say, that all this jesuitical shuffling took place before the office of Governor-General was filled by the Marquis of Hastings; which we mention, as his administration commenced in the same year, lest it might be supposed that he had lent himself to these transactions. In fine, the outlaw and robber never was given up, but died in his asylum in 1815; although Lord Hastings, on coming into power, showed every desire to act with good faith towards the Burmese in this transaction, and allowed their troops to assist ours in pulling down these disturbers of the peace.

After having protected so long the authors of so many atrocities for a series of years; and, latterly, another ringleader, of the same kind, called the Mug Hynja; it surely requires no small degree of assurance on the part of the Indian Government, to pretend to justify a war against the Burman empire, on the ground of a Mug boatman having been killed on the frontier by a Burmese subject, who escaped unpunished. Was King-berring, the chief and ringleader of a band of robbers, murderers, and outlaws, ever punished for all his crimes inflicted on the Burmese; or not rather sheltered, in our territory, to the day of his death? And did we not furnish other outlaws, on the Assam frontier, with arms and ammunition, expressly for the purpose of attacking the Burmese, and in time of profound peace too? Yet Sir A. Campbell talks of "wantonly cruelties" and "unprovoked injuries" sustained by the British Government, and strengthens his case by reiterating charges of "insolence, obstinacy, and folly," against the Court of Ava; as if he supposed it were the business of British Generals and armies to go Quixotising about the world, to teach every barbarian court wisdom and politeness. But he may easily prove anything, who is at the head of an army, where the strength of the reasoning lies in the cannon's mouth, when he is able, as

he tells us, to blow away his enemies "like chaff"! This humble comparison shows the modesty of the General, who has been kept by this collection of chaff nine months in the same position; a period sufficiently long to have puffed it away with a pair of bellows. This merit, however, we must allow Sir Archibald, notwithstanding his consummate humility, in underrating his achievements upon the said chaff: he has, certainly, *puffed* more strenuously than any other British General, considering all the circumstances, would have done.

BOMBAY.

The 'Bombay Courier' of the 19th of February, contains an article on Suttees, worthy of attention on various accounts. From the well-known connexion between that paper and the Government, it may be considered a demi-official exposé of the principles of the British authorities at that Presidency. It begins with saying:

We have received accounts of two suttees having recently taken place in the Deccan, and one in the Concan. The piles were constructed in strict conformity with the rules prescribed by the Shasters, which adds to the torments of those who devote themselves as victims in these dreadful sacrifices; and, by all we can learn, the fortitude and devotedness of these superstitious beings were increased by the prospect of enhanced sufferings. Time alone, however, can show what measures it may be safe ultimately to adopt for the purpose of putting an end to rites so cruel and revolting to humanity. For ourselves, we question the policy of any direct interference in the reform of practices, which the diffusion of a more enlightened system of education can alone remedy. We make this remark in reference to the discussions in which the Legislature and would-be legislators at home have recently engaged, on this delicate subject. Their humanity outstrips their judgment—it displays only *augments* the evil which they are desirous of correcting. None, surely, can be more desirous of accomplishing that object than the authorities in India; and can it be for a moment believed that they are callous in the discharge of their duty? Instead, therefore, of declaiming at public meetings against the tolerance of so horrid a practice, it would produce a more salutary effect if our Wilberforces, Buxtons, and *Buckingham*s, were to contribute each his *mite* to the dissemination of education in India; which would not fail of dissipating those clouds of darkness and ignorance in which it is the policy of the Braminical ascendancy to retain its followers.

And (he might have added) "in which it is the policy of the Company ascendancy to retain their subjects." For what is it that keeps them in darkness and ignorance? The exclusion of British subjects from India by the Company! Who are the persons that endeavour to remove this darkness and ignorance? Some few individuals who, as missionaries, have obtained an exemption from the general interdict, or have found shelter in foreign settlements, and thence diffuse the fruits of their labours; or who, with the tacit acquiescence of the Marquis of Hastings, or other liberal rulers, have *treasonably* employed themselves, *without the license* of the Company, as the instructors of youth; this being the situation of those superintending the most distinguished English seminaries of education in India. Let the Company remove its interdict against such persons, and education will need no other stimulus; for when the embargo is taken off, this, with every other want which India has of English learning and talent, will soon command an adequate supply. But while the rulers of India oppose this, with what decency can they call upon others to educate and enlighten their subjects? To whom does this duty of supplying funds for the instruction of the natives of India belong?—to Messrs. Wilberforce, Buxton, and Buckingham, or to those who draw the revenues of that country, and wring twenty millions annually from its wretched

inhabitants? If their consciences do not tell them that they owe something in return towards promoting the moral and intellectual improvement of their subjects, with what decency can these conscientious, liberal, and generous rulers, who have deprived Mr. Buckingham of almost his whole fortune, call upon him to contribute his "mite" (his *mite*, indeed!) towards supplying their infamous neglect? It never once occurs to those gentlemen who have the modesty to give such advice, that the natives of India have any claim upon them but the right of being taxed; or that Government has any reciprocal duty to perform to its subjects, far less that the only just and reasonable end of its existence, is, that its whole resources may be solely employed in promoting their happiness. Indian rulers think, on the contrary, that it is their *sole* duty to swallow up the whole revenues of the country; and if they consent to disgorge a small portion for the benefit of the people, this they consider a work of supererogation,—a superabundance of merit and liberality to be extolled throughout the universe. So, at the Bengal Presidency, Mr. Secretary Lushington has published a book on the subject, entitled 'The History, Design, and present State of the Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity.' We have not yet obtained a copy of this volume; but the *Government Gazette* informs us, that it is an "epitome of what has been done;" and that "such *proud examples of liberality and munificence*, which do honour to the British name in India, cannot fail to be dwelt upon with great interest and satisfaction by all who are desirous of preserving the remembrance of good and generous undertakings." We will tell this servile flatterer, that if there be any thing that does honour to the British name, it is the efforts of private individuals, not of the Government, whose puny contributions to the cause of knowledge are put to shame by the exertions of a few humble missionaries, depending for aid on the benevolence of the public. The British and Indian public, in the little that has been done, have fifty times more merit than the Government, which has employed the insignificant portion of its vast revenues allotted to public instruction, in a way which shows that it is more desirous to perpetuate superstition, than diffuse real knowledge among its subjects. With what other view could it establish a College for keeping alive the Sanscrit learning,—the basis of all those fables which have kept the Native mind enthralled for thousands of years past? If really desirous of enabling the Natives to shake off their prejudices, it would have rather patronized and diffused among them the arts and sciences of Europe, which they have no means of acquiring, by which their ancient systems of error might have been soon thrown into the shade. These would then of themselves have fallen into disrepute; but the British Government has established a College to cultivate and encourage them! The Natives themselves view such hypocritical philanthropy with contempt, and require no aid to procure that instruction which they possessed two thousand years ago, while our ancestors were living in the woods. In the words of Lieut.-Colonel Stewart's late pamphlet: "Of public instruction (in India) there is nothing deserving the name."

The rest of the article in the *Bombay Courier* is equally worthy of attention, for the jesuitical policy it recommends in the abolition of suttees:—

It has been contended that a positive interdiction of the practice might be

safely attempted; and that it would as safely succeed, because, as it is not countenanced by the Shasters, it would not be interfering with the religious observances of the Hindoos.—We doubt the policy of such an interdiction; if it be not an interference with their religion, it is an interference with a deeply-rooted custom. It might, however, be tried,—but not in the British territories. We should imagine that any of the Native Chiefs, the most enlightened of those in alliance with us, might be prevailed upon to prohibit the practice. If the attempt succeeded, it might be then followed up in our own territories. Instead of our own countrymen crowding to the spot to witness such inhuman rites, it would be perhaps better if they turned from these spectacles with horror and disgust, and seized every opportunity of speaking of the practice in terms of marked reprobation. They must recollect that in all ages and countries, where force has been employed to root out any particular superstition, it has only made its votaries more determined and obstinate. The sun of knowledge alone can disperse the mists and illumine the darkness of superstition.

Other Christian governments, far weaker than ours, have prohibited suttees in their territories in India, in defiance of Native prejudice. But the Company must risk nothing in the cause of humanity. No; better throw the odium upon a Native prince, who is much more within reach of the contagion of superstition. Let him risk (if there be risk) his crown and his life by trampling upon the prejudices of his native country; and if an unenlightened heathen venture to stand forth as the champion of reason and humanity, and do so with impunity, then the Christian Company will follow his footsteps! Throughout the whole reasoning there is a gross fallacy in confounding the abolition of suttees with the forcible rooting out of superstition. These things are as totally distinct, as matter and spirit, or actions and opinions; in the former of which a change is to be effected by legislation, in the latter by instruction. It is, no doubt, highly desirable to have the people enlightened with all practicable haste; but when this cannot be accomplished to any considerable extent, for hundreds of years to come, are their enormities not to be checked all this time? No force should be used to prevent them from believing in as many deities or demons, pandemoniums or purgatories, as they please; but let them not be suffered to make their fellow-creatures in this world actually undergo real flames and torture. This is clearly the province of legislation—to put an end to atrocities which are an outrage upon human nature, and an everlasting disgrace to those under whose protection they are openly perpetrated.

The same paper has made the following remarks on the subject of steam navigation to India, which are the more interesting at present, from the experiment actually commenced within the last few weeks;—

From some observations in the *Calcutta John Bull* of the 28th of January, it would appear that he has been accused by the *Madras Courier* of “making a severe reflection on the people of Madras for their want of liberality, in not promoting the navigation by steam to this country.” Such an accusation we have not remarked in the pages of the *Bull*, but if it has been made we cannot suppose that the good people of Bombay have escaped, and in fact it comes out that only one out of fourteen letters, sent to this presidency by the steam navigation promoters, was answered. We certainly think that our friends here might have been more courteous, but we suppose that the reason that the letters in question were not answered, was simply this, that no encouraging hopes could be communicated. The greater part of the society saw numerous difficulties in establishing steam navigation, to be carried on round the Cape of Good Hope, while they were all anxious, as bringing us, as it were, nearer home, that the first experiment should be made by the Red Sea, a route which appeared to offer fewer difficulties, and which afforded an opportunity of visiting the most interesting

countries of the world. Should a communication by means of steam navigation ever take place between India and Europe, we have little doubt that the route last mentioned will be the one that will be adopted. In fact, we believe, that if a steam packet plied at this moment between Bombay and Cosseir, numbers of people from every part of India would prefer going by her, in preference to round the Cape, even if they were certain of only a common shipping conveyance from Alexandria. The plague and the quarantine are certainly at present a great objection, and a source of considerable annoyance, and would be a powerful obstacle to families proceeding by Egypt; but to single men they would not appear of the same consequence; and if the Pacha lives, and continues to take the same interest as he does at present, in the agriculture, commerce, and police of the country, it may be fairly expected that, in a few years, there will be little more difficulty or danger in travelling between Cosseir and the Nile than there is at present between Bombay and Poona; while, under the new regulations regarding health that are establishing, the plague will probably either disappear altogether, or be much less frequent in its visits. The route itself, too, affords so many objects of interest and curiosity, that these alone would be sufficient to decide most people to adopt it, even if the difficulties were far greater than they are at present.

A person, as his taste or inclination may lead, has an opportunity, without almost going out of his way, of examining the stupendous remains of Egyptian antiquity, of visiting the Holy Land, and exploring the classic countries of Greece and Italy. In fact, a person proceeding by Egypt, by seizing opportunities actually thrown in his way, may return to his native country with his mind stored with much rare and interesting knowledge, and with a newly-acquired relish for pursuits which may tend much to his future comfort and happiness. In returning round the Cape there are none of these advantages, nothing to interest or amuse, nothing but the everlasting monotony of a ship; and on a person's arriving in England by this route, all that he will probably be able to boast of having seen will be St. Helena, a shark, a booby, or an albatross. Besides, considerable doubts seem to exist at present as to the practicability of establishing a permanent steam-navigation by the Cape, not only from the speculation being likely to turn out a ruinous one, but from the quantity of fuel required to be carried, and the constant and rapid accumulation of salt in the boilers, the delay caused by removing of which, it is supposed, will almost counterbalance the other advantages. We understand, in proof of this, that the *Lightning*, steam vessel, that went to Algiers, was obliged to touch at Corunna, Oporto, and Gibraltar, for the purpose here stated, of getting her boilers cleaned out; and if this was really the case, it will be a strong argument against the success of steam navigation, in so long a voyage as that between England and India, even with all the places it is possible to put into during the passage. The vessel now fitting out, if she even makes the attempt at all, will probably be expressly sent for the purpose of obtaining the very liberal reward that has been offered by the people of Calcutta; and even if she reaches her destination in the required time, unless the hydrogen gas system succeeds, she will probably be the first and the last of her kind that will appear on this side of the Cape of Good Hope. No one can wish more than ourselves every success to steam navigation, whether set in motion from Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, or whether used round the Cape or up the Red Sea, only we think the last the best route, both as being the shortest and the most interesting. Unfortunately, however, we see little prospect of its immediate adoption in a permanent form; British enterprise, we are aware, is able to overcome the greatest difficulties; but British enterprise requires, at the same time, to be stimulated by the prospect of acquiring equivalent advantages; and the most sanguine advocate of steam navigation will hardly say that such a prospect exists at the present moment.

CHINA.

Intelligence has recently been received from China by the way of St. Petersburg, through the medium of Russian papers from that capital, the substance of which was given in *The Globe and Traveller* of the 19th ultimo. The agitations produced by the failure of the crops for the last two years, and the ravages made by cholera morbus, are said to have been allayed since the last productive harvest, which has been accompa-

nied by a cessation of the disorder. The consequences of these events are, however, still felt, especially in trade, which has become greatly embarrassed by the insolvency of the Chinese merchants.

The following item of intelligence from North America, showing the extension of the China trade, possesses peculiar interest :—

Quebec, July 14.—The arrival at this port of two ships from China, forms a remarkable epoch in the annals of Canadian commerce. The *Moffat* and *Juliana* are the first vessels that ever entered the St. Lawrence from the immense continent of Asia. They sailed from London on the 12th of August last, left Falmouth on the 24th of that month, and arrived at Canton on the 24th of January; on the 24th of February they sailed for Quebec, kept company twenty days, and separated off Java; met again off the Cape of Good Hope; separated, and arrived the same day off St. Helena; after leaving that island they did not see each other till their arrival at Quebec, within a few hours of each other, a most extraordinary proof of good management. The space traversed by them in ten months has been about 38,000 miles. The *Moffat* is about 800 tons, and the *Juliana* about 500 tons: the former has 9,941 chests of tea; the latter 5,900. Both vessels are in high order, and take cargoes from hence to London. The amount of provincial duties on the teas brought by these vessels will be about 60,000 dollars.

MAURITIUS.—SLAVE-TRADE.

Some facts have been stated in the public papers, during the past month, which show that, at this island, a shameful violation of law and decency is openly practised under the very eyes of the British authorities, who permit the abominable traffic in slaves to be carried on, although our honour, as a nation, is pledged that it shall be abolished. That such a scandal to the British name may be reprobated in every quarter of the world, we are desirous to lend our aid in making the facts more widely known, and therefore reprint the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of July 29th, which says :—

The Times of yesterday, in an article on the slave population of the British colonies, states :—“The excess of males in the Mauritius, by the last returns (so long ago as 1816) was frightful—55,000 to 29,000 females: the overplus of men was an unfallible consequence of an obstinate and heartless prosecution of the slave trade, for the end of extracting the utmost possible amount of work from the labourer, of feeding no superfluous mouths, and of repaying the waste of human life, not by the encouragement of marriage and its consolatory influences, but by a repetition of the same atrocious villainy through which the victims successively destroyed had been originally dragged to the sacrifice. This, thank God, will be a reproach to us no longer.”

We wish we could echo the concluding sentence of our contemporary. We are sorry, however, to be obliged to state, on what we consider unquestionable authority, that the Slave Trade, in its most odious form, is still carried on at the Mauritius; and the knowledge which our neighbours, the French, possess of this circumstance, goes very far to confirm them in the belief that we are by no means so sincere in our determination to abolish the Slave Trade as we pretend to be. We are assured, that since the period stated by *The Times*, upwards of 70,000 slaves have been introduced into the Mauritius; and that hypocrisy and deception never were carried farther than they have been on the part of the functionaries in that colony and its dependencies.

Slaves are notoriously landed on every part of the island, where the nature of the coast does not render access impossible. But to prevent all risk from capture by British cruisers at sea, a regular legalized Slave Trade is carried on by means of the Seychelles, small islands, dependencies of the Isle of France, situated nearer to the coast of Africa, to which the slaves are first conveyed, and then carried to the Mauritius under the denomination of old slaves. There is not a person on the island who does not know perfectly well that the slaves are not old, but they are old according to the papers, which are fabricated. If not new, they have at most been six months in the Seychelles, for the purpose of removing, in some degree, the extreme awkwardness of the unhappy beings on their first introduction

into a country, to the language, habits, and employments of which they are strangers.

These fresh slaves from the Seychelles are often advertised in the Mauritius paper, and by strange oversight in those who have the management of this illegal work, in greater numbers than the whole population of the islands amounts to, from which, notwithstanding, *they are never missed*. Nay, so assured of impunity are those who carry on this iniquitous work, that they even neglect the precautions which one would suppose common prudence would dictate. They even have had the temerity to advertise the sale of these slaves in the same paper as that in which their arrival is announced,—announced too by its true name—‘Cargo,’ &c. to be sold by public auction, in the principal town, at ten o’clock in the forenoon. The following is an instance on the part of the Government agent of the Seychelles Islands, whose wife was despatched from thence to the Mauritius to superintend the sale of the cargo by the owners of the vessel in which it was transported, and also by her husband’s agents.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE OF JULY 27, 1822.

Port Louis, July 27, 1822.—Arrived on the 23d inst., the schooner *Antoinette*, Captain Mein; left the Seychelles on the 24th ult.—Passengers, Mrs. Madge and her family. Cargo, cotton, and *thirty-nine slaves*.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, JULY 27, 1822.

Port Louis, July 27, 1822.—Notice is hereby given, that on Thursday next, the 1st of August, at ten o’clock in the forenoon, Auctioneer Fouquereaux will, at the request of Messrs. Berry, Gordon, and Co., owners of the schooner brig *Antoinette*, and on the premises called Bretonnache, proceed to the sale of *nineteen fine male slaves, and six female slaves, and three children, just arrived from the Seychelles, by the schooner Antoinette*. The sale will take place in ready money, or on the footing of ready money by such satisfactory bills, drawn at six months’ date, as shall be accepted by Messrs. Berry, Gordon, and Co., previous to the sale.”

The treatment of slaves at the Mauritius is most inhuman, and any one at all acquainted with the enormous waste of life which it occasions, would require no other proof that no impediment was thrown in the way of fresh importations to supply the deficiency.

On a future day, we shall enter a little more fully into this subject, and, in particular, explain the true nature of the relations between Radama, a prince or chief of Madagascar, the treaty with whom has served so much to aid the delusion practised on the people of this country, and by which we, among others, were misled.

It is one consolation, amidst all this turpitude, that Commissioners are about to visit this colony, whose honour is unquestionable, (and considering how much in the present day the worship of Mammon prevails over every principle, especially in this depraved and depraving metropolis, this is saying a great deal,) and we believe that they will not enter upon the investigation without a clue to guide them.

We subjoin, for the sake of contrast, a copy of a letter from Surinam, which appeared in *The Globe and Traveller* of the 19th ultimo, showing the very different conduct of the Dutch in their colonies. They are putting down the slave-trade in good earnest, by strictly carrying the laws against it into execution; and our colonial Governors must be made to follow their honest example, before we can afford to boast any more of British philanthropy, as setting an example of humanity to all the rest of the world. The letter is as follows:—

Paramaribo, July 21.—On the 6th of this month sentence was passed in the cause of the Attorney-General against Michael Bouleimer and Pierre Marie le Crapper, for having clandestinely imported into this colony a number of negroes from the coast of Africa. In conformity with a resolution of his Majesty, of 17th September 1818, they are sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand florins, to imprisonment for five years, to the payment of their share of the costs, and are declared infamous. Hendrick Dickman, Director of the plantation at *à la Bonheur*, at which place the above two persons, with 212 of the negroes imported by them, were taken on the 29th of January, and who was accused as an accomplice, has been acquitted by the same sentence of that charge, but condemned,

for his imprudent conduct, to a fine of three thousand florins; to payment of one-third of the costs; and the time that he has been in confinement is to be accounted part of his punishment.

The sentence decides nothing respecting the negroes; but we know that immediately after they were taken they were placed at the disposal of his Excellency the Governor, and have since been employed as free labourers in the public service in the fort of New Amsterdam.

In a preceding sitting of the Court, the famous cause was decided respecting the captain, the supercargo, and the crew of the French slave-ship *La Legère*, captured in 1823, by Sir Thomas Cochrane, and delivered up to our Government. By sentence of 13th Dec. 1823, the accused was acquitted of the charge of importing negroes from Africa into this colony, or intending to do so; but the brig, with the negroes, 300 in number, was ordered to be conveyed to a French colony. The supercargo, Jean Marie Bled, found means, however, to land most of the negroes by night in a plantation, whither he secretly repaired with one Joseph Pallu, who was probably interested in the cargo; they were, however, discovered with the negroes, and brought back to Paramaribo, when the supercargo was again tried for importing negroes. Both Bled and Pallu were found guilty of rebellion, and banished from this country for life; and the confinement suffered by their accomplices is accounted for punishment.

As a proof that the Court powerfully protects the slaves against the severity with which some masters are disposed to use them, we may mention the proceedings instituted against the director of the plantation of *La Solitude*, who had scandalously ill-treated a female slave belonging to his plantation. He was sentenced to be scourged, branded, and banished; and his three accomplices to a fine of three thousand florins, and banishment.

Here is an example worthy of the attention of our colonial authorities, who are so fond of dragging in Dutch law to assist them in cruelly sacrificing a missionary, as at Demerara, or arbitrarily banishing a British subject, as Mr. Burnett from the Cape of Good Hope. Let them also imitate that law when it protects the injured, and pours its vengeance on the guilty head of the oppressor; and let those who illegally connive at and promote the slave-trade in British colonies, be "scourged," "branded," and declared "INFAMOUS," as they most justly deserve. And, following the same pattern, let the 70,000 victims of this iniquity, at the Isle of France, be declared free. When will the aristocracy edify the world with this great example of justice and humanity? While our judges and lawyers ransack every human code, sacred or profane, from Moses to Mohammed, from Numa to Napoleon, for poisonous specimens of tyranny, to transplant them into our system,—when will they begin to use the same industry to enrich and improve it by collecting the fruits and flowers of foreign legislation, the salutary plants springing from the seeds of justice, and exhaling the sweet balin of mercy?—This were a task more worthy of "the most thinking people in Europe," and more honourable to the genius of British freedom.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Accounts have been received (by the ship *Andromache*) of a Caffrèe tribe to the east of the Cape, governed by a tyrant so consummate and cruel, as hardly to be matched in the annals of barbarism. As no mention, however, is made of the means by which he secures his power, his many concubines, and his own life, while coercing and butchering them and his subjects by fifty a-week, unless his being a little taller than them be the reason of their quiet submission, the history, which is as follows, favours somewhat of the marvellous:—

Three naval officers, and a party of the *Andromache's* men, in the York tender, visited that enterprising officer, Lieutenant Farewell, R. N. and party at the third point Natal, commonly called Port Natal. Chaca, King of that part of the

eastern coast and adjacent territory, had given Lieut. Farewell a grant of the harbour and territory surrounding it, and demonstrated every civility and attention, frequently soliciting Lieut. Farewell to visit his hustled city, distant about two days' walk from the coast. Chaca's force about him consists of from thirteen thousand to fifteen thousand well-made fine young men, who are in a state of perfect nudity, and hardly one of them but appears to have been wounded. Their instruments of warfare are simply a shield and spear, of a larger size than are used by other clans, and only one of each is permitted to each warrior; if in action a man returns without either, he is instantly put to death. Their mode of fighting, therefore, differs in some measure from the rest of the savage tribes in Africa, since with this shield they dexterously avoid the thrown arrows of their enemies, whose practice is to carry numbers and then rush in. Chaca's marauding routes and attacks are generally nocturnal. The kraaled city is situated on a hill; the foot is walled in with a composition of manure, clay, and earth, which cements and becomes durable. The huts resemble bee-hives, with no other aperture than the one to creep in at, differing widely from those of their opposite neighbours, the Madagascars, whose huts are constructed of bamboo and palm leaves, a floor rising something from the earth, and mats to repose upon. Chacu is a well-made man, and above the common stature of his subjects; he does not allow of a plurality of wives, giving to each, as he thinks fit, one; none ever ask, none dare seek another. His own concubines are numerous; hitherto, so soon as they prove pregnant, they are put to death, saying he is too young to have children now, though he is between 30 and 40 years old; but so exceedingly averse is he to an overgrown population, that he frequently orders the infants of those whom he has united by his own mandate to be destroyed. When his subjects do not approach him with the bow and toss of the hand, (the accustomed ceremony in his presence,) or appear to be seeking other wives, nay, for numerous other minor offences, he orders them instantly to be speared to death. The death of those unfortunate subjects, since Lieut. Farewell has been at Natal, average at least 50 a week. There has not been discovered, or heard of, from the commencement of the Caffre country on the frontiers of Cape Colony, taking the whole extent of the coast to the third degree of south latitude, so consummate, cruel, and perfect a tyrant.

So extraordinary was the appearance of that noble animal, the horse, to Chacu and his tribe, that when Lieut. Farewell first arrived among them, and Chaca saw the horse gallop, mounted, he offered, and actually gave, Lieut. Farewell six live bullocks to gallop him again. He holds the animal in the greatest terror and fear, nor could he be reconciled to approach it. He has an abundance of bullocks, and to prevent their destruction, from the intrusion of the numerous quadrupeds, they are kraaled-in every night. Since our enterprising countryman has been at Port Natal, Chaca has established two kraals on a rising ground, commanding a view of Lieut. Farewell's location, containing about fifty blacks, (as Chaca says,) for the purpose of protecting him. Much is it feared, although this officer is at present a favoured participant of his grant and attention, that these blacks will be ordered to embrace an unengaged moment, and himself fall a victim to the blood-thirsty appetite of this barbarian. Lieut. Farewell, while bartering for Ivory, is also employed in fortifying himself, having already completed a wall eleven feet high, trenched without, and mounted on it four four-pounders, and is erecting a house in the centre, of the materials of the country, manure, clay, and earth; his party now consists, at Port Natal, of two Englishmen and four Hottentots. There is another enterprising young man, of the name of Flynn, in the service of Lieut. Farewell, about thirty miles from Port Natal. The Natives seem much attached to him. He has adopted the custom of the country by going naked, except a piece of cloth round his waist down to the knees, and is qualifying his skin to the lubricity of the Natives; he is also collecting ivory.

ST. HELENA.

This island, which has long cost the British nation, as well as the East India Company, so much money, promises at last to become able to yield the latter some returns, in a way highly beneficial to the settlement itself, as well as to the protecting power, as appears by the following paragraph from *The Hampshire Telegraph*:—

St. Helena Silk.—The honourable Company's ship *Farquharson* arrived at St.

Helena, from England, the 26th of February last, bringing Captain Pillou, in charge of some silkworms: eighty were landed, with a small quantity of eggs. Happily, the ship arrived on the very evening the last stock of mulberry leaves was expended. The worms and eggs were removed on shore, and the insects ate most voraciously of the island leaves. Since then they have gone on in an incredibly rapid improvement,—spun their cocoons, and laid eggs to the amount of eight thousand; not more than six were bad, which may be attributed to the first moth being a female, and which had come into existence three or four days before a male made his appearance. They had been exceedingly oviparous since; and while the *Andronache* was there, many hundreds of eggs were again hatched. The climate of the island being generally from 74 degrees to 82 degrees of Fahrenheit in the vallies, seems exactly adapted to the rearing of this valuable insect. Captain Pillou, in unison with Lieutenant Daniel O'Connor, of the St. Helena Artillery, hon. East India Company's service, are indefatigable, having spared no pains in the care and treatment of them. The mulberry tree grows all over the island, and lately many hundreds have been planted from slips, which are in a promising condition; the island produces two sorts, China and English, one of which is an evergreen. It is calculated, from the worms expected from the eggs already hatched, that in the course of a few months, should the mulberry-leaves not fail for so prolific an insect, as much silk will be produced as will be worth 50,000*l.* sterling. This introduction of the silkworm will, no doubt, enhance the value of landed property there, give employment to an overgrown population, from which much benefit must be derived, and the situation of the farmer be greatly alleviated, as their state at present is distressing, from the unfavourableness of the last two or three years' seasons.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

NEW COMMANDERS IN INDIA.

It was stated, under date of Portsmouth, August the 13th, that Rear-Admiral the Hon. Philip Wodehouse had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies; but it has since been announced that the appointment is given to Admiral Bingham, who is to hoist his flag on board of the *Warspite*, 74, to which Capt. Cariol is nominated commander.

Sir Hudson Lowe, late Governor of St. Helena, is appointed second in command at Ceylon.

INDIA STEAM-VESSEL.

It is worthy of being recorded, as opening a new era in the history of steam navigation, as well as in that of the intercourse between Europe and the East Indies, that the *Enterprise* steam vessel, Captain Johnson, commander, took her departure, in the early part of last month, from the shores of England, bound for Calcutta; the first of the kind that ever undertook so long a voyage. She started from Gravesend on the 3d of August, and proceeded to an anchorage below the Nore, where the weather threatening to be very unfavourable, and blowing hard, she continued all next day. Having rode out the gale, to the entire satisfaction of all on board, in the morning of the 5th, she again proceeded on her voyage. On the morning of the 6th, about ten o'clock, it was discovered that the vessel was on fire. When the alarm was given, a red blaze was seen surrounding the chimney, and bursting through the deck; but Captain Johnson giving his orders with great coolness and precision, every one did his duty in such a prompt manner, that the danger was soon subdued. It was found to have proceeded from some coals placed over the boiler, which, being heated to 226°, was, it is said, sufficient to ignite them. To calm the apprehensions of the passengers, after an alarm of so frightful a nature, all the fires were put out till next morning, that they

might be satisfied all was safe. The boiler is also stated to have received some trifling accident which required repair; or, as another account says, "finding she did not make sufficient head against wind and sea, to equal the value of the coals consumed, Captain Johnson determined to lay to, until the weather moderated." Having, in consequence of these circumstances, drifted back from Beachyhead as far as Dungeness, she again proceeded to the westward on the 7th. On the 9th, she passed a large class Indiaman under her single reefed top-sails, and top-gallant sails, blowing a strong breeze, and steering a course the wind two points free, when the *Enterprize* left her behind, hull down, in three hours. She finally sailed, from Falmouth, on the 16th, having taken on board the remainder of her passengers, who are described as all in the highest spirits.

We wish the bold *Enterprize* every success; and trust our Indian readers will have joyfully welcomed her arrival on their shores, long ere this reaches them. In the meantime, however, it is to be regretted if the greatest precautions were not taken to ensure the success of an experiment so interesting and important. The engineers should not only have been old and experienced hands, but the vessel also should have been put to trial by at least one or two shorter trips, before she undertook so long and arduous a voyage. But, perhaps, the fear of being outstripped by some competitor for the premium of, we believe, 10,000*l.*, held out to the first who may establish steam-navigation between England and India, would not admit of this delay.

The accidents she has already met with, might have been fatal a few days sail from land; and although the weather she has had to encounter in the offset, has, no doubt, proved her trim and strength, we shall look forward to the result with hope, not unmingled with some degree of anxiety. Our confidence, however, is increased rather than diminished, by the trial she has had going down the channel, attended, as it was, by one very alarming circumstance; for this will, no doubt, greatly lessen the chance of danger, by enforcing a very salutary vigilance for the rest of the passage. The last intelligence from her is the following letter, from a passenger, dated the day before she sailed:—

Falmouth, August 15—You will have experienced much anxiety at hearing of our accident, and I wish much you could be here, and be as much reassured as all the passengers and crew appear to be now. Every one seems satisfied that the fire arose from a cause not at all likely to occur again; and the great excellence of the engines have been proved by this means: the ease and rapidity with which her pumps can be directed to any part, even to the bottom of the coal tanks; and then, subsequently, the quickness with which the same pumps can draw off all the water again, has astonished every body.

The proprietors of the *Enterprize* are satisfied she is not only the first steam vessel that has started for India, but that she is without a rival for the prize; no others having made the necessary arrangements of sending out coals both to the Cape and Calcutta, which they have done, and received advices of their arrival. May prosperity crown the attempt, to bring all our countrymen in India one or two months' sail nearer home.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

The name of this venerable Governor in India's better days, is still so closely associated with eastern recollections, that we cannot omit to notice his warm reception in Scotland with his family. "No sooner (says one account inserted in a Sunday paper) was the noble Marquis's intention of visiting Ayrshire made known, than a general desire was expressed of

testifying the high respect universally entertained for this illustrious nobleman, whose life and services have done so much honour to his country."

At the suggestion of Lieut. Col. F. Hamilton, of the 2d Ayrshire Yeomanry, it was determined, with the entire approbation of the Lord Lieutenant of the county, that his regiment should receive the Marquis with the honours due to him on his return. On the 12th of August, the Marquis and Marchioness and family passed through Dumfries, on their way to London Castle. They stopped at the inn only a short time, during which the paintings of Burns and his widow, belonging to the club of that town, were shown them by the secretary. He was anxious to have seen Mrs. Burns herself, and a gentleman went for the purpose of escorting her to the inn, and introducing her to his Lordship, but unfortunately she had gone a short distance from home.

Next day at noon, his Lordship and suite left Cumnock, escorted by a detachment of the 2d Yeomanry cavalry, which was relieved at Mauchline by a detachment of the 1st regiment. About 11 o'clock, the 2d regiment, together with Captain Fairlie's troop, and part of Captain Sir Charles Lamb's troop of the 1st regiment, assembled, and formed line in the park at London Castle. At the same time the Kilmarnock volunteer infantry, under the command of Major Parker, marched up and formed line in front of the Castle. At half past one, when the noble Marquis's party were observed on the hill opposite to London, their approach was announced by a discharge of cannon from the battery of the Castle; and on reaching the avenue, they were saluted, first by the yeomanry, and then by the infantry, the bands playing "God save the King." His Lordship and Lady Hastings were greeted, on their arrival at the family mansion, by several gentlemen of the county, who had assembled on purpose, and by an immense concourse of people, who had crowded on the spot to testify their joy, and shout a happy welcome home. Having alighted amid the heart-felt congratulations of their friends, the Marquis, Marchioness, Lord Rawdon, and the four Ladies Hastings appeared upon a balcony, and returned the warm greetings of the multitude with characteristic grace and affability; after which, a *feu de joie* was fired by the Kilmarnock volunteers.

Many other particulars are given of the enthusiasm with which his Lordship was received in the towns and villages through which he passed. In the village of Cumnock all was anxiety, in expectation of his arrival; and when the rattling of the carriages was heard in the distance, crowds of the inhabitants assembled and welcomed their noble visitors with long continued cheering. The musical band of the village performed a number of choice Scotch airs, and among others, "Dumfries House," in compliment to the Marchioness, who passed some of her early years in the neighbouring mansion of that name. At the village of Auchinleck, bonfires were lighted, and the party were hailed, as they proceeded along, with every demonstration of regard. At Mauchline, a triumphal arch, adorned with flowers, was erected for the reception of this illustrious warrior and statesman; and St. Mungo's Lodge, of that place, waited his arrival in masonic order, and solicited his Lordship to become an honorary member of their Society; a request with which he politely complied. It is also stated, that a public meeting is to be held for the purpose of paying a marked tribute of respect to his Lordship, suitable to his distinguished public worth.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

MR. SALT'S ESSAY ON THE HIEROGLYPHICS OF EGYPT.

Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics; with some additional Discoveries, by which it may be applied to decipher the Names of the ancient Kings of Egypt and Ethiopia. By HENRY SALT, Esq., F.R.S., His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt. 8vo. pp. 72.

AMONG the literary discoveries of the present day, there is none more remarkable than that of a mode of interpreting the hieroglyphic system of writing, for which we are indebted to Dr. Young, whose researches into the trilingual inscription on the Rosetta stone have at length opened to us some prospect of becoming acquainted with the antiquities of Egypt, so long the subject of vain conjecture and hopeless investigation.

Of the merit of this discovery, the French have attempted to strip our learned countryman; but great as are the claims of M. Champollion on the gratitude of the literary world, for the success with which he has pursued this subject into all its ramifications, the honour of originality is certainly not with him.

The frontispiece to Mr. Salt's volume exhibits a representation of the celebrated Table of Abydos, perhaps the most important and authentic record of the ancient history of Egypt in existence, from the copy taken in 1818 by Mr. W. J. Bankes, its original discoverer. From this circumstance, as well as from the dedication and the notes which accompany the volume, it is clear that Mr. Salt has been indebted to Mr. Bankes for superintending the publication of his Essay.

There is, perhaps, nothing new in this; but it is certainly a novelty in the history of literary productions, for a person to whom an Essay has been sent for publication, to take upon himself to dedicate the work to another, and to sign the Dedication with his own name, as if he were the author, and not the mere superintendant of the work as it passed through the press. This, however, Mr. Bankes has done, by addressing a dedication of this Essay in his own name to Sir Joseph Yorke; and that no mistake might subsequently occur as to his share in the getting this production before the world, the subsequent pages are plentifully sprinkled with notes,—claiming for himself the originality of almost every discovery of value adverted to by Mr. Salt in the course of his treatise. The conduct of Mr. Bankes cannot, however, affect the merits of Mr. Salt's production; and we shall, therefore, speak of it as we conceive it deserves, without reference to the hands through which it has subsequently passed.

The Table of Abydos, which occupied the remains of a side-wall in one of the innermost adyta of a smaller building at that place, although partially mutilated, contains, in hieroglyphic characters, a genealogical series, in the direct line, of the Egyptian monarchs, commencing in very remote antiquity, and terminating with Rameses, or Sesostris the Great. This famous prince, who was the first of the nineteenth dynasty of Manetho, appears, from a comparison of the dates furnished by that author, with those supplied by the Greek and Roman writers, to have mounted the throne in the year 1473 before Christ. The discovery of so singular a monument, brought to light after a lapse of upwards of thirty centuries from the period of its construction, could not fail, especially in the present state of hieroglyphic knowledge, to excite a high degree of curiosity among literary men; and various transcripts, more or less correctly taken, have been consequently brought to Europe by successive travellers, and numerous copies privately distributed, which have been made the subject of much discussion; but it is now, we believe, for the first time submitted to public inspection. With regard to its real importance, we need only remark, that the perfect coincidence of the long series of names which it presents, (as interpreted

by means of the Phonetic Alphabet,) with the chronological list of Egyptian Sovereigns given by Manetho, affords one of the strongest evidences of the reality and accuracy of the system by which the interpretation has been made, through which we may now hope to unfold those mysterious characters which have baffled the sagacity of ages. Valuable as this monument, or document, undoubtedly is, Mr. Bankes has not thought fit to accompany the plate with a single word of explanation or comment.

Mr. Salt commences by candidly acknowledging, that he had been led, from a cursory notice in the *Journal des Savans*, and from the letters of his friends on the subject, to entertain a very decided prejudice against the Phonetic System; but that this prejudice was completely removed by an examination of the principles laid down in Dr. Young's account of his discoveries, and in M. Champollion's letter to M. Dacier. The same disinclination *a priori* to believe in the reality of so remarkable a discovery, will, we apprehend, be found to exist in the minds of most men who have turned their attention to the subject; and we cannot entertain a doubt that the same conviction will always follow a careful examination of those works, more especially of M. Champollion's later productions. Few, however, can have it in their power to confirm their deductions so completely as Mr. Salt has been enabled to do, by a reference to his own extensive collection of sketches, as well as to add, from the same valuable stores, many important elements which form the object of the present publication. The number of sketches which he has copied in the six plates that accompany the volume, and which are executed in a very superior style of lithography, is very considerable. In the first plate are given twenty-five rings, from various places, containing the names of Philip, Alexander, Ptolemy, Arsinoë, Cleopatra, and Berenice. Of these, Philip and Arsinoë were, at the period of Mr. Salt's writing, entirely new; and this was also the case with respect to several of the synonymous representations of the others. The second exhibits a copious selection of the synonymia of the hieroglyphic proper names of several of the Roman emperors, of which those of Nero and Commodus had not been previously published. After briefly noticing the contents of these two plates, and remarking upon some of the principal novelties which they contain, the author proceeds to state up the reasons which had induced him to believe in the correctness of the Phonetic System, and which, taken together, formed, even at that time, such a body of evidence as it was almost impossible to resist. But since the period when the present Essay was written, (February 1824,) the continued researches of M. Champollion have thrown so full a light upon the details of the system, that what was before matter of belief, has now become the subject of demonstration.

Mr. Salt points out an error of some importance into which Dr. Young had fallen, in attributing to the hieroglyphic combination of the goose and globe, the meaning simply of "son of;" and clearly shows, as M. Champollion has also done, that these, as well as their synonymia (the globe encircled with a serpent and an egg) mean "son of the sun," thus removing an apparent absurdity, which became more obvious as our knowledge of hieroglyphic inscriptions became more extensive. He then introduces the mention of a discovery which he made, and which also corresponds with the researches of M. Champollion, that the names of some of the Ethiopian kings, and in particular of Tiridacah and Sabaco, are found inscribed in hieroglyphic characters on the temples of Egypt, which they are known for a time to have held in subjection. The subject of the third plate is the figurative, symbolical, and phonetic representations of the principal Egyptian divinities, many of which are accurately delineated, and accompanied with illustrative remarks. This part of the present Essay is now, however, completely superseded by the publication of M. Champollion's *Egyptian Pantheon*, a work of extreme elegance and profound research, but unfortunately too expensive for the majority of readers. The fourth plate contains a great number of rings, exhibiting the names and titles of many of the ancient Pharaohs and their queens; to the deciphering of which

Dr. Young had despaired of being able to apply the system of which he must be considered as the founder. The fifth and last plate of hieroglyphics is occupied by portions of various inscriptions, illustrative of previous observations, found on the Temple of Isis at Philæ, on a temple of the god Imout, the Egyptian Esculapius, at the same place, and on the painted sarcophagus brought from Thebes by Sir Frederick Henniker, and now deposited in the British Museum. To these plates, which exhibit many novelties, and must prove of the most essential service to the student of hieroglyphics, is added a Phonetic Alphabet, containing a great number of characters, which had not at that time been pointed out either by Dr. Young or M. Champollion, although many of them have since been published by the latter, who devotes his whole time to the prosecution of this sole object; while the former is prevented, by professional duties, from applying himself exclusively to this pursuit.

With Mr. Salt's concluding observations we entirely agree, and recommend them to the consideration of all who feel an interest in the study of hieroglyphic literature, and to the attention of Egyptian travellers in particular.

"I shall here conclude," he says, "for the present, with an opinion, that, the fact being now clearly established that phonetic hieroglyphics were in use in the earlier periods of the Egyptian monarchy, their application will not be found to be confined to the names of gods, kings, or places. Two demonstrative articles, 'ta,' 'pa,' masculine and feminine; 'en,' the sign expressing 'of,' and 'mi,' signifying 'appertaining to,' or 'beloved,' have already been discovered; and I do not hesitate to say, that, with a complete knowledge of Coptic, and close application to this study in Egypt, a person might be able, in no long time, to decypher whole inscriptions. Every where, I conceive, the real hieroglyphics and phonetic characters will be found to be mingled together, as in the rings of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors; and this, of course, will require a double study, in which any great progress can only be the result of extreme patience and labour. For myself, to have established, beyond all doubt, in the phonetic characters, the names of Thothmosis, Amenoth, Psammitichus, Sabaco, and that of Trihakah, a king of Ethiopia coeval with Isaiah the prophet, and mentioned by him, is, I must own, a circumstance that consoles me at last for many hours, I may say days, occupied in these studies; and may serve, perhaps, as a hint to future travellers, to show that there can be rarely any thing in the shape of an ancient record unworthy of their attention, since, though at the moment of copying unknown characters and mutilated inscriptions, it seems to be a very hopeless and unpromising undertaking, there is no knowing to what important consequences it may ultimately lead."

In a postscript, dated Alexandria, 7th August 1824, Mr. Salt states, that having recently seen the commencement of M. Champollion's Egyptian Pantheon, as also his '*Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*,' he was almost deterred, by the great number of instances in which he had been forestalled by that eminent scholar, from publishing his own work. But although this circumstance has undoubtedly taken from its novelty with those who have had opportunities of studying those more extended applications of the Phonetic System, it by no means detracts from its utility, as a confirmation of the principles on which that system is founded; and we therefore think he acted wisely in not suffering himself to be swayed by such a feeling. From a gentleman whose opportunities are so extensive, and whose abilities so well qualify him to make the most of those opportunities, the striking coincidence of his observations with those made in Europe by one with whom he had not the slightest communication, and of whose later labours he was not at all aware,—must give a value to the present work which it would not otherwise possess.

When Mr. Banks next takes upon himself, however, to dedicate a work to any of his friends, we hope it will be something of his own.

PRICE'S JOURNEY THROUGH PERSIA.

Journal of the British Embassy to Persia; embellished with numerous Views taken in India and Persia: also, A Dissertation upon the Antiquities of Persia. By WILLIAM PRICE, F.R.S.L. &c. Volume the First. Folio, pp. lxxvii, and 28, Plates xlviii.

THE embassy to the Court of Persia in 1810, under Sir Gore Ouseley, productive as it was of the greatest advantages to the Eastern interests of Great Britain, became also highly valuable in the information derived during its progress by the gentlemen who composed it. Traversing the whole extent of Persia, from the south to the north, remaining during many months at the principal seats of the Persian Court, and returning to Europe through Armenia and Asia-Minor, the countries through which they passed, and the scenes which they visited, were of the most interesting character. That these should have become the subjects of descriptive detail, was fairly to be anticipated from the known literary talents of more than one of the individuals attached to the suite of the ambassador; and this has accordingly taken place. Not only did Mr. Morier, the secretary to the embassy, employ his pen in recording his observations during a 'Second Journey through Persia;' another candidate for literary fame appeared in the person of Sir William Ouseley, the ambassador's private secretary, who, actively engaged during the journey in collecting materials, devoted his leisure, on his arrival in England, to the arrangement and preparation of them for the public eye, to which he, after some unavoidable delays, finally submitted them in three quarto volumes, the last of which made its appearance in 1823. Observing, and diligent in recording his observations, he subjected them to a comparison with whatever had been before published on the objects which he had occasion to notice; and thus, by explaining obscure passages in the works of previous writers, and receiving in turn elucidation from their productions, he aimed at embodying a correct view of the most important features of these countries, in which formerly dwelt a people far superior in intelligence, and in national importance, to their present inhabitants. Successfully and ably delineating the antiquities and the present state of Persia and the neighbouring regions, it was scarcely to be expected that a successor should spring up to follow over the ground already so well occupied, and to describe the route of the very embassy, the progress of which had been previously detailed. Such a successor has, however, just appeared in the person of Mr. Price, a gentleman also attached to the suite of Sir Gore Ouseley, in the character of assistant-secretary, a situation for which he was admirably qualified by his superior and intimate acquaintance with the Oriental languages. Equally possessed, with his predecessors in the literary field, of opportunities superior to those enjoyed by private and unprotected travellers, he appears equally to have availed himself of the advantages afforded by his official situation, in taking views and making researches, with the intention of imparting them at a future period to the public. That period has at length arrived, after a lapse of twelve years, two of which are accounted for as having been occasioned by the dilatoriness of the artists; and we have now before us the first volume of Mr. Price's Journal.

We have designated this work as a folio, and such really is its outward shape and form the copy which it has fallen to our lot to procure. On examining its interior, however, we confess ourselves at a loss on what term in common use to fix as applicable to its arrangement, which is in fact so perfectly unique and original among printed books, that we almost despair of being able to convey a correct idea of it. The form is, as we have already stated, folio, but the text, instead of being arranged in the usual manner, from the top to the bottom of the page, is printed across it in double columns, the top of one page becoming, on turning over the leaf, the bottom of the succeeding one, and thus necessitating the circumvolution of the volume before the reading can be continued. We are aware from the preface that we have been unfortunate in the selection of our copy, and it is therefore the more necessary to put the purchaser

on his guard against an equally troublesome error. The form in which it is done up is different from that proposed by Mr. Price: he had intended that it should be arranged as an oblong quarto, similar to the old music books and to sketch books, and this mode would completely remove our objections, except as to the singular appearance which the book would then assume. Bound in this manner, however, the bottom of the plates and of the letter-press would be placed in the same direction, a plan far more commodious, for simultaneously referring to both, than any other which can be adopted. It is, therefore, surprising that, with so important an advantage in view, it should have been deserted in the latter part of the volume, where the printing is still continued transverse, while the direction of the plates is changed to perpendicular.

The importance of some arrangement, by which the reader should be enabled to consult the plates in conjunction with the text, becomes still more obvious when we are informed by the author, that the latter is chiefly intended as a reference to the former. These are very numerous; embracing sketches of the principal stations and buildings which occurred on the route from England as far as Tabriz, at which point this first volume terminates, and are executed on folio plates, in various styles of the art; some few being from copper, while the mass are lithographed. Of the lithographic views, a portion have been drawn on the stone in imitation of etching; but in these, the distances, as the author himself remarks, are too strongly expressed, giving to the whole a rough and unartist-like appearance. He has, therefore, been compelled to have many of them re-executed in the chalk style, in which this error is effectually softened down. In the selection of his subjects, Mr. Price has not been, on the whole, very successful. In the immense number of engravings now extant, it is almost impossible for any person to be aware of what has and what has not been figured; and hence several instances of views of scenes already published having been again sketched in the present volumes, might be adduced. Thus, the aqueduct and church of Santa Teresa, at Rio Janeiro, has been previously engraved in a superior style for so common a book as Myers's Geography.

In the text of the journal, as well as in its form, there is also something peculiar, differing from all modern travels, and which is rendered extremely striking if contrasted with the previous work on the same subject by Sir William Ouseley. In this, the style is descriptive, frequently embellished, loaded with quotations and references; and often, in adverting to the more striking monuments, such as those of Persepolis, of a diffuseness almost amounting to dissertation. In Mr. Price's work it is, on the contrary, plain, and contracted to mere matters of fact, the reliefs to it being so sparingly scattered as scarcely to detract from the impression of its being literally a journal, written by the road-side, and at once transmitted to the printer. Rarely entering, in the course of his narrative, into any detailed investigation, the series of the journey is pursued unbroken, except by the stages, each of which forms as it were the heading of a separate chapter, and by a few extracts from the Persian poets and geographers, given in the original, and accompanied with translations. We are perfectly aware that from the materials possessed by Mr. Price, and from his extensive knowledge of Persian literature, he might readily have embellished his journal to almost any extent. In this book-making age, however, he seems to have determined on proving himself an exception to the general rule, and it is of this that we complain; a slight dash of that noble mystery would have afforded a variety to the volume, for the mere want of which it at times becomes almost unreadable. This defect is more remarkable in the earlier part of it, a very sensible relief being introduced towards the end, by the insertion of several beautiful pieces of Persian poetry, from the pen of the celebrated Jami and of other authors, to which translations are annexed. One of these, which affords an excellent example of the highly embellished style of the Persian poets, embodies a portion of a fanciful story connected with the village of Shirzen Bolagh, or the Sweet Fountain, situated on the route from Teheran to Tabriz.

Tradition relates, that a lady, whose beauty captivated the hearts of all who beheld her, having drank at this fountain, which before had been brackish, the spring became sweet, and the stone which her lips had touched, was converted into a huge gem—that the gem had been carried to Mecca, but the sweetness of the water remained. The other poetical extracts are also well worthy of attention; and the account of the Eliāt encampment, near Teheraun Chahi, with the history of its chief, and the beautiful illustration of his situation from the poem of Mejnoun and Leila, will be perused with interest. Other scattered notices might also be referred to with praise; but we must omit them for the purpose of passing on to those portions of the work which relate to matters of higher importance.

Among these may be enumerated the comparison of the Eliāt, or Lakee dialect, with the vulgar Persian, of which it appears to modern ears to be merely a barbarous patois; it, however, resembles the Pahlavi, or ancient Persian, and differs perhaps very little from the language spoken in the time of Alexander the Great. The elements of the Armenian language, collected by the author during his residence at Tabriz, in the house of a priest who exercised the functions of a schoolmaster, also evince his anxiety to procure information on philological points. The school-room adjoined his apartments; Mr. Price could constantly hear the children learning the rudiments of the language, and this circumstance which, as he remarks, would to many have been tiresome, was to him far otherwise, as it enabled him to add the pronunciation of the examples to their orthography in the original characters. But it is for the Appendix, to which the separate title of 'A Dissertation upon the Antiquities of Persepolis' is assigned, that Mr. Price has reserved his most imposing discovery, being a clue to the deciphering of the arrowhead characters employed in the inscriptions of that celebrated monument of ancient Persia. Having, in an earlier portion of the present Number, already exposed the fallacy of the translations obtained by means of this pretended key, it is unnecessary here to make further mention of it. We shall merely remark, that his discovery has not been imparted to the public, but that the results of it, as given by him, are quite sufficient to prove its inadequacy to the elucidation of that very intricate subject.

The Chinese Miscellany; consisting of Original Extracts from Chinese Authors, in the Native Character; with Translations and Philological Remarks. By Robert Morrison, D.D., M.R.A.S. 4to. pp. 52. Plates xii.

To the exaggerated statements which have been promulgated and generally credited, of the difficulties attendant on the study of the Chinese language, is mainly to be attributed the ignorance with respect to it which exists in Europe. To expose the fallacy of these statements is, therefore, the first step towards increasing the number of students; and, in attempting this, Dr. Morrison has advanced another claim on the gratitude of the friends of Chinese literature. His present publication is calculated to deprive the subject of much of those terrors with which it is usually invested, and to exhibit it as one, certainly not of easy acquirement, but by no means requiring, as had been previously asserted, the study of a whole life. Instead of the eighty thousand characters said to be necessary to the knowledge of the Chinese, Dr. Morrison states that one-fortieth part of this number is quite sufficient to form a stable foundation, on which a superstructure may afterwards be raised in such directions as the peculiar object of the student may render desirable; two thousand characters only being contained in the penal code of China, and it being possible, with this number, for a European to convey his ideas on almost any subject, to an inhabitant of Canton or of Peking.

With the view of facilitating the acquisition of a knowledge of the Chinese characters, Dr. Morrison lays before the reader a collection of the ancient symbols, from which the modern radicals were formed. Representing, in a rude man-

ner, numbers, celestial objects, terrestrial things, man, animals, plants, and human productions; and amounting, with a few miscellaneous ones, not included in these classes; to nearly four hundred, they are well adapted to elucidate the principle on which the language is founded. Bearing in mind that the written language of China is a language of ideas rather than of sounds, the student will at once be enabled to trace many of these original symbols into the modified characters now employed; in others, the connexion is more remote, and requires a minute investigation. We believe, with Dr. Morrison, that these symbols, which are capable of materially assisting the memory, have never before been printed in Europe, although M. Remusat prepared, several years since, a Table of about two hundred of them, and submitted it to the Academie des Inscriptions for publication in its Memoires. They constitute, in fact, what may be termed the etymology of the language; and among them will be found the origin of the radicals, or heads of classes, which are to be met with in the Chinese books.

The radicals, two hundred and fourteen in number, are next exhibited. Their pronunciation, as well as their signification, is given; and they are arranged according to their respective degrees of complication, deduced from the number of lines required in the formation of each. These are followed by the extracts in their original characters, from Chinese authors, which are not numerous, being introduced chiefly for the purpose of exhibiting short specimens of the various styles of prose and poetry, and including upwards of two hundred additional characters. The student has thus presented to him, on this plate containing the radicals, and on the four plates of extracts, upwards of four hundred different characters, which will form no unimportant introduction to an acquaintance with the written language. In a Table in Roman characters, he has also laid before him the four hundred and eleven syllables, of which, varied by tones and accents, the Mandarin or spoken language consists.

To these elements of the written and oral languages of China, Dr. Morrison has appended a short but comprehensive view of the 'Literature of the Chinese,' a 'Summary of the Chinese Ancient Books called Woo-king and Szé-shoo,' (compiled by Confucius, and furnishing some curious specimens of philosophizing, especially on the dual powers of nature,) and 'Notices of European Inter-course with China, and of Books concerning it, arranged in chronological order.' Of these, merely the heads are given; to develop each of them, would furnish materials for volumes.

In these miscellaneous notices on Chinese literature, the object of the learned and able author has been to excite general attention to the subject, and to furnish a simple and elementary induction to the knowledge of the characters. That they are well calculated to effect this purpose, will be evident from the brief notice which we have given. We hope that their circulation will be extensive; and should this be the case, there can be no doubt that they will induce many to render themselves masters of the principles, at least, of the Chinese language, who have been hitherto deterred by the forbidding aspect with which it has been presented to them.

**PETITIONS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, RELATIVE
TO THE DECCAN PRIZE MONEY.**

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble petition of Lieut.-Col. James Henry Fitz Simon, late Major of his Majesty's 65th Regiment of Infantry, and in command of brigades in the fourth and reserve divisions of the late Army of the Deccan :—

Humbly sheweth,—That your petitioner served in the army designated the Army of the Deccan, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart. during the war which, in the years 1817 and 1818, was waged against the Pindarries and the Mahratta Princes, and which terminated in the extinction of the predatory bands, in the destruction or humiliation of the most treacherous and formidable of the Native powers, and in the acquisition of large territories and ample revenues by the East India Company.

That your petitioner, who commanded brigades in the fourth and reserve divisions of the army, which divisions were respectively commanded by Brigadier-General (now Major-General) Sir Lionel Smith, and Brigadier-General (now Major-General) Sir Theophilus Pritzler, both of whom are still in India, had full opportunity of witnessing and estimating the hardships endured by the troops which he had the honour and good fortune to command; the peculiar difficulties which they surmounted; the signal bravery by which, when opposed to far superior numbers, they ensured success; and the exemplary moderation and self-denial with which they used their victories.

That, in the course of these successful operations, rich booty, consisting of arms, ammunition, stores, jewels, and the great hereditary treasures of the Native Princes, were captured from the enemy; but that much of such booty was seized and taken possession of by the civil servants of the East India Company, who, although the Honourable Company derived great and permanent advantages from their conquests, exhibited a general disposition to withhold from them the fruits of their sufferings and struggles, and even to prevent them from ascertaining the value of the spoils, and fairly vindicating their claim before a competent tribunal.

That after the termination of hostilities, officers were selected from the several divisions of the army, and regular-

ly appointed by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief, to act as a prize committee, for the purpose of ascertaining and enforcing the just claims of the army; and that in the year 1821, Major Cadell, of the 12th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry, and Major Wood, then a Captain in the Queen's Royal Regiment, and Military Secretary to Sir Thomas Hislop, were appointed prize agents to succeed the late Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, of the Madras Artillery.

That the Prize Committee and the Prize Agents, from time to time, protested against the appropriation of booty by the East India Company, and used the most strenuous and indefatigable exertions to ascertain the amount of the booty, and the various circumstances under which it was captured, with a view not only to the general amount of prize to be distributed, but to the particular claims of the several officers and divisions by whom the captures were effected; and that by these laborious investigations an immense mass of information was obtained, most essential to the assertion of the rights of the army, and to the just distribution of the spoil among its various portions.

That the booty taken in the war was universally known among the army to be of great value; and that in consequence attempts were made by the grand army, and also by the East India Company, to establish their several rights to participate in the benefits of the anticipated grant from the Crown; and a long and expensive litigation ensued, which was conducted before the Lords of the Treasury, and ended in a distinct recognition of the principle which the counsel and agents of the Army of the Deccan sought to maintain.

By a Treasury minute of the 30th of February, 1823, the Lords of the Treasury "having heard counsel in support of the claims of the grand army, and of those of the army of the Deccan, and having maturely and deliberately weighed and considered all the documentary evidence laid before them in behalf of the several parties, and the arguments of counsel, were of opinion that the most just and equitable principle of distribution would be, to adhere, as nearly as the circumstances of the case would admit, to that of actual capture; and that although they were aware that the principle of constructive capture must, under certain circumstances, in a degree

be admitted." Their Lordships therefore recommended to the Crown, that, with an exception in favour of the division of the Bengal army under Brigadier-General Hardyman, in respect of the booty captured at Nagpore, that "the booty taken at Poonah, Mahidpore, and Nagpore respectively, should belong to the divisions of the Deccan army engaged in the respective operations in which the same was captured;" that no part of the booty should be granted to the East India Company; and that a grant of the entire spoil should be made to trustees "for the purpose of ascertaining and collecting the said booty, and for preparing a scheme for the distribution thereof, conformably to the principle above stated," and subject to the ultimate sanction of his Majesty.

That by his Majesty's warrant, bearing date 23d March, 1823, founded on and embodying the Treasury minute, a grant of the booty was made to his Grace the Duke of Wellington and the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, as trustees, for the purposes specified in the minute.

That no distribution of any part of the proceeds of the booty has yet been made.

That your petitioner having a deep personal interest in the grant, and feeling a strong sympathy with his brother officers, and with the soldiers who have served under him in circumstances of peculiar privation and danger, has made repeated applications to the general prize agent in England, Major Wood, and to the law agent of the army, for information respecting the proceedings of the trustees, and more especially as to the views taken by them of the large and complicated claims of the army, in respect of booty seized by the civil servants of the East India Company, and as to the extent and manner in which they have enforced or proposed to enforce such claims. But your petitioner has found them entirely unable to afford him any authentic information on these subjects; and he has learned with surprise and regret, from the correspondence which has passed between the trustees and Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Hislop, that ever since October, 1823, all communication between them and the trustees has been refused by the latter, and withheld, although your petitioner is wholly unable to discover in that correspondence any adequate cause or reason whatever for this sudden change of the conduct of the trustees, from that liberal and satisfactory course which they appear originally to have been disposed to adopt.

That your petitioner is painfully sensible of the vital importance of such communication to the interests of the army, and of the strange and embarrassing situation in which they are placed while

it is denied. Your petitioner has heard, though, from the system of secrecy adopted, he cannot confidently assert, that a sum of about 700,000*l.* has been realized and admitted to be due to the captors, but your petitioner believes that such sum, though large in itself, is small, when compared with the claims urged by the prize agents and the prize committees on the spot, to the whole booty seized by the exertions of the army, part of which has been appropriated to the use of the Indian Government; part restored without compensation to the defeated enemy; part perhaps lost, or frittered away; and part seized by the civil servants of the Company under the very protection of the army by whom it was won.

That the anxiety of your petitioner is increased by a report which is prevalent among the army, that several of the most important heads of claim have been abandoned; and that it has been arranged to receive from the Directors a sum wholly inadequate even to satisfy those which have been nominally admitted, though your petitioner is convinced that such an arrangement would not have been made, nor would the Directors have desired it, if those who can best understand and explain the cause of the army had been allowed to share in the discussions, and to bring the information, which they can communicate, to bear on the questions in issue. And your petitioner humbly submits, that it never could be intended to exclude the army, by their agents, from all knowledge of proceedings in which the bounty of the Crown has given them the sole interest, and to subject them to that uncertainty and sense of helplessness which such exclusion, after long disappointment and delay, has cast upon them.

That your petitioner humbly submits, not only that the amount of the general fund to be distributed will be greatly lessened by the want of timely communication, but that without such communication it will be impossible to prepare a satisfactory scheme of the distribution of the funds which may remain, according to the principle recognised in his Majesty's warrant.

As the booty is to be appropriated respectively to the divisions of the Deccan army engaged in the respective operations in which it was captured, the scheme must, as your petitioner apprehends, set forth the particular captures in which the various portions of the army are respectively to share, as well as direct the number of shares which the different ranks of these portions are to receive. To prepare a scheme of this nature, applicable to a most complicated series of operations, which extended over a vast field of exertion, seems impossible, without constant reference to

those who were on the spot, and who have employed years in collecting and arranging information applicable to the delicate questions which may arise, and who have the means of communicating with the witnesses of the various exploits to be rewarded. Your petitioner himself having served both with the fourth and the reserve divisions, feels that his own individual claims, and of the brave men whom he had the honour and satisfaction to have under his immediate command, are in peculiar danger of wanting due appreciation, from their liability to be misunderstood or confounded by the trustees, however anxious they may be, and your petitioner doubts not are, to do justice. And your petitioner, from his knowledge of the scene and the nature of the operations, is convinced that from that cause the wise and just principle of distribution, so clearly developed, and so strongly insisted on in his Majesty's warrant, must in many instances be defeated.

That your petitioner has been mainly induced to pray for the interposition of your honourable House, by his knowledge of the wants and the anxieties of the surviving portions of the army in England—he knows that many of its most active and meritorious officers and soldiers have died since its termination, leaving widows and orphans in circumstances calculated to excite the strongest sympathy—and he is most anxious, not only on his own behalf, but on behalf of his suffering comrades, that their claims, if disallowed, should at least have the privilege of a hearing—that information procured by the labour of years should not be rendered useless—and that their hopes, excited by the bounty of the Crown, long cherished and long delayed, should not be defeated at last by any unfortunate misunderstanding with those who have been appointed to watch over their interests and to assert their just claims.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays your honourable House to institute such inquiries, and to grant such relief in the premises, as to your wisdom shall seem meet.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the undersigned Officers entitled to share in the Deccan Booty

Sheweth,—That your petitioners have seen with extreme regret the various misrepresentations and misstatements respecting the delay in the distribution of the Deccan booty.

The petitioners, as captors, have a

common interest with the army in which they served, both in the amount and in the early division of the booty, and they saw with the greatest feelings of gratitude to his Majesty, that the grant of the prize to the captors, was accomplished by the gracious act of naming, as one of the trustees to ascertain and distribute it, that illustrious nobleman and consummate General the Duke of Wellington, who had elevated the character of the Indian army to such high renown, and ever protected its interests with the kindest solicitude and success.

Upon the wisdom and justice of the trustees, the petitioners chiefly rely for the recovery of all that can be obtained of this booty, for its continued preservation from needless and expensive litigation, and for the earliest practicable distribution of the prize, according to the usage of the service, and the conditions of his Majesty's grant. The petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that the House will not entertain any propositions for disturbing the course of the proceedings of the trustees, and which could only be attended with the effect of exciting distrust and dissatisfaction, instead of the confidence and gratitude the petitioners feel the trustees are so fully entitled to.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM, Major-Gen.
H. S. SCOTT, Colonel.
T. NOBLE, Lieut.-Colonel.
WAT JOLIE, Major.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Sir Evan John Murray Macgregor, Baronet, one of the captors entitled to a share in the Deccan booty,

Sheweth,—That your petitioner observes by the votes of your honourable House that a petition has been presented purporting to be a petition from Sir John Malcolm, Colonel H. S. Scott, Lieut.-Colonel J. Noble, and Major Wat Jolie, who are also entitled to share in the above-mentioned booty, containing the following passage:—

‘That upon the wisdom and justice of the trustees the petitioners chiefly rely for the recovery of all that can be obtained of this booty, for its continued preservation from needless and expensive litigation, and for the earliest practicable distribution of the prize, according to the usages of the service, and of the conditions of his Majesty's grant.’

That your Petitioner was Deputy-Adjutant General of his Majesty's troops in the East Indies, and was attached in that capacity to the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop; that he was a member of a prize committee assembled at the Lieutenant-

General's head-quarters in the field, and that he was a member of a prize committee subsequently appointed at Madras.

Your petitioner had therefore such opportunity of acquiring information respecting the booty as enabled him to assist in preparing the statements of the general claims of the army of the Deccan, which claims were submitted to counsel for their sanction, prior to their delivery to the trustees.

That these circumstances, and your petitioner's having held an authority by power of attorney to act for Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, while he was absent on the Continent, necessarily occasioned frequent intercourse between your petitioner, the counsel and law agent, and the prize agent for the army of the Deccan.

That your petitioner cannot imagine that Sir John Malcolm and the other said petitioners mean to complain of the expenses incident to the litigations before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury; in which, by the exertions of the law advisers of the army of the Deccan, the claims of that army were successfully established, in opposition to those of other troops and the East India Company.

But as the necessity of preservation implies an apprehension of some impending danger, your petitioner infers that Sir John Malcolm and the said other petitioners are influenced by fears of needless and expensive litigation having been contemplated by the counsel or law agent, since the claims of the army were established as already stated.

That your petitioner cannot but observe that any such apprehension is directly opposed to the sentiments expressed in a letter on this subject to the trustees, on the 22d of January last, by Sir Thomas Hislop, who has had ample means of estimating the conduct of the counsel and agents, and who has the greatest interest in deprecating needless and expensive litigation.

That concurring in the opinion of Sir Thomas Hislop, as expressed in the above letter, your petitioner begs leave to assure your hon. House, that in the course of his repeated interviews with the counsel, law agent, and prize agent, so far from witnessing an inclination to incur needless and expensive litigation, your petitioner never heard of any design to litigate at all; but, on the contrary, your petitioner has remarked the most anxious disposition and desire on the part of the counsel to prevent litigation; and on the part of the law agent to avoid every expense which was not absolutely requisite to support the interest of the captors.

That your petitioner is personally acquainted with Sir John Malcolm and Lieutenant-Colonel Noble, for both of

whom he entertains feelings of high regard, and deeply regrets his being placed in collision with them and the other said petitioners in the present instance; and it is not without the utmost reluctance that your petitioner is impelled to intrude himself on the notice of your hon. House; but he finds it absolutely impossible to withhold his testimony in support of those gentlemen who have conducted the cause of the army of the Deccan; whose conduct appears to him to have been precisely the reverse of that which the particular expressions already alluded to in the petition from Sir John Malcolm and others would seem to impute to them; and that your petitioner thinks it the more necessary to make this declaration, as the said petition appears calculated, if unexplained, to mislead your honourable House, and those captors who are precluded by absence from obtaining a correct knowledge of the proceedings; and thus to injure the character of those highly respectable individuals, to whom your petitioner feels himself bound in justice to state, that the army of the Deccan is, in his opinion, under the most important obligations.

Your petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays your honourable House, that the said petitioners may be required to state the grounds upon which their apprehensions, touching needless and expensive litigation, are founded, and to whom they are applicable; and that if it shall turn out that they are intended to animadvert on the conduct of the counsel, law and prize agents, for the army of the Deccan, your petitioner is ready and willing to obey the order of your honourable House to verify the allegations of this his petition at the bar of your honourable House, whenever he may be permitted so to do.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of Nathaniel Atcheson, Esq. of Duke-street, in the city of Westminster, Law Agent for the Army of the Deccan,

Showeth,—That your petitioner was, in August 1819, appointed and directed to act as the law agent for Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop and the army under his command, in the prosecution of their claims to the booty captured by them in the war against the Pindarics and the Mahratta Powers, in the years 1817 and 1818; and that he has, ever since December 1819, when he received his instructions, acted, and been recognised, and still continues to act, in that character.

That your petitioner immediately en-

tered on the performance of the duties thus cast upon him, which, arduous in themselves, were rendered more severe by the absence of Sir Thomas Hislop, who remained in India till the summer of 1823, and which required from your petitioner the advance of large sums of money, and the devotion of the greater portion of his time. Thus left to direct the cause, and to supply the means of promoting its success, he retained and instructed as counsel William Harrison, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel, and Mr. Herbert Jenner, of the Commons, to elucidate the claims propounded by the prize agents and the prize committee in India on behalf of the army, to enforce those claims before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, appointed to decide upon them, and to oppose the counter-claims advanced on behalf of the Grand Army and the East India Company.

That your petitioner received from the prize committee in India, from Major Cadeau, the prize agent who remained in India, and from Major Wood, the other prize agent, who came to England in the autumn of 1821, a vast mass of body of documentary and other information, relative to the booty captured in the war, and the circumstances under which it was taken; which, by the incessant labour of your petitioner, was reduced into form, and which was employed with great ability and zeal by the counsel whom he had instructed. At length the case, thus expensively and most laboriously conducted, was brought to a successful issue, the Lords of the Treasury, by their minute dated February 5, 1823, declaring their opinion in favour of acquiescence, as far as the circumstances would admit, to the principle contended for on behalf of your petitioners' clients—that of actual capture; deciding, that, with an exception in favour of Brigadier General Hardynan, the booty should belong to the divisions of the Deccan Army engaged in the respective operations in which it was captured, and stating, that they did not consider that, under all the circumstances of the case, it was expedient to recommend to his Majesty, to grant any part of the booty to the East India Company.

That his Majesty was most graciously pleased to issue his royal warrant, under his sign manual, bearing date the 22d of March 1823, confirming the decision of the Lords of the Treasury respecting the disposition of the booty; and, in pursuance of their recommendation, granting the booty to his Grace the Duke of Wellington and the Right hon. Charles Arbuthnot, "in trust, for the purpose of collecting, recovering, and receiving all the said booty, or the proceeds or value thereof, from the East India Company, their officers or ser-

vants; and all and every other person or persons whomsoever, under, or in whose hands, custody, power, or possession, the same or any part thereof might have come or might then be or remain." And his Majesty, by his said warrant, was further graciously pleased to order and direct, that if any differences or questions should arise between the trustees and the East India Company in regard to the booty, such differences or questions should be submitted by the trustees to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure thereon, or for the final settlement thereof, as law and justice might require." That his Majesty did further by his said warrant "empower the said trustees, under the authority and by the direction of the said Commissioners of his Treasury, to sue for and recover all such booty or proceeds, or amount or the value thereof, in their own names, upon the trusts and for the purpose of the said grant or warrant, in all cases in which the said company or any of their officers or servants, or any other person or persons, should not, after the signification of the royal pleasure thereon, pay or restore or transfer the same to the said trustees." His Majesty did further, conformably with the recommendation expressed in the said minute, authorize and empower the trustees to award and allow all proper costs and charges in the proceedings before the Lords of the Treasury, and also such further charges as had been then incurred, or might thereafter be incurred, in relation thereto, to be charged upon the said booty and paid out of its proceeds. And his Majesty did further authorize and direct the trustees to prepare a scheme for the distribution of the booty, conformably to the principles declared and recommended in the said minute, to be submitted to the Lords of the Treasury for the signification of the royal pleasure; and did further direct, that the trustees should regulate their conduct in the premises according to the provisions of the Prize Act passed in the 54th year of the late King; and according to the rules and customs theretofore used and observed in the service in like cases.

That your petitioner, in common with the counsel who had conducted the cause of the army, with Major Wood, the prize agent in England, and with the officers who daily communicate with him, felt that it was vitally important to the interests of those in whose favour his Majesty's warrant was issued, to ensure a free communication with the trustees whom his Majesty had been most graciously pleased to appoint; for with such person or persons as they might be pleased to nominate, "This desire arose not from any distrust of the

real which those distinguished individuals might prohibit the execution of their charges; but from the belief that important questions would be raised as to large portions of the booty taken by the agents of the Honourable East India Company, and the probability of which was expressly contemplated and provided for by His Majesty's most gracious warrant; from the nature of the scheme of distribution, which must be rendered applicable to the particular circumstances of each individual capture, and from a consideration of possessing an immense body of information, collected at great labour and expense, illustrative of the general claims of the army, and indispensably requisite to the settlement of a scheme of distribution, according to the principle recognised and asserted in His Majesty's warrant. But while your petitioner, with the officers for whom he acted, and the counsel by whom he was advised, was thus anxious for communication, he was also desirous of avoiding every species of conduct which might seem intrusive, and of conveying the result of his own inquiries, and those of the counsel, by such channels, and in such manner only, as might become the high rank and splendid reputation of the most distinguished of the trustees.

That your petitioner, impressed with this feeling, on the 18th March, 1823, addressed a respectful letter to the trustees, stating that Major Wood was in possession of voluminous documents collected in India, and was in communication with Sir Evan Murray Macgregor, the late Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces, and one of the Members of the General Prize Committee at Madras, and Colonel McLeod, the second in command at Nagpore, and other officers, whose personal knowledge was essential to the successful vindication of the claims of the army. To this note he received an answer, bearing date the 26th March, 1823, in which the trustees were pleased to desire him to communicate to them, as soon as might be in his power, every information which he could obtain respecting the booty in question. Encouraged by this request, he proceeded on the 5th of April, 1823, to lay before the trustees, under the advice and sanction of counsel, a general outline of the claims which he intended to submit to their consideration, accompanied by a short statement of the principles on which they were founded, which also was accepted without any indication of reluctance or displeasure. That an elaborate statement of claims intended for submission on the part of the army, in respect to the booty captured at Buonah, and in other parts of the Peshwa territories, was prepared at great labour and expense from the mass

of materials collected, and with the signatures and authority of the counsel on the 31st May, 1823, was laid before the trustees. This statement being printed, was accompanied by a letter from Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, requesting the trustees to grant to the counsel of the army the honour of a personal interview, which they permitted, and which accordingly took place on the 22d of June following; but your petitioner expressly declined to accompany the counsel on that occasion, from motives of delicacy and respect to the trustees, and during the whole correspondence has never attempted personally to intrude himself on them, but has confined himself to addressing them by letter, and has used even this freedom only when it seemed to him absolutely necessary to the interests of his clients, in pressing so to address them, he was encouraged not only by their answer to his first offer of communication, but by a note of the Right Honourable Charles Arbuthnot, bearing date the 4th of July, 1823, requesting from him copies of the printed statements which were required by the law officers of the Crown, and for which Mr. Arbuthnot applied to him, "under the impression that he might have the power to furnish them without the necessity of troubling Sir Thomas Hislop;" and he was further induced to believe that no objection would be raised to that full and free communication which was deemed so essential to the interests of his clients, by the transmission, on the same day, of a case prepared by Mr. Maule, the solicitor to the Treasury, and which the trustees employed as their solicitor for the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, on the claim already submitted by them to Mr. Harrison, one of the counsel retained on behalf of the army, in order that he and his learned colleague might make any observations which occurred to them upon it, and which case was returned by your petitioner to Mr. Maule, on the 6th of July, with such alterations as appeared to the counsel for the army of the Decree necessary to bring the points suggested fully under the consideration of His Majesty's law-officers.

That a second statement also prepared with great labour, and settled and signed by the counsel, relative to the booty captured at Nagpore, and other parts of the Bhonslah States, was, on the 5th of Sept. 1823, transmitted by your petitioner to the trustees, accompanied with a letter from Sir Thomas Hislop, requesting permission for the counsel again to attend them, for the purpose of elucidating any matter on which doubt might arise, applying for a copy of the opinion understood to have been given on the case of Buonah by the law-officers of the Crown,

and entreating that before any application should be made to the East India Company by the trustees, they would condescend to direct a copy to be sent to your petitioner, in order that it might be seen by the counsel for the army of the Deccan, previous to its delivery to the Court of Directors.

That the trustees, on the 22d of the same month, acknowledged the receipt of this statement, in a letter of that date, to Sir Thos. Hislop, but without noticing his requests, and desired some further information, which your petitioner endeavoured to supply by a letter of the 2d October following, Sir Thomas Hislop being at that time out of town, and the invitation of the trustees to your petitioner to communicate information never having been withdrawn.

That a third statement, relating to the booty captured in the hostilities with Mulhar Rao Holkar, was prepared for the inspection of the trustees, settled by the counsel, and printed.

That Mr. Harrison accompanied his approval of the case, by an opinion dated 2d October, 1823, in which he expressed a wish for permission to see the opinion obtained from the law-officers of the Crown on the case of Poonah, that he, with Dr. Jenner, might either attempt to remove any difficulties suggested by the former; or might forthwith press any points on which they were decidedly agreed. "It is necessary," said the learned counsel, "to state how important it was to the interests of the army that any such difference of opinion upon general legal questions affecting their claims, as to what is or is not booty, should be most fully considered and discussed, which cannot be done with advantage without an unreserved communication of such legal opinions as apply to such points. I should also add, that it must not be lost sight of, that it is impossible for the counsel of the army to do more in the first instance than submit to the trustees, according to the best of their judgment, the *prima facie* grounds upon which they rest the claims of the army; and it is obvious, that if those grounds are in any respect questioned, they, on behalf of the army, will be placed at great disadvantage if they have not the fullest opportunity of adding such additional arguments as may occur to them in support of their opinions, and answering any objections, or obviating any doubts which may be suggested either by the law-officers of the Crown or the East India Company. Under these circumstances, I feel satisfied that Dr. Jenner would, if present, concur with me, in recommending that the law-agent for the army of the Deccan should address a respectful application to the trustees for a communication of the

opinions of the law-officers of the Crown upon the Poonah case."

That a copy of this opinion was enclosed by Sir Thomas Hislop in a letter to the trustees, of the 4th October following, respectfully soliciting their attention to the request which it expresses; and the letter with its enclosure, together with the statement, were on the same day transmitted to them by your petitioner, who, in thus conveying the documents to their hands, merely acted his recognised character as he had done on all former occasions, and without the slightest idea of impropriety, or any feeling inconsistent with the most profound respect for the trustees.

That your petitioner learned, with profound regret, from a letter addressed by the trustees to Sir Thomas Hislop, on the 14th of the same month, that they felt offended at receiving from your petitioner, on 2d October, the information for which they had applied to Sir Thos. Hislop; and at the manner in which the opinion of Mr. Harrison had been conveyed to their hands in this letter. The trustees expressed their opinion, that when Sir Thomas Hislop was in England, "it would be more convenient, more decorous, and less expensive, that the answers to requests for information should proceed from himself." They described the opinion of Mr. Harrison as annexed to your petitioner's letter, though, in fact, it was enclosed in the letter of Sir Thomas Hislop, and referred to therein; and expressed their determination not to communicate the opinion of the law-officers of the Crown to the counsel for the army.

That Sir Thomas Hislop, in his reply to this letter, bearing date the 18th of the same month, disclaimed all control over the measures which embraced the general interests of the army, and referred the trustees on all points affecting the army at large to Major Wood, the general prize-agent in England; and to your petitioner, the law-agent, as "the only persons legally intrusted on the part of the army and of himself, with the general charge of the interests of the officers and troops concerned; and who alone were possessed of the documents and information calculated to illustrate the various claims of the respective divisions and corps, as well as of numerous individual applicants."

That, as the trustees thus declined to communicate with Major Wood and your petitioner, and as Sir Thos. Hislop refused to take on himself a representative character, all regular communication between the trustees and the army ceased; and the latter have since been allowed no opportunity of assisting, or even of witnessing, the proceedings of the former in respect of their claims.

That your petitioner, alarmed by a re-

monr that discussions were pending between the trustees and the East India Company, and convinced that the case of the army could not even be understood without reference to the voluminous evidence in Major Wood's possession, on the 4th of December, 1823, by the advice of the counsel for the army, presented a memorial, approved and settled by them, to the Lords of the Treasury, stating the situation of the captors, and praying that their Lordships would interpose with the trustees to secure to the agents such a knowledge of the demands of the trustees, and of the answers or objections of the East India Company, as might afford to them an opportunity of supporting the claims of the army. The answer to this memorial, dated the 14th of February, 1824, expressed the opinion of their Lordships, that "they had no authority to interfere with the exercise of the discretion of the trustees in regard to the mode of collecting, recovering, and receiving the booty." Upon receiving this answer, your petitioner, feeling deeply the responsibility of the situation in which he was placed, submitted the memorial, the correspondence, the Treasury minute, and his Majesty's warrant, to Mr. Harrison and Dr. Jenner, the counsel for the Deccan army, to Mr. Adam and Dr. Lushington, who had been counsel for the Marquis of Hastings; and to Mr. Gaslee, Mr. Heald, and Mr. Brougham, who jointly expressed their opinions, that "it was indispensably necessary that the general prize-agent and the law-agent should be acquainted with the proceedings of the trustees;" and advised your petitioner to cause to be presented to his Majesty in Council, a petition founded on and embodying the said memorial. In pursuance of their advice such petition was prepared, and having been approved by the counsel for the army, was, on the 12th of March, 1824, presented, and was afterwards referred to the Lords of the Treasury. On the 14th of July following, the refusal of their Lordships to interfere was conveyed to your petitioner, in a letter from Mr. George Harrison, which concluded by observing, "that the style and tone of your petitioner's respective representations, and more especially that which was addressed to their Lordships on the 4th of December last, were calculated to throw great difficulties in the way of amicable and confidential communication."

That your petitioner deemed it due to himself to notice this charge in a letter addressed to Mr. Geo. Harrison, in which he pointed out the injustice of representing his memorial as an obstacle in the way of communication which had wholly ceased, and which it was intended to re-open; showed that he had acted entirely under the advice of counsel;

contended that he had given no just cause of offence in replying to the letter of the trustees during the absence of Sir Thomas Hislop, as they had not only received from him, without objection, several previous letters, but had even desired him to communicate to them any information he might possess relative to the Deccan booty; and concluded by praying, that at all events no decision adverse to the claims of the army might be adopted without first hearing their counsel upon them.

That Sir Thomas Hislop having, on or about the 17th of December, 1821, received notice from the Treasury, that the East India Company had at length furnished statements and accounts of spoil taken in the course of hostilities against the Peishwa, and being requested to communicate any information "which might throw light on such statements and accounts, and enable the trustees to form a better judgment as to the accuracy of them," addressed a letter, on the 20th of December, to the trustees, stating that Major Wood and your petitioner had been for some time engaged in a laborious investigation of the subject, and had acquired every information which could be procured respecting it, but that it would be impossible to arrange or select from the mass of papers the important portions without knowing the points to which they should be applied; and, therefore, soliciting the use of the returns made by the East India Company for a short period. To this application the trustees replied by letter to Sir Thomas Hislop, of the 14th of January, 1823, in which they expressed their determination in the following terms:—"We have no objection to submit these documents to your examination, or that of any number of your brother officers whom you will name to us, upon this condition only—that they are not to be submitted to the consideration of any counsel or attorney, excepting only on a point or points to be previously submitted for our consideration and decision. We make this condition, because we have observed throughout the consideration of these questions, a strong desire on the part of some to go to law,—a proceeding which we think quite unnecessary, which must lead to expense and delay, and materially deteriorate the value of the property to those to whom it is most probable that his Majesty will be most graciously pleased to grant it." Sir Thomas Hislop, by letter in reply of the 22d January last, declined to avail himself of the permission to inspect the papers under such restrictions, as wholly useless; and stated —"In further answer to your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot's letter, I must do the legal advisers of the army the justice to state, that they have, in every discussion upon the subject, deprecated in the

strongest terms, any resort to legal proceedings, if they could be avoided; and that all their advice has been dictated by that feeling. I may add, that the apprehension, that the law-officers of the Crown had alluded to legal proceedings, and had recommended that a question upon which they had entertained some doubts should be included in these proceedings, was a principal inducement to the current request, which was sometime ago made to your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot, for a communication of their opinion, in the belief that the legal advisers of the army might suggest some course which would prevent litigation. At the same time I may here observe, that they have always stated to me, that any such proceedings would necessarily (whatever was the final result and decision on the subject of contest) postpone the realizing the booty for distribution to so distant and indefinite a period, as to destroy all the benefit which the army justly expects to receive; and they were accordingly, if an opportunity had been afforded, prepared to suggest a mode of proceeding, which would have put all disputed questions in a train for speedy decision, without recourse to law.

As the letter which I had the honour to receive from your Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot, of the 6th of November, alluded to hostile proceedings, I think it necessary to state, that nothing was further from my intention, or that of the legal advisers of the army, in submitting to you the document of the 25th of October last, than to suggest hostile proceedings against the East India Company. On the contrary, the suggestion of giving authority to Sir Lionel Smith, arose out of the nature of the suit which had been instituted by the East India Company at Bombay, as establishing a general principle most important to the interests of the army, and the expediency of giving authority to some officers in India to act in aid of the Company, in that suit to which (as an unauthorized person had been allowed at Bombay to assist the law-officers of the Company in their proceedings) no objection could be anticipated upon their part; and to take up the suit, not as against the Company, but for the Crown, against the native Amerschund Bacheund, in case a disposition should be shown by the law-officers of the Company in India to abandon it, when it was discovered that success in it would not benefit the Company.

I have thought it necessary to make this statement, as nothing has been further from the intention of the legal advisers, or the agents of the army of the Deccan, than to advise or suggest any measures which might tend to involve them in expensive and fruitless litigation with the East India Company.

Your petitioner immediately submitted these documents to Mr. Read, Mr. Adam, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Brougham; (Mr. Brougham having been elevated to the Bench, and Mr. Harrison and Dr. Jenner being personally involved in the censure of the trustees), and they advised that the permission, subject to the restriction, was "wholly inadequate to the protection of the interests of the captors;" approved of the course which had been already adopted, and advised Major Wood and your petitioner to persevere in their attempts to obtain an effectual inspection of the several statements and accounts furnished by the East India Company, and to open a communication with the trustees on all questions affecting the several claims of the army.

That your petitioner observes, by the votes of your honourable House, that a petition has been presented, purporting to be a petition from Sir John Malcolm, Colonel H. S. Scott, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Noble, and Major Wat Jolie, officers entitled to share in the Deccan booty, which contains the following passage:—

"That, upon the wisdom and justice of the trustees, the petitioners chiefly rely for the recovery of all that can be obtained of this booty, for its continued preservation from needless and expensive litigation, and for the earliest practicable distribution of the prize, according to the usages of the service, and the conditions of his Majesty's grant."

That your petitioner conceives that the words "continued preservation from needless and expensive litigation," must be intended "to apply, and will be applied to himself, as the law-agent to the army; but he feels them to be wholly unmerited and unjust." He appeals with confidence to the conduct throughout the whole of his proceedings, and to the tenor of a long professional life, as a refutation of the charge which they insinuate. After the close of the litigation before the Lords of the Treasury, which will scarcely be considered needless, though certainly expensive, he was only anxious that the claims raised by the prize-agents and prize-committee in India should be fairly presented to the trustees, and sustained by the evidence applicable to them from the immense mass of information placed in his hands. Those claims were all weighed by the counsel for the army, and reduced into form under their sanction, and advanced with their express recommendation and concurrence. By their advice the claim for compensation in respect of the palaces of the Peshwa and public buildings of Poonah, was, in the first instance, abandoned; but afterwards, in consequence of pressing instructions from India, stating the peculiarity of the case arising from the situation of the East India

Company, who will obtain by the conquest not only the use of those offices, but a claim to be compensated for them on the expiration of their charter; and thus will receive payment from the Crown for property which vested in the Crown by capture, this subject was renewed, and submitted to the consideration of the trustees. Your petitioner conceived it to be his duty to submit all claims which to the counsel seemed tenable to the decision of the trustees; and he believes, that if full opportunity was given to answer and explain the objections now raised, and to apply the information possessed by the agents to the questions at issue, the far larger part of the claims preferred would be established to the satisfaction of the trustees, and that of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and would be accorded by the justice of the East India Company.

That the trustees, on or about the 14th of January last, called for an abstract of the return of the general officers, officers, and troops engaged in operations in the Peishwa's territories, including Candish and the Concan, specifying the number of each rank; also separate returns of Lieutenant-Colonel Prother's, Major-General Smith's, and of any other detachments of troops which carried on separate operations, and of the general staff of the army, which your petitioner admits were not supplied till about the 5th of June last; but the sole reason of this delay was the hope which Major Wood and your petitioner cherished, that the trustees would, by permitting them to compare the statements and returns of the East India Company with the evidence in their possession, enable them to present, not a mere list of numbers or names, but statements of the circumstances under which each portion of the booty that had been claimed by the trustees, and admitted by the East India Company, was captured, and of the divisions or brigades by whom it was won.

Such statements Major Wood and your petitioner are unable to make without liberty to inspect the said statements and returns; because unless they know what booty is admitted as prize, and where it was taken, they cannot apply the information they possess relative to the captors. And your petitioner submits, that without such statements, no scheme of distribution can be framed applicable to so complicated a series of operations, on the principle of adherence to actual capture in each particular case, so decidedly and strongly enforced in his Majesty's most gracious warrant.

That your petitioner was wholly incapable of producing litigation, had he been so disposed, inasmuch as no suit could be commenced, except by the trustees, nor even by them without the sanction of the Lords of his Majesty's

Treasury. That your petitioner had no interest in producing litigation, had he possessed the power, inasmuch as it would not have been conducted by him; but by the Solicitor of the Treasury, who was employed by the trustees. And that your petitioner, in point of fact, never did, directly or indirectly, recommend or promote litigation; but always represented it as an evil to be carefully avoided; and looked for the recognition of the claims of the army, not from law, but from such free communication with the trustees as would have elucidated their reasonable claims, and have procured from the honourable Directors of the East India Company an acknowledgment of their justice.

That your petitioner, while he has had no personal interest in the augmentation of the fund, nor in the shares to be allotted to particular divisions, has, since the decision in favour of his clients, had a strong personal interest in preventing delay, and in bringing the case to a close. In consequence of the situation of the army, he has been obliged to make large advances, which have been expended in conducting their case to a successful issue before the Lords of the Treasury, in preparing the statements of their claims, and in retaining and consulting the eminent counsel who have advised him on the subsequent proceedings. And as by the warrant, expenses allowed by the trustees are to be paid out of the general fund, it was manifestly his interest to terminate the inquiry, and to abstain from any course which might be displeasing to the trustees. He trusts, therefore, that he shall stand completely absolved from all base and sordid motives in the measures which he has under high and weighty advice adopted.

Your petitioner admits that he has felt strongly the importance of re-opening the communication with the trustees, both with a view to the general amount of prize and the scheme of particular distribution, according to the principles developed in the warrant, and that he has done his utmost to procure it; but he has taken no step without the advice of counsel of the highest eminence, by whom his memorial and petition were settled, and under the sanction of some of whom every letter of importance has been written. He can trace the denial of that communication, which it ever since has been his chief object to restore, to no voluntary fault of his own. He has received from Sir Thomas Hylton, in the letter already referred to, and on other occasions, and from many distinguished officers in India and in England, the most gratifying assurance of their entire satisfaction with the course he has taken; and he feels an honest confidence, that the more closely his conduct is investigated, the more distinctly will it appear

that he has sacrificed much, and laboured intensely to promote the interests of the army; that he has shown no wilful disrespect to the illustrious persons appointed as trustees; that he has not overrated the importance of communication with them, nor rashly nor unadvisedly taken measures to regain it; and that he has been actuated throughout by a conscientious desire to discharge, to the best of his ability, the important trust committed to his hands.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly

prays your honourable House, that he may have leave to lay before your honourable House the copies of the letters, documents, and other papers referred to in this his petition, and that your honourable House will institute such inquiries as will enable him to substantiate the allegations herein contained, and to grant to him such redress as to your wisdom may seem meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

HIS MAJESTY'S FISCAL V. BISHOP BURNETT, ESQ.

LIBEL.

[As the banishment of Mr. Burnett from the Cape of Good Hope will, no doubt, form a subject of Parliamentary inquiry, we present our readers with that Gentleman's speech upon his trial, in reply to the arguments of His Majesty's Fiscal in justification of this extraordinary sentence.

Mr. Burnett was arraigned on a charge of libel, said to be contained in a memorial to His Excellency the Governor, complaining of two members of the Court of Justice, who, in their capacity of Commissioners of Circuit, had adjudicated rather suspiciously in some causes brought before them by Mr. Burnett, at Graham's Town.]

Mr. Burnett's Reply to the Fiscal.

As I decline making any defence against the charges upon which I am arraigned, I shall occupy the attention of the Court no further than will be sufficient to account for this determination, and give a very brief reply to the arguments of his Majesty's Fiscal in aggravation of the offence.

The learned Gentleman—as well as I can collect from the translator—enforces his claim with arguments derived from his favorite authority—the Roman laws; over which he glances his eagle eye, from Romulus to the extinction of the empire, in search of enactments wherewith to crush a persecuted colonist, in a land unknown to the people, whose judicial discipline he is so anxious to introduce. It is very possible that, in looking over our own statute-book, we may trace in various acts of the legislature, a spirit strongly analogous to the modes of Chinese domination; and their very framers may admit that they constructed them from the doctrines of Confucius; but would that justify the King's Attorney-General in ransacking the whole Chinese code for authority on which to convict a man he was prosecuting on a charge not cognizable by the laws of his own country? Assuredly not; and I maintain that his Majesty's Fiscal is precisely aiming at this absurdity.

He states that time was, before the march of civilization had made the disclosure of truth harsh and uncourtly, which a tribune, a pætor, or the socr-

reign himself, was accessible to the complaints of the subject, though couched in expressions of severe censure and abuse; but that subsequent regulations rendered the same course of petitioning criminal. Debarred as I am from any access to his authorities, I have only a very distant recollection to reply upon; but this, I think, will warrant me in saying that the Fiscal is not justified in straining this circumstance to my prejudice, unless he could produce some specimen of what the Romans did, and did not, consider libellous, and thus establish, by comparison, the character of the memorial before the court: it may, for aught he proves to the contrary, be as susceptible of the latter as of the former construction.

It strikes me as a primary question to ask the Fiscal—by what laws I am to be tried? Not by the English, for there he can find no authority whatever for this proceeding. Dutch law he tacitly admits has no existence, by the necessity he lies under of reviving the obsolete enactments of nearly two thousand years standing, upon no other sanction than his own caprice, and with no justification but his knowledge that, provided he carries his point against me—no matter how—he is tolerably secure of impunity and approbation! But I will tell his Majesty's Fiscal that such a departure from the dictates of equity, of justice, and of common sense, is not to be tolerated; that he is bound to define the law by which I am to be tried; and that

if he can find neither precedent nor authority for this prosecution in the constitution of England or Holland—to one of which countries this colony must be considered tributary—he is no more entitled to runagate in the Roman code for grounds whereon to convict me, than he is in that of the Calmuc Tartars!

The constitution of one country is formed from the constitutions of others which have preceded it: wisdom rejects those ordinances which are bad, useless, and inapplicable, and adopts the salutary and the good; hence to Saxon, Norman, and Scandinavian legislation, we owe the constitution of England; and to the celebrated Justinian code the Dutch are indebted for the basis of their own; but these adoptions are in neither case mere transcripts—they have all undergone modifications. England is governed by laws, if not indigenous, at least, naturalized; and so likewise is Holland; and in neither country would a public prosecutor be permitted to work the condemnation of a defendant by the application of some abstract principle or practice of other countries, (not formally adopted,) solely on the ground that they *had* contributed to the regulation of his own. In other words, would the Attorney-General of England be allowed to conduct a prosecution for libel according to the forms of Danish practice, merely because some of the laws of Denmark were amalgamated by Canute with the laws of England?

But if the Fiscal is allowed this discursive range for the materials of his attack, and, to use a figure of Mr. Burke's, he does not wish "the reciprocity to be all on one side," I should be permitted to quote my Roman authority also, and tell him that, by the laws of the ten tables, deportation was *not* inflicted for libel. The only punishment awarded then for scandal, in all its ramifications, was a good encellgling! Not that I reproach the learned Gentleman for having preferred a claim of five years' banishment rather than a sound flogging, as he, in his executive character, might have been reduced to the difficulty of inflicting it; *if*, however, in the records of Roman jurisprudence, he can find any authority for this claim of banishment, I shall ask him to produce it; and then I shall resist his application to my case, until he clearly establishes its adoption by the legislature of Holland into the body of those laws by which the Netherlands are governed.

In looking over the Dutch commentator, Van Liewwen, I find very little on the subject of libel; from which it may be inferred that corruption was less prevalent in his days; or, that the truth was permitted to be spoken without entailing persecution: Nevertheless, he is sufficiently explicit as to the right

of petition. Van Liewwen, in his *Commentary on the Roman Dutch Law*, says, "If through ignorance in a Judge, or otherwise, an unjust sentence be pronounced, the Judge will not be responsible for it; but those who think themselves aggrieved thereby will be obliged to avail themselves of an appeal, or the higher jurisdiction of another Judge."

Is it possible, Gentlemen, to require a more lucid definition than this? If, no matter from what cause, an unjust sentence be pronounced, and for which iniquity the Judge is in no respect responsible, [an exemption which enhances the right of the subject to petition ten-fold,] the aggrieved party may avail himself of an appeal, or the higher jurisdiction of another Judge. Here is a discretionary course distinctly laid down; which course, thus prescribed by the laws, I scrupulously followed; I *did* appeal, but finding, in spite of numerous applications, that I could not obtain copies of the various trials in which I had been engaged—indispensable as they were to the conduct of such appeal,—I exercised that discretion the law allows me, and sought redress from "the higher jurisdiction of another Judge." In what terms could it be expected I should address that Judge? I had to complain of injury: it became necessary to set forth that injury. Seven actions had been tried by the Commissioners thus said to be libelled, and each action contrary to evidence, to the facts adduced, to manifest equity, and common justice, was decided against me. An eighth, whereby I was defendant, was of such palpable malice in its origin, and of absurdity in its complexion, that the Court was compelled to give sentence in my favour; but it, nevertheless, amerced me (the winner) in the costs!! A ninth, (in whose decision the whole of the foregoing would inevitably have merged, and which, it was clearly manifested to the Court, should, with any regard to justice, have taken precedence of all the others,) was wholly unheard, and referred to Cape Town; while the former eight, entirely originating in the writs, and dependent on the issue of the ninth, were absolutely decided upon, as if that ninth had been tried, and sentence pronounced against me! These proceedings throughout were also characterized by the most flagrant indecorum, and partiality in these Judges; every plea which could possibly oppose my chances of success was sedulously adopted. My opponent was allowed to be made the vehicle of personal insult, and a *ruffian* was permitted to brand me with epithets in an open Court as unfounded as they were detestable! Now, let me ask, could I characterize this flagitious aggression, in his Excellency, but in terms adapted to it? Would it have become me, with a

specific accusation to advance against these men, to have modified that accusation, thus approaching this "higher jurisdiction" with a lie? I maintain, and I am prepared to prove, that the whole tenor of their conduct, in my particular case, *was* "a corrupt violation of justice," morally disqualifying them for the discharge of those sacred functions with which "they were so injudiciously entrusted." In what other language could I then express myself? I had to complain of injustice: how could I possibly effect this, but by stating that injustice? I had to complain of manifest corruption, of venality, of favouritism, and (that most execrable of its kind) judicial oppression; and I glory in having distinguished them by their proper appellations.

The Court will permit me to put a case to the learned Fiscal hypothetically. Suppose I had detected either of these Judges in the commission of murder, forgery, or any other offence against the laws, and I had denounced their guilt, like a good subject, to the Governor,—would his Excellency have instituted a criminal prosecution against me before ascertaining the truth or falsehood of my charge? And if not, what becomes of the equity of his proceeding in this instance? The cases are here entirely parallel; not a shade of distinction indicates a different course for his adoption; unless the sable robe of justice is to sanctify enormity, and become the panoply of the foulest deeds under the created heavens. And yet, for doing that which self-preservation, conscience, and respect for the laws, required of me, I am now threatened with five years' banishment from the colony.

I am well aware that it has long been the practice at the Cape to try the colonists by Roman, Dutch, or English laws, indiscriminately, adapting this caprice to the relative severity with which they may be applied to the respective cases; but as this preposterous system owes its existence to the toleration of the colonists, and not to the faintest shadow of a right in the judicial body who so arbitrarily exercise it, I have no hesitation in telling his Majesty's Fiscal, that this alone is a monstrous violation of justice, a perversion of delegated power, and an unwarrantable invasion of the subject's right!

We have it here on record, that the public prosecutor, despairing of a conviction upon Dutch or English statutes, or the bastard progeny of both,—the Cape Gazette Proclamations,—can only attempt to legalize the banishment of a British subject by the authority of a Roman *pandect*! We have it also on record, that causes are alike decided by the Roman, Dutch, or purely Dutch laws; and I am prepared to furnish fifty

cases, within the limited range of my observation, that have been adjudged by Blackstone's Commentaries alone!! What shall be said of such a judiciary? To borrow the emphatic phrase of the first talented man in this colony: "It's all a hash!"—a mere hodge-podge of inconsistency, folly, and injustice; and will, I make no doubt, be so estimated by that august tribunal before which its victims must inevitably appear. There the local politics of a province will constitute no test of innocence or guilt; and the spirit which could resist oppression, or the patriotism which could unmask its motives, will be exempt alike from imputations of turbulence or disaffection.

I shall now proceed to show the learned Fiscal that he is all along in error; and that the easy, happy, dignified fruition of his calling is not to come into this Court (however officially pampered) to dole out his mercies or his maledictions at pleasure; and that the scales,—so long habitually poised in weighing the destiny of slaves and Hottentots,—are not fit for the balance to which a British gentleman is subject, whatever may be the specific gravity of a good cause crushed by oppression, or a bad one supported by power.

In accounting to him for these opinions, I will give a much better authority than Numa himself: to wit—the Parliamentary Reports of Great Britain. If this woud satisfy him, I will offer him the common and statute law of the land; and if then not convinced, I trust his appetite for unquestionable authority will be fully appeased, when I refer him to the ministry of England! From either of these sources he will learn, that a British-born subject carries his constitution about him in every part of his Majesty's dominions, as his indefeasible birth-right; and that in cases affecting his life, his liberty, or his fair fame, he is entitled to be adjudged by the laws of his own country. If such, then, is the fact, (and I defy the learned Gentleman to controvert it,) I will very soon convince him that I have no more business to be arraigned at this Bar, on a charge of libel, than Lord Charles Somerset himself.

Holt, in his Digest on the Laws of Libel, says:—"The plaintiff brought an action against the defendant for a libel, and declared that he being Vicar-General to the Bishop of Lincoln, the defendant had caused to be printed a petition to Parliament, charging him with divers crimes, as extortion, oppression, and corruption, in his office. The defendant justified the publication, and insisted on the truth of the subject-matter of the petition. The action was holden not to lie, the petition being the necessary and usual mode of complaint to Parlia-

ment for the redress of any grievance." *Laure v. King*. 1 Saund. 121.

Lord Mansfield recognized and approved the doctrine laid down in this case in *Astley v. Young*. "So no matter which is stated in any memorial or petition against the conduct of magistrates or public officers, shall be deemed 'libellous,' provided it be done *bona fide*, with a view of obtaining redress; and likewise that it may be addressed in the proper channel by which such redress may be had; that is, to the persons who may be presumed to have power to give such redress."

Is it possible, Gentlemen, to have a right more distinctly and satisfactorily laid down, and that, as attaching to a nation, beyond all others remarkable for its severity against libellers? And can any case be more in point than the one before you, with the contingency manifestly contemplated in this convincing definition? It is here evident that, with the most scrupulous and nice attention, I have only followed the suggestions, or, rather, obeyed the dictates, of the laws of my country; and that, so far from having acted illegally, or even violated propriety by writing this memorial, it is his Excellency the Governor who has contemned the laws, by placing me unjustly at this bar, and neglecting to redress my wrongs, which in duty he is bound to do, as the representative of my sovereign!

Holt further says,—

"As where the defendant being Deputy-Governor of Greenwich Hospital, compiled and wrote a large volume, of which he printed several copies, containing an account of the abuses of the Hospital, and treating the characters of many of the officers of the Hospital, (who were public officers,) and Lord Sandwich in particular, who was then first Lord of the Admiralty, with much asperity. He distributed the copies to the *Governors of the Hospital only*, but it did not appear that he had given a copy to any other person. On a rule for an information for this libel, Lord Mansfield observed, that the distribution of the copies to the persons only who were, from their situations, called on to redress their grievances, and had, from their situations, competent power to do it, was not a publication sufficient to make that a libel, and he seemed to think that, whether the paper were in manuscript or printed, under these circumstances made no difference."—*Rex v. Baillie*.

"An action for libel could not be maintained for exhibiting a bill to the Queen, charging the plaintiff to have recovered 400*l.* of the defendant by perjury, forgery, and cozening, because, said the Court, the Queen is the fountain of justice, and all her subjects may lawfully

resort to her to complain; but if they will divulge the contents to the disgrace of the person, it is actionable.—*Hare v. Miller*.—Therefore it has been resolved, that no false or scandalous matter contained in a petition to Parliament, though it charge a person with positive crimes, shall be deemed libellous." If his Majesty's Fiscal holds authorities like these inconclusive, it will be in vain to adduce any other.

That I may be subject to no reproach hereafter, with having neglected any means of defence in a trial so important, so interesting as a precedent in future prosecutions of the kind, and probably so influential of my future fate in life, I shall record in the Court my reasons for declining to make any defence. In illustrating the motives which led me to address the memorial to his Excellency, it would be necessary to go into much detail; I should have to recount occurrences inculcating the conduct of this Government to an extent that would stagger the public belief! I should have to expose a system of persecution as remorseless and unquitting, as it is odious and detestable; and, virtually, to fix imputations on the Governor of this colony, on his son—whom so many sacrifices have made commandant on the frontier—and on the two worthless gentlemen I am said to have libelled, to an extent that I am persuaded would be productive of fresh persecution, and measures of a nature so rigorous, as effectually to hush my complaints for the future. As truth, then, is not permitted to be spoken in this colony, and as the proceeding of his Excellency in this instance is in effect proclaiming to the world that no injustice, however atrocious, is to be laid before him without subjecting the complainant to a prosecution for libel, I shall not encounter the consequences anticipated, by giving it publicity here: it will, however, be forwarded to his Majesty's Government, accompanied by very sufficient reasons for the course adopted; and will effectually show with what justice I have been arraigned here on a charge, which has no other origin than the vindictive hostility of his Excellency the Governor. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the Fiscal; and if, after so effectually replying to his interrogatories, he will answer one of mine, I would ask him whether he has not repeatedly declared, during the course of this prosecution, that, had his advice been followed, it would long since have been abandoned, as wholly unwarranted by the laws?

Having combated the arguments of the learned Fiscal, (I think unwisely,) and having detailed my reasons for omitting my defence, it only remains for me to say, that not one word I have uttered upon this occasion is with a view of ex-

tenuating my conduct, or appealing to the lenity of this Court. On the contrary, my unqualified acquittal, or the full claim of the public prosecutor, is what I entreat of you, Gentlemen, to concede. If I merit any punishment, I merit that; and if you award less, you will confirm

a too general belief that the severe and arbitrary exactions of the Fiscal have no authority in the laws; or, that those laws are miserably disproportioned to the offences they profess to punish, in your humane reluctance to enforce them.

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CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Feb. 10.—Mr. C. W. Steer to be fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for Division of Dacca; Mr. M. H. Turnbull to be fourth Judge of ditto ditto of Moorsheadabad; Mr. W. Boaden to be Judge of Zillah of Nud-

deah; Mr. E. J. Harrington to be Judge and Magistrate of Zillah of Behar.—24th. Mr. D. B. Morrison to be Assist. to the Judge and Magistrate of Dacca Jhalpore.—25th. Mr. J. W. Alexander to be Junior Assist. to the Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in Saugor and the Nerbudda territories.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Feb. 25.—Lieut. J. Gresham, 34th N.I. transferred to the Pension Estab.—26. Ensign Knyvett, 39th N.I. to officiate as Adjutant to the 6th Local Horse till the arrival of Lieut. Barton; Cornet Hog to do duty with the Squadron of the 5th Light Cav. at the Bareilly station.—28. Lieut. Houghton, 63d N.I. to act as Adjutant to the Left Wing during its separation from Head-Quarters, confirmed; Capt. T. R. Fell, 25th N. I. to be Brig.-Maj. on the Sirhind Frontier, under Brig.-General Adams, C. B.—*March 1.* Lieut. J. Liptrap, 42d N.I. to be Adjutant of the Chittagong Prov. Batt. vice Vincent, removed to the Dacca Prov. Batt.; Capt. J. O. Clarkson, 42d N.I. to be Aid-de-Camp to Brig. Gen. Price, command. Benares Division; Lieut. and Brev. Capt. Ashe, 62d N.I. to act as Adj. during the separation of the regiment from Head-Quarters, confirmed; Ensign Beaty, to act as Interpreter and Quarterm., vice Lieut. Bellow, acting as Military Secretary to Brig.-General Morrison, confirmed.—2. Lieut. P. C. Anderson to join the detachment under Capt. Wilkie, serving with Brig.-Gen. Morrison's Division; Lieut. Troup, 66th N.I. to be Adj. to Capt. Skene's levy, confirmed; Lieut. Glen to be Adj. to the Pioneer Detachment, vice Fitton, promoted, confirmed; Lieut. Deane to act as Adj. till the arrival of Lieut. and Adj. Winfield, confirmed.—3. Lieut. Symonds to act as Adj. and

Quarterm. to the Division of Artillery in Rajpootana, in the absence of Lieut. and Adj. Middleton, vice Watts, appointed ditto to the Saugor Division, confirmed.—4. Capt. T. Dundas, 69th N.I. to officiate as Fort Adj. of Fort William, during the absence of Capt. Watson; Lieut. Garden, Dep. Assistant Quartermaster-Gen. of the Presidency Div. of the Army, to officiate as Assist. in the Depart. during the absence of Major Jackson with the forces at Ava. In consequence of the constant separation of the wings of the 2d Nusseree, or 7th Local Battalion, the appointment of a second in command, on the usual allowance, is authorized from the 1st inst., and Captain S. Speck, of the 4th regiment Native Infantry, is appointed to that situation.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, Feb. 25.—34th N.I.—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. F. Hodgson to be Capt. of a Company, dated Feb. 18, vice Montgomery, transferred to the Pension Estab.—March 4. Ensign B. Hollowell to be Lieutenant, dated 25th February, vice Gresham transferred to the Pension Estab.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Feb. 25. Lieut. J. Balderston, of the 50th to the 39th N.I. vice Lieut. Thomas, who exchanges.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, Feb. 25.—Lieut. D. Simpson, 29th N.I., and formerly of the 14th, to rank from 16th Aug. 1824, vice Bidwell, struck off.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Feb. 25.—Mr. James Taylor is admitted to the service as Asst. Surg. on this establishment.—26. Asst. Surg. Pickthorne admitted to the service, and directed to join the Gen. Hospital.—March 1. Asst. Surg. Morgan to be Med. Store-keeper and Asst. to the Surg. of the Field Hosp. with Brig. Gen. Shulldham's Division.

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, March 5.—Asst. Surg. Grime posted to the 1st Lt. Cav. batt. and directed to join at Chittagong.

FURLONGHS.

Fort William, Feb. 25.—Brevet Capt. J. M. Sim, 15th N.I. to Europe, for health; Brevet Capt. W. B. Girdlestone, 16th N.I. to Bombay for 12 months, for health.—28. Lieut. A. B. S. Kent, 66th N.I. to Europe, for health; Lieut. H. V. Cury, 57th N.I. to Europe, for health.

Head Quarters, March 1.—Brig. Maj. Dyce, 5th Mad. Brig. to return to Madras, for health; Lieut. P. Cook to the Presidency for two months, previous to applying for furlough.—4. Capt. R. Tickell, of the Engineers, to Bombay for nine months, for health; Capt. D. Williamson, 41st N.I. to New South Wales for twelve months, for health; Lieut. T. Wilkinson, 6th Lt. Cav. for ten months beyond the period specified in Gen. Orders of Jan. 22, 1824; Capt. P. W. Grant for six months beyond the extension granted in Gen. Orders of May 13, 1824; Lieut. R. W. Halked, 2nd N.I. to the Cape, for twelve months, for health.

Abstract Report of the Committee of Correspondence, dated the 21st September, 1824.

ABSENTEE ALLOWANCE.

After an actual residence in India, in the Civil Service, of ten years or upwards, a covenanted servant shall be entitled on account of ill-health or otherwise, and without reference to his private fortune, to come once to Europe on leave for three years, and to receive for that period from the Company's cash, 500l. per annum.

In no case shall a greater number of servants come home under this regulation, in any one year, than seventeen from Bengal, nine from Madras, and six from Bombay.

The preference to be first given to servants producing medical certificates, upon honour, that a visit to Europe is indispensably necessary for the restoration of health; and then to servants according to seniority.

Civil servants compelled by certified ill-health to come to Europe previously to completion of ten years' residence as above, to be entitled for a period not exceeding three years to 250l. per annum.

Servants who have so received indulgence shall not, on again coming to Europe, after completing ten years or upwards, be entitled to any allowance under the 1st regulation, except compelled by certified sickness; and then only to the difference between what they have drawn as absentee allowance, and that of 500l. per annum for three years.

These allowances to commence from date of quitting India, and to cease at the expiration of three years, or on their arrival in India, which may first happen.

No servant receiving absentee allowance from a civil fund, to be allowed the benefit of these regulations.

ANNUITY FUND IN BENGAL.

Subscription to be one twenty-fifth part of salaries and public emoluments, except travelling expenses, from the 1st of May, 1825.

Each annuity to be 10,000 rupees, payable here at 2s. per rupee, being 1000l. sterling.

Annuities to be tendered to subscribers having served in the Civil Service twenty-five years, and actually resided in India twenty-two years of that period according to seniority, as fixed by the Court of Directors.

The first annuity to be granted, commencing with the 1st of May, 1826.

The number of annuities in no case to exceed nine per annum.

Any subscriber having contributed full twenty-five years, including three years absence in Europe, and retiring from the service before the option of an annuity may devolve upon him, to be entitled to the same in his proper turn without any payment to the fund, save what may be claimable under the following rule, viz.

Any subscriber accepting the tender of an annuity shall (to entitle him thereto) pay to the institution the difference between one half of the actual value of the annuity on his life, and the accumulated value of his previous contributions, in case the latter quantity shall be less than the former.

Any number so choosing, may decline paying such difference, and shall be entitled to an annuity diminished in proportion.

An annuitant to be wholly debarred from returning to the service.

A subscriber who has been dismissed the Company's service to have no claim.

Resignation of service essential to entitle an individual to an annuity.

A subscriber may at any time withdraw, forfeiting his right to any benefit.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

BENGAL.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, March 1.—87th Foot, Ens. W. L. Stafford to be Lieut. without purchase, vice O'Flaherty, dec., dated Feb. 23; Thos. Creagh, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Stafford, prom., dated ditto.

[From the London Gazettes.]

MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

11th Lt. Drag.—Supp. Assist. Surg. B. Campbell to be Assist. Surg. vice Stalc.
16th Lt. Drag.—F. Baker Bere, gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Osborne, prom.

13th Foot.—Lieut. W. Krefling, from 53d Regt. to be Lieut. vice Gardner, who exchanges; Lieut. M. Fenton to be Capt. vice Clarke; Lieut. T. Triphook to be Capt. vice Thornhill; Ens. T. Blackwell to be Lieut. vice Triphook; Volunteer Moorhouse to be Ens. vice Blackwell.

38th Foot.—Lieut. R. H. Willcocks to be Capt.; Ensign W. Campbell to be Lieut. vice Willcocks.

44th Foot.—Lieut. C. Evans to be Lieut. vice Rayner.

47th Foot.—M'Nally, gent. to be Ens. vice Geddes.

87th Foot.—Ens. W. L. Stafford to be Lieut. vice O'Flaherty; T. Creagh, gent. to be Ens. vice Stafford.

UNATTACHED.

Lieut. H. D. Courtaigne, 44th Foot; Cornet W. Osborne, from 16th Lt. Drag. to be Lieut. by purchase.

MADRAS.

13th Lt. Drag.—Major J. F. Paterson to be Lieut. Col.; W. W. Higgins to be Major, vice Paterson.

20th Foot.—Ensign W. H. E. M'Dermott to be Lieut. vice Douglas.

41st Foot.—Lieut. S. Harrison, from half-pay of the Royal Afr. Corps, to be Lieut. vice O'Neil, appoin. to 61st Foot.

45th Foot.—E. I. Ward to be Lieut. vice Perham.

46th Foot.—R. Manners, gent. to be Ens. vice Davids.

54th Foot.—Lieut. R. Kelly to be Capt.; Capt. W. Abbott to be Capt. vice Shyfield; Lieut. P. Crosby to be Lieut. vice Harris, Ens.; C. Tobin to be Lieut. vice Kelly; R. Burton, gent. to be Ens. vice Tobin.

59th Foot.—Edward Bolton, gent. to be Ens. vice Johnson, who retires.

89th Foot.—H. Wilson, gent. to be Ens. vice Campbell.

BOMBAY.

4th Lt. Drag.—Robt. Grumbleton, gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Weston, prom.

2d Foot.—W. V. L. Hesse, gent. to be Ens. vice Kennedy.

CEYLON.

83d Foot.—Lieut. W. H. Low to be Capt. vice Smith; Ens. H. Canfield to be Lieut. vice Low; J. Rehall, gent. to be Ens.; Assist. Surg. M. M'Dermott to be Assist. Surg.

Ceylon Regt.—Hospit. Assist. W. M. Wilkins to be As. Surg. vice M'Dermott.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

82d Foot.—Ens. W. H. Buckley to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Delancey, prom.; — Maxwell, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Buckley; Capt. J. H. Akers is allowed to dispose of his half-pay.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—Feb. 28. The wife of Mr. C. Smith, of a son and heir.—March 7. The wife of Mr. M. Lacken, H.C.M., of a daughter.

Marriages.—March 8. The Rev. W. J. Dear, Missionary, to Miss M. E. White, formerly of the European Female Orphan Asylum.

Deaths.—March 5. R. Clarke, Esq., Surgeon, aged 27.—6. Julia, youngest daughter of Mr. J. R. Crook, of Ganey-

pore; Mrs. Theresa Bridgnell, wife of Mr. J. Bridgnell, aged 35.—7. The infant child of Mr. J. Boillard, jun.—9. T. W. King, Esq., aged 46.—10. Mr. T. Taylor, aged 30.

MADRAS.

Birth.—Feb. 2. Mrs. Ann Taylor, of a daughter.

Death.—Feb. 9. The wife of Mr. H. De Custer.

INTERIOR OF INDIA.

Births.—Jan 29. At Nursingpoor, the lady of Lieut. E. R. Jardine, 1st N.I., of a son.—Feb. 11. At Trichinopoly, the lady of the late Major W. Jones, 26th N.I., of a son.—24. At Dacca, the lady of G. C. Weguelen, Esq., of a son.—25. Near Berhampore, the lady of J. Bell, Esq., of a daughter.—27. At Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. Read, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Feb. 12. At Colombo, Capt. R. Trydell, H.M.'s 83d Regt., to Lucy, daughter of the Rev. N. Garstin, Colonial and Military Chaplain.—14. At Poona-mallee, Mr. F. De Cruz, Sub-Ass.-Surg., to Mrs. Jane Adamson.—19. At Bangalore, — Whitlock, 36th N.I., to Harriett, third daughter of the late Sir Samuel

Toller.—25. At Cawnpore, Lieut. J. Townsend Somerville, 51st N.I., to Miss Henrietta Kingston.

Deaths.—Dec. 4. In camp at Nandair, Capt. R. Calvert, 41st N.I.—Jan. 26. At Bulghattee, Catherine Sarah, eldest daughter of Capt. J. G. Robinson.—31. At Matura, Mr. C. H. Hopman, Med. Sub-Ass. to that station.—Feb. 27. At Natteree, the infant son of W. A. Pringle, Esq., C. S.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Marriages.—Aug 8. At St. Margaret's Church, Lieut.-Col. Whish, Artillery, Bombay Establishment, to Frances Hill, eldest daughter of H. Sandys, Esq., of Queen-street, Westminster,

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM THE EAST.

(From the Calcutta Exchange Price Current.)

Indigo.—Purchasers are still in the market for fine Indigo, but as the Stock on hand consists chiefly of the inferior qualities, the actual transactions during the week have not been numerous, or of much interest. The following exhibits the Exports to the different places up to the 8th of March:—

Exportation of Indigo up to the 8th of March, 1825.

To Great Britain.....	Chests 11,774 ..	Fy. Mds. 2,419
Hon. Comp.'s Shipments ...	“ 3,331	
	15,103	
<i>America.</i>	<i>Gulph.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Fy. Mds. ... 3,210	Fy. Mds. 6,118	61,976
.....	.....	11,971
Total Exportation, Fy. Mds.		73,947

Grain.—Continues steady, and we have only to notice some improvement in Wheat and Grain.

Saltpetre and Sugar.—The former still continues to look down, and there is very little demand for the latter.

Piece Goods.—There has been a brisk demand for the descriptions suitable for the American market.

Spices.—Pepper having been wholly without demand during the week, has suffered some farther decline.

Opium.—The holders are becoming less firm.

Europe Goods.—The transactions in Coarse Woollen have been extensive, and prices have improved.

Metals.—Our quotations for Spelter are again lower.—Iron, Lead and Steel, have been in request at higher rates.

Bullion.—The following comparative statement of the Imports during the last five years, exhibits a general falling off in the supply of the precious metals:—

Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1820	55,40,585	2,13,61,818	2,74,02,433
1821	13,53,941	2,16,96,670	2,50,50,611
1822	10,69,116	1,98,52,709	2,09,21,825
1823	16,75,135	1,12,24,883	1,29,00,018
1824	14,42,050	13,3,05,605	1,27,47,655

Freight to London—7l. to 10l.—Tonnage still scarce.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

Bengal Government Securities.

Rates of Premium, Calcutta, 10th March, 1825.

Buy.			Sell.
Rs. As.			Rs. As.
33	4	Remittable Loan	32 8
8	0	From No. 1. to 320 of 5 per cent. Loan	7 0
5	0	From No. 321 to 1040 of ditto	4 8
3	0	From No. 1041 to the last No. issued of ditto	2 8

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, CALCUTTA.

Buy.			Sell.
Is. 10d.	to	0s. 00d.	On London, 6 Months' sight, in Sic. Rs. 1s. 11d. to 0s. 0d.
			On Bombay, 30 Days' sight, per 100 Bombay rupees. 92 0 to 93 0
			On Madras, ditto, per 100 Madras rupees. 94 0 to 98 0
			Promissory Notes of the Java Government, bearing interest at 7 per cent., 2 per cent. Premium.

Bank Shares, Premium..... 5500 to 5550 per Cent.

CALCUTTA PRICES OF BULLION.

	S. Rs.	S. Rs.
Spanish Dollars, sicca rupees.....	211 8 a	212 0 per 100
Silver Five Francs	190 4 a	190 8 ..
Doubloons.....	30 8 a	31 8 each
Joes, or Pezas.....	17 8 a	18 0 ..
Dutch Ducats	4 4 a	4 12 ..
Louis D'Ors.....	8 4 a	8 8 ..
Star Pagodas	3 6 1/2 a	3 7 1/2 ..
Sovereigns.....	10 8 a	11 0 ..
Bank of England Notes.....	10 8 a	11 0 ..

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.	Date.
1825.					
July 2	R St. Lawrence	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	China ..	
Aug. 4	Off Portsmouth	Andromache ..	Moorson ..	Cape ..	June 1
Aug. 4	Off Portsmouth	Georgianv ..	Ford ..	Bombay ..	Feb. 14
Aug. 5	Downs ..	Morley ..	Halliday ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 17
Aug. 5	Downs ..	Pyramus ..	Brodie ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 30
Aug. 9	Off Liverpool ..	Elizabeth ..	White ..	Cape ..	May 26
Aug. 20	Off Hastings ..	Java Packet ..	Boyle ..	Batavia ..	Mar. 30

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1825.				
Mar. 8	Batavia ..	Edward Struttel ..	Blackmore ..	Bengal
Mar. 10	Bengal ..	Hero ..	Garrick ..	London
May 24	Sierra Leone ..	Echo ..	Dunlop ..	Cape of G. Hope
May 29	St. Helena ..	Georgina ..	Ford ..	Bombay
June 2	St. Helena ..	Morley ..	Halliday ..	Bengal
June 2	St. Jago ..	Lady Flora ..	M'Donnell ..	London
June 20	Madeira ..	Mulgrave Castle ..	Ralph ..	London
June 25	Madeira ..	Thalia ..	Biden ..	London
July 10	Madeira ..	Bassora Merchant ..	Stewart ..	London
July 15	Madeira ..	Cesar ..	Watt ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1825.				
July 31	Flushing	.. August	.. Anderson	Batavia
Aug. 4	Flushing	.. Effort	.. Grace	Ceylon
Aug. 10	Deal	.. Oscar	.. Stewart	Cape of Good Hope
Aug. 15	Deal	.. Eliza	.. Dixon	Bengal
Aug. 15	Off Dungeness..	Medway	.. Wight	New South Wales
Aug. 16	Off Dungeness..	John Dunn	.. Sutherland	Van Dieman's Land
Aug. 16	Falmouth	.. Enterprize	.. Johnston	Cape Madras & Bengal
Aug. 17	Portsmouth	.. Toward Castle..	Jeffrey	Van Dieman's Land
Aug. 18	Deal	.. Elphinstone	.. Sumner	Bengal and Teneriffe
Aug. 23	Portsmouth	.. Lang	.. Lusk	Van Dieman's Land

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	P. of Depart.	Destination.
1825.					
April 20 35	04 S. 3 46 E.	Coromandel	.. Boyes	.. London	Madr. & Bengal
June 1 6	N. 18	W. Lowther Castle	Baker	.. London	Bombay
June 1 6	N. 18	W. Warren Hastings	Itawes	.. London	China
June 3 4 54	N. 19 33 W.	Prince Charlotte	Biden	.. London	Bengal
July 12 40	N. 15	W. Victory	.. Farquharson	London	Madr. & Bengal
July 25 37	14	Hannah	.. Shepherd	.. London	Bombay
July 30 42	3 N. 10 9 W.	Midas	.. Baigie	.. London	New S. Wales

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS OUTWARDS.

By the *Enterprise*, Johnston, for Madras and Calcutta.—Mr. Birch and servant; Capt. Clifton and do; Col. Wilson and do.; Mr. Daniel; Lieuts. Newman, Shelley, Gray, and Mr. Walker; Ens. Gautskell; Mr. Davis; Mr. Elden; Mr. Marshall, Mrs. Marshall, two Miss Marshalls, two young children, and two female servants; Mrs. Johnston.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Georgiana*, Capt. Ford, from Ceylon.—Capt. Fernandez, Company's Service; Lieut. Carr, H.M. 16th, in charge of troops; and Dr. Cunningham.

By the *Pyramus*, Capt. Brodie, from

Bengal and Madras:—Mrs. Brodie; Mrs. Rose; Mrs. Clutterbuck; Mrs. Smith; Mrs. Potts; Miss Rose; Miss E. Rose; Major Tinnel; Major Evans; Lieut. Arthur; Lieut. Botts; Mr. Gibson; Mr. Dart; Mrs. Campbell; Mr. Campbell; Mr. Clutterbuck; Miss Hough, and Miss Clutterbuck.

By the *Morley*, Halliday, from Bengal:—C. B. Palmer, Esq., merchant; Mrs. Palmer; Lieut. Roche, 5th Bengal Light Cavalry; Lieut. Blackin; Lieut. Roworth, Madras N. I.; Lieut. Kent, Bengal do.; Capt. Sim, Bengal N. I.; Capt. Graham, Madras do.; Mrs. English; Mrs. Archibald; Lieut. Carey, Bengal N. I., died at sea; Mrs. Carey; three Miss Marshalls; Miss Robson, and Master Mercer.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A great number of Contributions are still unacknowledged, and an equal number of Letters remain unanswered. The EDITOR'S apology for this apparent indifference to the wishes of those to whose information and assistance he is so much indebted, will be found in the following facts :— During an excursion to the sea-coast, for the purpose of recruiting his health, he was suddenly seized with an affection of the extremities, which, before he could return to town, had deprived him entirely of the use of both his legs and arms. While recovering from this visitation, and during a period of extreme exhaustion and debility, he was seized with an attack of Cholera Morbus, the spasmodic affections of which, as well as all the other usual symptoms, were of the most violent and painful description. These united causes have rendered him unable to perform many pressing duties, which must yet be postponed, until returning health shall fit him to resume his occupations with that vigour with which he hopes again to pursue the great object of his labours, until a change of system in the Government of India shall restore to that country a Free Press, and security from arbitrary banishment, without trial, for Public Writers; when the immediate exposure of misrule in that country itself, will render less necessary than at present the more tardy illustration of its evil consequences here.

If the Author of the Article signed "HUMANITAS," and dated Craven-street, Strand, will communicate his name and address in confidence to the Editor, the latter will feel obliged.

The Title and Index for the present Volume will be given with the next Number.

INDEX

TO THE SIXTH VOLUME.

A

- Abel, Dr.*, Lord Amherst's Abuse of Patronage in the Case of, 111. Appointment to the Situation of Apothecary-General, *ib.* Incapacity for the Duties of his Appointment, 323, 557.
- Absentee Allowances*, Abstract of the Report of the Committee of Correspondence, 605.
- Alphabet*, Hints towards the Formation of a perfect one, 100. Great Defectiveness of our present System of Orthography, as regards the English Language, *ib.* Observations on the Classification of Vocal Sounds, 102. Explanation of the Table of the Universal Alphabet, 103. Advantages to be derived from its Adoption, 104.
- America*, Celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in, 81, 83. Early attempts of the English to settle in the United States, 82. First Settlement of the Sect called Puritans in America, *ib.*
- Anacharsis's Travels*, Original Letter of the celebrated Author of, 507.
- Ancients*, Illustrations of various Customs, Phrases, and Opinions of, from Oriental sources, 203. Rich Stores contained in Asiatic Authors; Divination, *ib.* Curious particulars in ancient Magic, 208. Superstitions of various Nations, 209.
- Anna*, French Ship, safe arrival of, at Madras, 563.
- Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, Historical, and Critical Account of, 522. M. Von Hammer's German Translation of those Tales, which have not appeared in a European Language, *ib.* Loss of the French Version from the Arabic MS. in its way to London, *ib.* On the Contents of the twelve MSS. of the Thousand and One Nights which are known to exist in Europe, *ib.*
- Arabs*, The, a Tale, by H. A. Driver, 290. Curious Confession of ditto, *ib.* Specimens of the Poetry, *ib.*
- Oriental Herald*, Vol. 6.

Asiatic Society of Paris, Labours of, 44. Analysis of the original Articles in the first 5 vols. of the 'Journal Asiatique de Paris;' Ancient History of India, and, in particular, the Historians of Cashmere, *ib.* Explanation of the five Medals of the ancient Musulman Kings of Bengal, 16. Historical Sketch of Bengal at the period to which they refer, 47. Theological Papers, 50. Travels of MM. Duvaucal and Diard in India, *ib.*

Assam, North-eastern Frontier, 134. Operations of the Army; Difficulty of proceeding with a heavy armed Force, *ib.* Arrival of Blair's Horse, 135. Extract from Bernier's Voyage to Surat, 136. Surrender of Rungpoor to the Troops under Lieut. Col. Richards; Details of the Capitulation, *ib.* Offer of Poorunder Sing in the event of his restoration to the Sovereignty of Assam, to become tributary to the Company, 317.

B

Bengal, Summary of the latest Intelligence from, 121, 319, 553. Description of the Country about Raugoon; Character of the Natives, 121. Search for Treasure about the Pagodas, by order of the British Commander-in-Chief, *ib.* Sufferings of the Army, 122. Curious instance of the arbitrary Conduct of Mr. John Adam, *ib.* Further Courts-Martial on the residue of the Sepoys who survived the Massacre at Barrackpore, 125. Neglect of the British Indian Government in providing for the Conveniences of the People, *ib.* Their Liberality rendered almost useless by Restrictions, 126. Oppressive Tax levied on Articles brought into the city of Calcutta for sale, *ib.* Calcutta Newspapers, 127. Discussions respecting the Dutch Treaty for the cession of Sumatra; Partiality of the Indian Government in their Censorship on the Press, 128. Death of the 'Helter-Skelter

- Magazine; ' Probable cause of the termination of its existence, 128. Introduction of the study of Phrenology at Calcutta, *ib.* Curious Police Case at ditto, 129. Insurrections at Calpee; The Departure of the Hon. D. A. Overbeck from Chinsura, *ib.* Extension of our Territory to Assam not desirable, 319. Deficiency of the Native Army, and unwillingness of the Men to enter the Company's Service, *ib.* Gloomy Aspect of Affairs, 320. Opinions on the Barrack-pore Massacre, *ib.* High estimation of Lord Hastings's character in India, 321-2. Hasty and inconsiderate commencement of the Burmese War, 322, 553. Abuse of Patronage, 323, 555. Cruel and unjust conduct of the Indian Government in the case of Mr. Chew, 324. Abortive Scheme to procure a supply of Bullock for the payment of the Army, 325. Hygrometrical effect produced on Lord Amherst by the various events of the War, 553. Arrival of the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry into the causes of the Barrack-pore Mutiny, 554. Injustice of the Commissariat Department towards the Sepoys; Latitude allowed in its Proceedings, *ib.* Formation of Sir E. Paget's and Commodore Hayes's, *our* Dark-Green Maimes, from the Sweepers and low Caste Men, with Increase of Pay over the Veteran Soldiers, 555. Effect of the Change of Governors to the Company and its Servants; Ignorance of the Company respecting the Conduct of its Servants, 556. Caution of our Indian Correspondents, *ib.* Phenomenon of the Calcutta 'John Bull' advocating "Free Discussion," 558. Necessity of the local check afforded by a free Press over the Servants of the Company in India, *ib.* Banned Reformers at the Serampore College effected by the John Bull's "Free Discussion," 559. Confession of the Indian 'Bull' that he has been misleading the People, 560. Remarks from the 'Edinburgh Times' on the mode of conducting our Indian War, 561. Eagerness with which assistance is looked for from England, *ib.* Establishment of a "Dinner Club" of Indo-Britons at Calcutta; Departure of Gen. Adams from Jubulpore, 562.
- Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Bengal*, 197-8, 405-6, 606-7.
- Bombay*, Latest Intelligence from, 137. Splendid Entertainment given to J. H. Crawford, Esq., *ib.* Mr. War-
den's Speech on the Occasion, 138. Mr. Norton's ditto, *ib.* Blessings that would accrue to the Natives of India by the introduction of the Arts and Sciences of Europe, 139. Extracts from the interesting Report of Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Richmond, H.M. 4th Drag., on the Success of his Operations for Cataract, *ib.* Report of the drowning of Runjeet Sing and his Army, 140. Fleet of the Imam of Muscat; Insurrections in the North. Div. of Guzerat; Fears entertained of a Scarcity of Water at Bombay, *ib.* Visitations of the Bishop of Calcutta, 141. Governor and the King's Judges of, 305. Note of the Editor, 306. Scandalous Influence of the Government on the Press, in ordering a false Quotation of the Discount on the Government Loan, 326. Article in the 'Bombay Courier' on the Sutees, or Burning of Widows, 572. Call of ditto on Mr. Buckingham, &c., to contribute their Mite towards the Dissemination of Education among the Natives; Neglect of the Company out of their enormous Revenue to provide for the latter, *ib.* Mr. Sec. Lushington's Book on the Charities of Calcutta, 573. Establishment of the Sanscrit College, *ib.* Abolition of the Practice of Burning by other Christian Governments, 574.
- British Commerce*, Evils to, produced by the East India Company's Monopoly, 299. Letter VI. The Use of Coffee and Cocoa in place of Tea, the only Remedy against the Extortion of the Company, 301.
- British India*, Sources of Revenue in, 21. Mr. Tucker's Defence of the Salt and Opium Monopoly, 22. Frequent Preference of Turkey Opium in China, &c., 24. Malwah Cultivation of ditto, 25. Bad Effects of licensing the Sale of Spirituous Liquors in India, 26. An Excise inapplicable to the State of India, 27. Effects of the ill-judged Restrictions on the Freedom of Trade, *ib.* Gross Produce of the Customs of Bengal and Madras. The Customs a miserable Burden on the latter, 29. Evidences of the dilapidated State of the Company's Finances; Grand Object of the Company, 30. The Ryotwarry System, 211. Mr. Law's Pamphlet, *ib.* Merits of the Ryotwarry and Zametudary Settlements discussed, 212. Evil of the Ryotwar System established by Sir T. Munro, 217. Misery and Ruin consequent on its Operation, *ib.* Impossibility of the

Ryot's obtaining Justice in his Appeals, 220. Infamous Character of the Officers employed to collect the Revenue, *ib.* The Oppression of the Ryotwar System the principal Cause of the slow Increase of the Population of the Country, 220. Enormous Amount of the Revenue exacted from the Cultivators, 223. Benefits of Colonization, 224. Review of the Events of the past Year in, 537.

Brutus, Marcus, On the Character of, 31. Tendency of young Minds, in reading History, to attach themselves to a particular Hero, *ib.* Reasons for believing Marcus Brutus to have been descended from the old Junian Stock, 32. Refutation of the vulgar Notion of his being Cæsar's Son; Sketch of his early Life and Habits, *ib.* Reasons for his siding with Pompey in preference to Cæsar, 33. Exculpated from the Charge of having improperly disclosed the Retreat of Pompey, *ib.* Comparison of the Minds of Brutus and Cicero, 34. His Attachment to the Stoic Philosophy, 35. Opprobrium attached to his Name accounted for, 36. The Lawfulness of putting Cæsar to death when he had become a Traitor to his Country, 38, 39. Defence of Brutus from the Charge of Ingratitude in killing Cæsar, 39. Cicero's Opinion of this Act, 40. The last Hours of this great Man, 42.

Buckingham, J. S. versus J. Murray, for a Libel in the 'Quarterly Review.' See *King's Bench Court*.

Buckingham, J. S. versus Bankes, Senior, 356. Libel contained in a Letter written to Mr. Murray; Non-attendance of the Special Jury; The Cause set down as a *remand*; Postponement in consequence; Refusal of Mr. Bankes to try by a Common Jury; The Cause to stand over to the October Sittings, 396.

Burnett, Mr. Bishop, Petition of, presented to the House of Commons, on the oppressive and ruinous Conduct of the Governor at the Cape of Good Hope towards him, 184. His Majesty's Fiscal *versus*, 600. Trial on the Charge of Libel against Lord C. Somerset; Mr. B.'s Defence, *ib.*

C

Cadets, On the Age at which it is proper to send them to India, 87. Good Education necessary to the Soldier, 88. Low State of Civilization in India attributable, in some measure, to "the early Age at which Cadets are sent out," 88. Benefits that

would accrue from an alteration in the present System, 90. The Age of twenty still better than eighteen, 92. Objections as to the Difficulty of acquiring Languages at a later Period, controverted, *ib.* Dislike to the proposed Change on account of it being an Innovation, 93. Considerations of the Editor on the same Subject, 94. List of Improvements considered necessary in the Mode of educating and despatching young Men to India, 95. Observations on the foregoing List, *ib.* Backwardness of the Directors to effect Improvement of any kind, 97.

Calcutta Apprenticing Society, Public Meeting of, 326.

Cape of Good Hope, 343, 578. Symptoms of Reform; Arrival of the Owen Glendower with Despatches for the Governor; His probable Return to answer the Charges against him, *ib.* Singular Account of a Cullree Tribe near Lieut. Farewell's Station at Point Natal, 578. Surprise of the Chief at the sight of a Horse, 579. His Cruelty and Despotism, *ib.*

Carnall, John, Petition of, presented to the House of Commons, on the oppressive Conduct of the Government of the Cape of Good Hope towards him, 182.

Ceylon, latest Intelligence from, 141.

Character, On the Knowledge of, 225. The Fountain from whence Success is derived; Impediments to the Study, *ib.* Necessity of freeing the Mind from Anxiety and Prejudice to study with effect, 226. Intoxication, Anger, Sickness, unfair Periods at which to form a Judgment of any Man, *ib.* Persons who live affectionately, or much together, not always the greatest Proficients in this Knowledge with respect to each other, 227. Conversations, or even Actions themselves, not always to be depended on; Character a Man gains in Society by his Actions, not his real one, *ib.* Few Persons capable of discovering the early Budgings of Genius, 228. The Art of Pleasing, *ib.* Means of acquiring it, 230. Division of Men into Classes; Necessity of correct Discrimination, *ib.* Aristotle's Story of hereditary Irrascibility, 231. What constitutes Character in Men, *ib.* The Countenance no certain Indicator of the Passions, 231. Resemblance of some Men's Minds to a Mirror; Impossibility of judging by a front View, 232.

- The Passions and Affections the Keys to the Soul, 233.
- Chairman of the East India Company*, Election of, 313.
- China*, Failure of Crops, and Ravages of the Cholera Morbus, 575.
- Chinese Literature*, 107. Exposure of the Unfairness of M. Klaproth's Critique on Dr. Morrison's Grammar and Dictionary, 108. Defence of Dr. Morrison's Method of Drawing up his Chronological Table, 109. Notice of the Publication of a Chinese Work, with Latin Translation, 110.
- Chinese Miscellany*, by R. Morrison, D.D., M.R.A.S. 552.
- Chinese and Greek Tongues*, on the various Opinions entertained as to a Connexion between, 525. Note of the Editor, 527.
- Chittagong Force*, Movements of, 132. Position of the Army; Evacuation of Mungdoo by the Burnese, *ib.* Account of the Burnese Stockade at Ramoo, 131. Proceedings of the Army, 338. Arracan likely to prove a second Rangoon; Orders for the Erection of Barracks at Chittagong; Difficulties of the intended Operations, *ib.* Advance of the Troops on the Arracan River, 561. Variation in the Accounts of the Numbers of the Enemy in the Arracan Fort; Report of the Destruction of the Gun-Boat Squadron of *Dark Green Marines* by the Enemy; Incorrectness of the Maps with regard to the Mayoo River, *ib.* Difficulty of transporting Baggage, 565. Imprisonment of the Chief of the *Mug Sirdars* at Arracan; Reported Massacre of the latter; Difficulty of supporting the Troops at Arracan during the Monsoon, *ib.*
- Christianity in India*, Propagation of, 158.
- Civil and Military Intelligence*, 194, 400, 601.
- Commander-in-Chief in India*, Remarkable Origin of, 119. Memoir of Major-Gen. Stilbert, *ib.*
- Commercial Intelligence from India*, 199, 406-7, 607-8.
- Correspondence*, Indian, distinguished Traits of, 117. Advice respecting the Transmission of Letters to the Editor, 118. Letter showing the Danger of expressing Opinions openly, *ib.*
- Copper, Col.*, of the Bombay Army, Memoir of, 307.
- D
- Drummond, Sir William*, Researches on the Origin of Empires, States, and Cities, 268. His Estimate of Public Taste, not applicable to the present Day; Hopelessness of any farther Insight into the History of the Early Ages of the World, *ib.* Uselessness of such Disquisitions, 269. His Mode of Studying the Fragments of Berosus, 271. Trifling of Etymologists, *ib.* Sir W.'s New Version of the Story of the Confusion of Tongues, 272. The Patriarchal Form of Government the First after the Deluge, 273. History of Semiramis, Queen of Assyria; Observations on the Reign of Nynias, *ib.* Sir W.'s Credulity and Scepticism on particular Points, 276.
- Deccan Prize Money*, 147. Conduct of the Commissioners, 148. Correspondence of Sir T. Hislop with ditto, 149. Opinion of Counsel on the Refusal of the Commissioners to allow the Captors Permission to Inspect the Statement of the Booty furnished by the East India Company, unless under certain Restrictions, 150. Remarks from a Pamphlet on the Subject, *ib.* Ditto from the 'Globe and Traveller,' Evening Paper, 152. Causes of the Delay in the Distribution of the Prize Money, 151. Petitions to Parliament on, 351, 590.
- Direct or*, Candidates for, 157. Capt. Seely's Requisites for attaining the Dignity of Director of the East India Company, 158.
- E
- East India Accounts*, 347, 466. Impossibility of forming a correct idea of the Financial State of the Company from their Periodical, 347. Duty of Parliament to compel a Full and Fair Statement of the Accounts of the Company to be laid before them, 348. Revenue and Expenditure in India, 466. State of the Revenue during the latter Years of Lord Hastings's Administration contrasted with the same under Lord Amherst and Mr. Adam, *ib.* Surplus at Bombay in 1823-4 accounted for, 467. Improvement in Revenue under the Marquis of Hastings, in 1822-3, compared with Lord Minto's most prosperous Year in 1813-14, 469. Table of the Company's Assets at Home and Abroad to 1st of May 1823, 470. General Abstract View of the Annual Revenue Accounts of British India, 471-3.
- Education*, Pernicious System of, pursued in our Great Universities, 502. Opinion as to the Expediency of

Drafting the Civil Servants of the Company from Oxford and Cambridge; Division of the Students into Sections—Noblemen, Hat-Fellow Commoners, Fellow Commoners, Pensioners, and Sizars; Explanation of the different Appellations, 502. Length of a Cambridge Year, 503. Disgraceful Facility of Obtaining the Degree of Doctor of Medicine at ditto, 504. Qualification necessary, to become a Member of the London College of Physicians, *ib.* The Degree of Bachelor of Civil Law a Retreat for native Stupidity to shelter itself in, 504. Degree of Arts, Great Majority of Students for ditto destined for the Church; Extent of Knowledge required from the Candidate, *ib.* Norrison School, 505. Laxity of the Restraints on the moral habits of the Students; External show of ditto; Non attendance of the *Seniors* at Matins; Ridiculous Punishment awarded to the Under-Graduates for ditto, *ib.* Advice to Parents about to send their Sons to Cambridge, 506. Average amount of Students on the Sick List, Colony of Prostitutes inhabiting a whole Village; Toleration of ditto by the Masters, *ib.* Recapitulation of the previous Statements, 507.

Engineers, Supersession of, by the other branches of the Indian Army, 114. Remarks on the Statements of "Candidates," 115. List of the surviving Cadets of the season of 1797, on the effective Strength of the Bombay Army in 1824, 116.

English and Dutch in the East Indies, Political and Commercial Relations between, 234. Diversity of Opinions in India respecting; Solemn Dirge sung by the Company's Servants over the loss of Sumatra, *ib.* Their exception to Singapore equivalent to every thing, 235. A Gold Mine frequently of less Value than a Stone Quarry, *ib.* Avarice and Monopoly a crying Sin in the Dutch, but becoming and amiable in the English East India Company, 236. Solid Objections to the Treaty, by its increasing the Dutch Monopoly of Spices, *ib.* Salutary influence of Freedom of Trade; Dutch and English Restrictions, 238. Unwise Policy of the Dutch in attempting a wide Extent of Territory, 239. Many of their Islands a Burden to the State, 240. Stipulations of the Treaty, *ib.*

English Opinions on Indian Affairs,

155. Article in the 'Times' Newspaper, *ib.* In the 'John Bull' and 'Blackwood's Magazine' on the alarming State of our Indian Possessions, 157. Extracts from the 'Morning Chronicle'; Remarks on the Incapacity of the present Head of the Indian Government for the Station he fills, 318. Comparison of the Conduct of other Governor-Generals in former Wars with the Measures of Lord Amherst in the present, 318.

Europe in 1825, Political View of the State of, (concluded from page 577, vol. 5,) 68. Secret and increasing Influence of Russia among the Cabinets of Europe, *ib.* Moderation of the Emperor Alexander, 69. Present Public Opinion in Europe favourable to Monarchy, 70. Hereditary Aristocracy fatal to the Prosperity of Mankind, 71. Austria the real Home of Despotism, 73. Present State of Prussia, 74. Character of the present King of Belgium and of the House of Orange, 75. Conduct of France towards Spain, 76. Apathy of the Court of Rome, 77. Low state of Civilization in the East, 78.

Europe, Incidents and Events in, connected with the Eastern World, 114. Supreme Council in Bengal; Changes in the Indian Administration, *ib.* Remarks on the Papers laid before Parliament, relating to Discussions with the Burmese Government, 344. Origin of the present War, 345. Prudent Conduct of Lord Hastings in former Disputes with the Burmese, 346. The Commissioner of Rungpoor's Report of the facility of the Introduction of Burmese Troops into the Company's Dominions by means of the Burrampooter River, *ib.* The Appointment of Lieut-General Sir Thos. Bradford, K.C.B. to be Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, 349. Appointment of Admiral Bingham to be Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, 580.

F

Field, Baron, Memoir on New South Wales, 163.

G

Gilchrist's, Dr. J. B., East Indian Guide and Vade Mecum, 166. Universal Character, 302.

Gymnastic Exercises, 439. Fondness of the Ancients for, *ib.* Necessity of counteracting the Effects of sedentary Habits on the Health, 440. Proposal for establishing a Public

Gymnasium, 442. Gymnasium of Mr. Voelker, 442.

H

Hastings, Marquis of, On his taking his Seat in the House of Peers, 141. Enthusiastic Reception of in Scotland, 581.

Helena, St., Introduction of the Silk Worm at, 579. Benefits likely to result from the Measure, 580.

Hindos, On the Polite Literature of, 484. Their Epic Poets, *ib.*

Horsfield, Dr., On the Insects of Java, 162.

Heroglyphics, Essay on Dr. Young and M. Champollion's System of, by H. Salt, Esq., 583.

I

India, Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in, (No. II.) 1. Early attempts to establish a Commercial Intercourse with, 2. First Charter granted to the East India Company to Trade with, 3. Sailing of the first Fleet equipped by ditto, *ib.* Contentions of the Company with the Portuguese and Dutch, and the Massacre of Amboyna, 5. Exaggerated accounts of the latter by the East India Company, *ib.* License obtained by a New Association to Trade with; Small Amount of Money raised, 6. Purchase by the King of the East India Company's Pepper on Credit; Resale for ready Money, and Loss of the Company thereby, 7. First general Voyage; Union of the New Association with the Old Company; First Footing of the English in Bengal, *ib.* Acquisition of Bombay, 8. Sir E. Winter's refusal to yield up his Command at Madras, *ib.* Rapacity and violent Conduct of the Company towards an English Merchant, 9. Disputes in Parliament respecting Interference of the King; Formation of the French East India Company; Disputes of the Company with the Mogul; Project of a Rival Company; Insurrection at Bombay, *ib.* The Island declared by Proclamation to belong to the King, 10. Disturbances in Bengal, *ib.* Abandonment of ditto, 11. Abject Submission of the Company; Violent Conduct of ditto towards private Adventurers, *ib.* Audacious reply of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, 12. Declaration of Parliament "that it was the *right* of Englishmen to Trade to the East Indies or any part of the World," *ib.* Examination of the Books of the Com-

pany, and Amount of Sums expended in Bribery; the King's participation in the latter; Formation of a New Company; Union of the latter with the Old under its present Name, forming a new great era in the Company's History, *ib.* Qualifications necessary to become a Proprietor or Director, 492. The several Duties of both; Partition of the Business of Director into Shares; Nature and Amount of the Export Trade; First chartered Ships; Sale of Commodities by Auction at Home and in India; Difficulty of making up Freight in ditto, *ib.* Independency of the different Presidencies, 493. Composition of the Governments of the latter; Act for the Punishment of Interlopers in the Indian Trade by Transportation to England and Penalty; Formation of the Ostend Company; Further Acts for the Punishment of English found in India without leave; Sacrifice of the Ostend Company to the political Ambition of the Emperor; Act for borrowing Money on the Common Seal of the Company, *ib.* Embassy from the Presidency of Calcutta to the Court of Delhi, 494. Singular circumstance to which this Embassy owed the greater part of its Success, Opposition to the Mandates of the Mogul in favour of the Company in Bengal; Project for a New Company on the Principles of Free Trade; Failure of ditto, 195. First Annual Accounts; Bids offered to Government for the Prolongation of the Monopoly; Bombardment and Taking of Madras by the French; Character of Labourdonnais, Governor of the French Islands of France and Bourbon; Return of the latter to Europe, *ib.* Duplicity of the French Governor of Pondicherry, 196. Unsuccessful Attempt of the latter to reduce Fort St. David; His Treaty with the Natives; Arrival of the English Fleet, and Commander-in-Chief; Formidable Armament possessed by the English in the East, *ib.* Unskillfulness and Failure of their Attack on Pondicherry, 497. Treaty of Peace between France and England; Restoration of Madras to the latter; Infamous Conduct towards the Rajahs of Tanjore, *ib.* Battle between the Rival Claimants for the Nabobship of the Carnatic; Extraordinary Age of one of them, 498. Intrigues of the English with the Subahdar of the Deccan; their Arrival at his Camp, 498. Re-

treat of the French towards Pondicherry; Attack of ditto on the Camp of Nazir Jung; Desertion of the English, 498. Successes of the French and their infamous Treachery, 499. Appointment of Dupleix to a Governorship on the Coromandel Coast; Revolt of the Patana Nobles; Death of Mirzapha; Ambition of the French; Apathy of the English; Return of Maj. Laurence to England; Defeat of the English by Chunda Sahib; Retreat to Trichinopoly, *ib.* Taking of Arcot by the former, 500. Bravery of Capt. Clive and his Troops; Return of Major Laurence to India; Arrival of Allies from Mysore and Tanjore; Retreat of the French to Seringham; Defeat and Capture of their Re-inforcements and Supplies under Chunda Sahib; Assassination of the latter; Refusal of the English to deliver up Trichinopoly, according to Treaty, to their Allies, *ib.* Declaration of the latter for the French, 501. Contests between the French and English before Trichinopoly, *ib.* Unsuccessful Negotiation, *ib.* Suspension of Arms and Provisional Treaty between them, 502.

Indian Army, On the existing Discontents in, 256. Observations on the Causes which have tended to create a disinclination in the Natives under the Bengal Presidency to enter the regular Regiments; and to produce Discontent and Mutiny in the Native Army on that Establishment, *ib.*

Indian Affairs, Opinions entertained in India as to the present state of, 310.

Lahan Press, Decision of the Privy Council on Mr. Buckingham's Appeal against the Laws for licensing, 349. Injustice of the Decision; Warning to the British Residents in India, *ib.*

India House, Debates at, 186, 353.

J

Justice, On the Administration of, in British India, with the state of the King's Courts and Juries there, 279. Mr. Burke's Opinion on the Defects of those Institutions, *ib.* Outcry raised against the Powers of the Courts, 280. Curtailment in consequence; Inquiry as to whether the Court, as now constituted, is adapted to the purposes for which it was intended; The Judges, *ib.* The Jury, 281. Memorial of Mr. Drummond for having the Fines for Non-

attendance of Jurors equally divided among all within the Court's Jurisdiction who were liable to serve, 283. Mr. Ferguson's Motion in Court for summoning East Indians on Juries, *ib.* Reply of the Chief Justice, 284. Composition of the present English Juries at Calcutta, 285. Curious Anecdote illustrative of partiality of ditto, when Natives are concerned, 286. Strong Claims of the Indo-Britons and Natives to be allowed the privilege of Jurymen, 287. The present system a mockery of Justice, 288.

K

King's Bench, Court of, Decision in the case of JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM versus JOHN MURRAY, for a Label in the QUARTERLY REVIEW, 380. Opening of the Pleadings, *ib.* Mr. Scarlett's Speech, 381. Interest and attention excited in England and India by the appearance of Mr. Buckingham's Travels in Palestine; Favourable Opinions of the Critics; Loss of Emolument derived from the publication of the Travels not the ground of the Action; Attack of the Quarterly Review, *ib.* Liability of every Man to meet with enemies, 382. Capabilities of the generality of Reviewers for their task; their want of good faith, *ib.* Even Distortion and Falsification of an Author's Work, no subject for the consideration of a Jury, 383. Particular grounds of attack selected by the Quarterly Review; Outline of Mr. Buckingham's Travels; His commercial relations with the Merchants of India; Knowledge of the Arabic Language, Reasons of his Departure from the prescribed route from Alexandria to Bombay; Despatch of the Duplicates of his Mission, *ib.* Their arrival at Bombay, 384. Necessity of visiting Jerusalem; Meetings with Mr. Bankes; Proof that Mr. Buckingham was guilty of no neglect or delay in transmitting the Documents with which he was intrusted, *ib.* Entire satisfaction of Messrs. Briggs & Co. with the settlement of their affairs with Mr. Buckingham; His constant habit of taking Notes of the most minute transactions; Incitements to the publication of the Travels; Agreement of Mr. Murray to receive the Manuscript; Subsequent retraction of that Agreement; Publication of the Work by another Book-eller, *ib.* Appearance of the Travels in Palestine producing almost unqualified praise from nearly every Lite-

rary Review in the Kingdom, 385. Curious Anecdotes in the annals of Reviewing, *ib.* The Review commencing with a direct and positive Falsehood, 385. Candid Statement of Mr. Buckingham with respect to the Vignettes, 386. Scandalous and wilful Oversight in the examination of the Work; The Disquisition as to the Ruins of Oomkai being those of Gamala, since supported by the authority of Mr. Burckhardt, *ib.* Unworthy artifices of the Reviewer to attain his object of falsifying and destroying the reputation of Mr. Buckingham and his Book, 387. Condensation of the Libel in the Index to the Quarterly Review; Proof of the honourable nature of Mr. Buckingham's Mission, and the deep interest he himself had in its success, 387, 389, 391. Mr. Buckingham's third visit to Geraza, unaccompanied by Mr. Bankes, 388. The Reviewer's false Statement with respect to the Vignettes, 388. The Libel in the Index likely to be even more injurious than that in the body of the Work, *ib.* Query as to whether Mr. Bankes was the author of the Libel, 389. Falsehood and infamy of the aspersions contained in the Review, 390. Reviews the most extensive organs for the dissemination of Slander, *ib.* Fair and impartial review a benefit, but when made the engine of private malice and personal Detraction, a nuisance to Society, 391. Mr. Buckingham's tribute to the honour and integrity of Mr. Bankes's character, *ib.* What ought to have been the conduct of the Reviewer before he attempted to blacken the character of his Author, 392. Complete refutation of the charge of Mr. Buckingham's having published the Plans of Mr. Bankes as his own; Proof of Mr. Buckingham having taken his own Notes and Sketches in his third visit to Geraza, by a comparison of the latter with those of Mr. Bankes, 392-3. Further Statement of the Meeting with Mr. Bankes at Jerusalem, 392; and the proof that Mr. Buckingham bore even more than his own share in the expenses of that Journey, 393. Singular and convincing Proof that the only object of the Reviewer was Calumny and Detraction, 394. Mr. Bankes's former high opinion of Mr. Buckingham, and any alteration in that opinion entirely founded in mistake, *ib.* Proof of the publication of the Libel, 395. Open and ample

Apology made by Mr. Murray, through his Counsel, to Mr. Buckingham; and expression of his regret that his Review should have been made the vehicle of private Slander; Mr. Murray's total abandonment of all Justification, and submission to a Verdict against him, with the payment of all Costs, 396. A few Words of Explanation to the English Reader, 396. Transmission of the Manuscript of the Travels in Palestine to England, *ib.* Declaration of Mr. Gifford, 397. Claim of Mr. Bankes; Refusal of Mr. Murray to undertake the publication of the Work; Calumnies propagated against the Author by the Indian Newspapers, in the Letters of the 'Friend of Bankes'; Consequences produced by their publication, *ib.* Total inability of Mr. Buckingham's Accusers to substantiate, in a Court of Law, any single charge in these letters in the slightest degree, 398. Opinion of the Judge on the Libel, as being too atrocious to be even thought of without horror; Actions still pending against Mr. Bankes and his Son, 398. Every opportunity afforded to Mr. Murray to prove the truth of the Calumnies in the Quarterly Review, had there been the slightest foundation for them, *ib.* Mr. Bankes undeniably the Author of the Libel in the Quarterly Review, *ib.* Consequences of the Delay of the Trial against Mr. Bankes, jun. 399. The exertion of the influence of Mr. Buckingham's Accusers for the redress of his wrongs the only mode of redeeming their Character to the World, *ib.*

L

Law and Lawyers, Brief remarks on, 113. Versatility of the English Law, *ib.*

Law and Constitution of India, Observations on, 443. Excuse of the Author for anonymous Publication; His recommendation to the East India Company to establish a Professorship of Mohammedan Law, 441. End and aim of the Author's Labours, 445. Facility with which the Mohammedan Conquerors of India retained possession of their Conquests, 447. Small amount of the Imposts on Land under ditto, compared with its Amount under the present Exactions of the Company, 450-1. India, according to the Author, still a part of the Mohammedan Dominions, 451. Policy of the Company in not inquiring too strictly into the *Tax-free Tevures*

of its Hindoo Subjects, 452. Beneficial results of the introduction of the *Permanent Settlement* in Bengal, and the miseries produced by a different system in Bombay and Madras, 453. The Author's Objections to this Settlement, and Inhumanity in stating the miseries of the People as a reason for an increase of Taxation, 453-4.

Louis XIV. On the Character of, 527. Various opinions on the grandeur and glory of his Reign, *ib.* Sketch of the interior of his Court, 528. His Minority; Power of Cardinal Mazarine; Death of the latter; The King's determination to be his own Prime Minister, *ib.* Anecdotes illustrative of his despotic determination, and his notions of Prerogative, 528-9. The Duchess of Orleans's testimony as to the King's dislike of Reading, 529. Conduct of Cardinal Mazarine; Opinions of the Admirers of the Age as to the elegance, delicacy, &c. of his Court; Exposure of the falsity of ditto; Character of the King, *ib.* His infamous treatment of Madame Valliere; Equally disgraceful and dishonourable conduct towards Mademoiselle Montpensier, 531. Origin of Madame de Maintenon, 532. First Meeting with the King, 533. Details of the infamous conduct of the Courtiers, *ib.* Apostacy of Racine and Boileau, 534. Building of the Palace of Versailles; Number of Men and Horses employed on ditto, *ib.* The Palace at Marly; Cost of ditto, 535. Vicissitudes of the latter years of the King; His remorse, *ib.* Religious Bigotry and Imbecility of his Character, 536.

M

M'Culloch's Discourse on Political Economy; The Author too long and too well known to the Public to have his Errors tolerated, 411. Character of the Pamphlet, 412. Dialogue between Socrates and Xenophon on Shoe-making, to illustrate the usefulness of a partition of Labour, 413. Proof that the Greeks were unacquainted with Political Economy as a Science, 414. Wisdom of the Romans in discountenancing Commerce, 415-16. The Casuists of the Romish Church of the 13th Century, the Political Economists of those days, 417. The Author's Exposure of the origin of the Mercantile System of the 17th Century, which forbade the export of Gold, 418. Liberality of Sir Dudley North, 419.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 6.

Economists of the last and present Century, 420-1.

Macassar War, Progress of, 303. Declaration of War by the Queen of Boui against the Dutch; Distressed state of the Troops of the latter; Extensive Incursions of the Natives; Rumoured causes of the War, *ib.*

Macnaghten, Sir Francis, and Governor General Adam, 327. Entertainment given by the Merchants of Calcutta on the former's departure for England; Sayings and Doings on this occasion, 328. Dr. Grant's Toast, "Mr. Adam and the Civil Service," *ib.* Details of the Public Virtue exercised by the Ex-Governor, which demanded the *thundering echoes* and *noisy uproars* mentioned by the 'John Bull,' as following Mr. Secretary Mackenzie's Speech on the occasion, 329. The questionable Virtue of a total disregard of Public Opinion; Disinterestedness of Mr. Secretary Mackenzie's laudatory strains, 330.

Madras, Comparative Value of Merit and Interest at, 98. Government Order issued at; Petty Remuneration to Capt. Pace for "Essential Aid," *ib.* Disproportionate Rewards granted to the Civil over the Military Servants of the Company, 99. Knowledge of Hindostanee absolutely necessary to Staff Situations, *ib.* The Réprimands of the Court of Directors compared to Dogs barking at the Moon, 100. Latest Intelligence from, 137, 343. Strictness of the Gaggling System at this Presidency, 137. Mr. Scott's Report on Epidemic Cholera, *ib.* Sir Thos. Munro obliged to give up his Intention of returning to England, 313. Expedient of the Government to supply the Troops at Rangoon with Bread, *ib.*

Mariamne, an Historical Novel of Palestine, 161.

Mauritius—Slave Trade, 576. Article from the 'Morning Chronicle' on; Frightful Excess of the Male Slave Population at; Continuance of this Trade, and Hypocrisy of the Functionaries of that Colony; Method of introducing the Slaves into the Island, *ib.* Publicity of the Sales of ditto, 577. Specimen of the Advertisements; Inhumanity of their Treatment; Letter from Surinam; Earnestness of the Dutch in putting down this Traffic; Severe Punishment awarded against Two Persons detected in ditto, *ib.*

Mendelssohn, Moses, Memoirs of, 475. His early Attachment to Learning,

and the Obstacles encountered in attaining it, 476. Commencement of his Literary Labours, 478. His Marriage, and affecting picture of his feelings on the Death of his Daughter, *ib.* Translation of Plato's *Phædon* into German, 479. His sagacious and masterly Reply to Lavater's Challenge in the Dedication to the latter's Translation of Bonnett's Work on the Evidences of Christianity, 480. Curious Anecdote of his extreme Timidity, 483.

Milton's newly-discovered Work on the Christian Religion, 314. The Author's interesting Preface, 487. Commencement of his Theological Studies, *ib.* His Justification of the large Adoption of the Phraseology of the Bible in his Treatise, 489. Table of Contents of ditto, 190.

Moor, The, by Lord Porchester, 509. Liability of the Author to Deportation from the Territory of the Muses, 510. Opening of the Story; Extracts from the Poem, *ib.*

Moreau's Finances of the East India Company, 316.

Munsif's Letter to the Asiatic Journal; Opinions of Messrs. Say, Sismondi, and Tucker, 311.

N

Native Army of India, Considerations on the Present State of, 59. Gradual Decrease of its Efficiency and Energy, 60. Causes of the Deterioration of, 60, 65. Comparison of, with British Troops, 61.

Nagpore, Blessings of Good Government at, 308, 474. Partial Distribution of Offices, *ib.* Correction of a Typographical Error, 474. Further Details of the Abuse of Patronage at, *ib.*

Netherlands India, 142. Conspiracy against the Dutch Authority at Palembang, *ib.*

New South Wales, 142. Bombay Government Order respecting the Coast of New Holland, *ib.* Prosperity of the Colony, 143.

New Publications, 159, 583.

P

Parliamentary Proceedings connected with Indian Affairs, 167. *House of Commons* — Petition against the burning of Hindoo Widows, 167. Imprisonment in India, 168. Mr. Hume's Motion in favour of Indo-Britons or Half-caste Natives of India, 171. Ditto ditto for a Copy of the Minutes of the Supreme Council of Bengal, by which the Rev. Dr.

Bryce was appointed Clerk to the Stationery Committee, 171. Debate on the Clauses proposed by Mr. Hume to be introduced into the East India Judges' Bill, 172. — *House of Lords*, 180. Debates on the Introduction of the Marquis of Hastings's Indian Interest Bill, *ib.* Third Reading of the Indian Interest Bill, 350. Ditto of the East India Judges' Bill, 351. — *House of Commons*, *ib.* Decan Prize Money, *ib.* Mr. Bishop Burnett's Second Petition for leave to return to the Cape of Good Hope to collect Evidence for substantiating his Accusations against Lord Charles Somerset, 352.

Parliament, Remarks on the Proceedings in, relative to India, 145. Lord Hastings's Bill on the subject of Interest of Loans in India; Remarks on Mr. Canning's Observations on the subject, *ib.* Ditto on Mr. Hume's Amendments on the Third Reading of the East India Judges' Bill, 146.

Persia, 143. Abdication of the King, and Determination to rebuild the City of Shiraz, *ib.*

Poet's Pilgrimage, an Allegorical Poem, by J. P. Collier, 52. Character of the Poem, 53.

Phrenology, Introduction of the Science of, in India, 559. Continued Discussions in the Newspapers respecting; Formation of a Society at Calcutta, *ib.*

POETRY:—

Song, 13.

Lines suggested by a Portrait of Lord Byron, 20.

Tyrtaean Airs, No. III. — See the Hateful Blight that Falls, 30.

To a Lady, on her proposing Early Friendship as the Subject of Poetic Commemoration, 42.

Early Love, 51.

The Poet's Haunt, 67.

The Dream of Youth, 79.

Song on the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in America, 86.

The Persecuted Girl. (From the 'Songs of Greece.') 97.

The Love that grows with Years, 120.

Character of Sir W. Jones, 210.

To E——, 224.

Song.—Air: 'Far, Far at Sea,' 233.

Harp of the Soul, 242.

The Churning of the Ocean, 252.

Enjoyment, a Sonnet, 267.

Heart's Ease, 289.

Stanzas, written in India, 422.

Reflections on viewing the Tomb of Napoleon, 437.

- Stanzas**, adapted to the beautiful Air of 'Montalembert,' 456.
Castles in the Air, 483.
Sonnet to Sympathy, 486.
To F. R. on his Birth-day, 491.
To Grief, 543.
- Price, Mr.**, on the Pretended Discoveries of, relative to the Persepolitan Character, 544. His real or pretended Ignorance of Professor Grotefend's Researches; Applause due to the latter, *ib.* Discovery of a Key to the Antiquities, 545. Disappointment at the Absence of the Key alluded to in the Work; Uselessness of the Alphabet only, *ib.* Novel Reading of the Inscriptions, according to the Author's own Discovery, 546. Grounds of its probable Incorrectness, 547. The Author's Mistake in supposing one of his Translations to be the Commencement of the Inscription, 547-8. Further Proof of his Incompetency for the Undertaking, 548. Omission in his Copy, *ib.* Comparison of Le Brun and Niebuhr's Translations, 549. Singular Blunder of Mr. Price; Similar want of Knowledge in M. Saint Martin, *ib.* Concordance between Mr. Price's 'Inscription among many Figures' and the 'Proclamation of Feridoon' of Le Brun, 549. Proof that the Author's Second Inscription, entitled 'The Commencement of the Investiture of the three Kings,' is but the commencement of the 'Proclamation of Feridoon' of Le Brun, 551. Valueless Nature of Mr. Price's Discoveries, 552. His Journal of the British Embassy to Persia, 556.
- Q
- Quebec**, Arrival of two China Ships at, 576.
- R
- Rameses**, an Egyptian Tale, 161.
Ramree, Descent on the Island of, 341. Harassing Nature of the March; Treachery of the Guides; Retreat of the Troops; Perilous Situation of some of the Officers, *ib.*
Rangoon Expedition, 129; Captured Documents, *ib.* Orders of the Burmese Chief to his Troops, 130. Gallant Conduct of the 26th Madras Native Infantry at Kemmedine; Movements of the British and Burmese Troops; Transformation of Sir A. Campbell's "Cannon" into *Musketoons*; Determined Conduct of the Burmese, *ib.* Official Account of the Attack on the Fort of Syriam, 131. Letter of the Burmese General, *ib.* Burmese Mode of harassing an Enemy, 132. Position of the British Troops, 339. Destructive Effects of the late Fire; Rumours of the Co-operation of the Forces of Pegu and Siam with the British, *ib.* Desertion of the Peguers from the Burmese, 340. Wretched Condition of the British Army, *ib.* Reports of the Massacre of the King of Ava, 341. Advance of the Troops under Sir A. Campbell, 565. Attack and Capture of the Stockade at Tanteabeun, 566. Entrenched Camp of the Burmese at Denobew, *ib.* Letter of the Siamese to Sir A. Campbell, 567. Movements of the Army, 567-8. Arrival of three Chiefs from Martaban at the Rangoon Camp, *ib.* List of Ships taken up for the Grand Expedition, 568. Embarkation of Elephants, *ib.* Proclamation of Sir A. Campbell to the Inhabitants of the Burman Empire, 569. Remarks on this strange Document, 570. Insincerity of the Government under Lord Minto towards the Burmese, in refusing to deliver up the atrocious King-bering, after repeated Promises to do so, *ib.* Unjustifiable Motives of the War, 571.
- Royal African Institution**, Meeting of, 186.
- S
- Saugor**, Re-appearance of the Freebooter D'Herring Sing, 333.
Shakspearian Bridges and Dawk Improvements, 562. Metamorphosis of the Coir Rope Bridge into one of Sylhet Cane, or Ground Rattan, 562. Celerity of the Expresses from Bombay and Madras to Calcutta, 563.
Shipping Intelligence, 200, 408, 608. Arrivals in England from Eastern Ports; Arrivals in Eastern Ports; Departures from England; Ships spoken with at Sea; General List of Passengers, 202, 410, 609.
Siam, Latest Intelligence from, 141. The King's Declaration of the Freedom of Trade in his Dominions, *ib.* Improbability of the Siamese making War on the Burman Empire, 142.
Stanhope, Col. Letter of, to Ram Mo-hun Roy, 105.
Steam Navigation, Article in the 'Bombay Courier' on, 574.
Steam Vessel to India, Departure of the Enterprise for Calcutta, 580.
Stewart, Col. On the Policy of the Government of India, 423. The Author's View of the Necessity of our present Extension of Territory, *ib.* The Public Mind easily dazzled by the Glory of Success, 424. Error respecting the Mahratta Powers be-

ing governed by French Interest, 425. Boundaries of British Rule in Hindoostan, and Avenues of Entrance to ditto, 426. Rise of the Pindaree and other Native Predatory Cavalry, 427. Dissipation of ditto by the Marquis of Hastings, *ib.* Want of a connecting link between the Government and the People of India, 427. Efficiency of the Zumeendar or Native Magistrate of former times for preserving Subordination, 428. Melancholy Effects of the British Usurpation of that Authority, 429. Urgent necessity of an immediate Alteration in our whole System of Government, *ib.* Natural Defences on our Eastern Frontier, 431. Discussion of the various modes of occupying the Burmese Territory, 432. Necessity and Policy of allowing the Native Inhabitants some Share in the Administration of their Affairs, 437.

Sylhet Frontier, 336. Accounts from Cachar; Impassable state of the Country, 336, 563. Difficulty of obtaining Provisions, 336, 564. Condition of the new formed Road to Munnipoor, 337. Trifling Progress of the Army; Amount of the Enemy's Force at Munnipoor; Discovery of a Nutmeg Tree in the Forest, *ib.*

T

Traveller in the East, Unpublished Manuscripts of a, 15. Voyage to the

Straits of Gibraltar; Leaving Portsmouth; the Needles, 15. Lisbon, 16. Summary of the History of Portugal, 17. Camoens's 'Os Lusíadas,' 18. Cape St. Vincent; Town of Sagres, 19. Entrance of the Bay of Gibraltar; Constant Setting-in of the Current through the Straits of Barbary, 243. Summary of the History of Spain, 241. Rapid ascendancy of England, and former inferiority in her Efforts at extending Commerce and Discovery, 245. Camoens's Description of England; Rock and Town of Gibraltar, 246-7. Inhabitants; Spanish Females, 247. Costly Dress of the Spanish Peasantry, *ib.* Taking of Gibraltar by the English in 1704, 248. Its memorable Siege and Bombardment by the Spaniards, 249. Destruction of the Spanish Flotilla, 251; Voyage from Gibraltar to Sicily; Recollections of Moorish, Roman, and Carthaginian History, 456. The Fortifications of Ceuta; Crusade of the Portuguese, and Capture of ditto, 456-7. Character of the Dukes of Coimbra and Viso, Sons to the Portuguese Monarch, 457-8. The City of Algiers, *ib.* Description of the Island of Sardinia, 459. Historical Sketch of the City of Carthage, 461. Polybius's Anecdote of Hannibal, the Rhodian, 465.

Z

Zoe, an Athenian Tale, 165.



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407

